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SPORT IN BRISTOL (U.K.), AND BOSTON (U.S.A.), A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON, 1870-1900

by

© RALPH C. WILCOX

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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ABSTRACT

This study compares the ongoing transition from "Informal," to "Organised," and "Corporate Sport" in the British and American city of the late nineteenth century. Seen to be the result of value changes wrought by a demographic shift from the farm to the tenement, the Industrial Revolution and an accompanying change of intellectual thought, sport also created a characteristic system of values which was to have an impact on society. The author seeks to explain similarities and differences observed in contemporary British and American sport in terms of the roots of national character, a notion determined by the degree of congruence between those values held by individuals, sport and other social institutions in each city.

Selecting Bristol and Boston, comparable centres in terms of size, geographic location, and economic, political and religious tradition, the author adopted an eclectic approach in describing the nature and function of sport in the two cities. As a means of communication, sport served to maintain the social order (with those in influence utilising sport as an agent of social control), while it also played a significant role in social change particularly with regard to the most pressing problems faced by the nineteenth century city, alienation and ill-health. Yet such generalisations do not tell the full story for the status attributed sport and the way in which it was used to meet similar ends differed between Bristol and Boston.

Adopting a broad definition of sport to encompass the socio-religious work of middle class philanthropists, beautifying crusades of civic authorities, educational programmes pertaining to the body, industrial

recreation, conspicuous leisure and professional sport, its impact on life in both cities was found to be tremendous. With Boston's municipal government showing a more active involvement in sport, the arrival of immigrants gradually eroding long-held British traditions, and capitalism encouraging competition, "Corporate Sport" appeared to be a more rapidly developed reality in the American city by the end of the century. In Bristol, social change and hence the rise of sport was somewhat slower as middle class traditions with regard to the nature and purpose of sport were preserved. In essence, the study suggests that the greater stability witnessed in Bristol's society served to perpetuate customary beliefs and behaviour in sport while the fundamental changes witnessed in Boston's social structure led to the creation of a characteristic style of sport which, having an accepted role to play in the process of urbanisation, might have been indicative of an emerging national type.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I INTRODUCTION 1

The Rise of Sport 7

The Value of Studying Sport in History 20

A Comparative History of Sport, the City and the People 22

PART ONE

SPORT AND THE CITY

II THE CITY AND ITS SPORT HERITAGE 49

The City of Bristol 53

Bristol and its Sport Heritage 61

The City of Boston 67

Boston and its Sport Heritage 81

III THOUGHT, WORK AND PLAY 98

The Body-Mind Relationship in Nineteenth Century Britain 98

Work and Play in Nineteenth Century Thought ... 103

Critics, Intellectuals and the Physical State of Nineteenth Century Bostonians 116

IV THE SOCIAL GOSPEL AND SPORT 137

Sabbatarianism and Sport 147

Social Darwinism and Sport 153

The Temperance Movement and Sport 155

CHAPTER PAGE

The Young Men's Christian Association and Sport 163

Non-Church Affiliated Groups and Muscular Christianity 182

V POLITICS, PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS 204

Sanitation, Space and Sport in Bristol 220

Public Health, Parks and Playgrounds in Boston . 236

Bathing and Swimming in Bristol and Boston 276

VI POPULAR PURSUITS IN BRISTOL AND BOSTON 302

Association, Rugby and American Football 302

Bails, Batsmen and Bowlers 319

Bases, Balls and Pitchers 337

Pugilists and Pedestrians 354

VII THE SPORT BUSINESS 376

Resorts and Excursions For All 384

Spectators, Speculators and Sport 392

Technological Development and Sport 403

Awheel in Boston and Bristol 414

Papers, Periodicals and Publishers 450

PART TWO

SPORT AND THE PEOPLE

VIII "EDUCATION OF THE PHYSICAL." PIONEERS AND PROGRAMS 472

Physical Education in Bristol 473

Physical Education in Boston 481

CHAPTER PAGE

IX "EDUCATION THROUGH THE PHYSICAL." SPORT IN ACADEME 553

The English "Public" School in Transition 556

The Schools, Headmasters and Their Dilemmas 562

Games in the Life of the Schools 575

Muscular Christianity - The Soldiers and Disciples 589

Muscular Christianity - The Heretics 599

Games and Idealism in the Life of the Universities 610

Problems, Prohibitions and Professionalism in College Athletics 617

Intercollegiate Athletics at Harvard 627

X FEMALE FREEDOM AND SPORT 653

Physical Education for Girls 660

"Anyone for Tennis?" - The Emergence of the Sportswoman 680

XI THE CITY GENTLEMAN AT PLAY 703

Conspicuous Leisure and the Gentlemen 710

"At the Races" - Equestrianism and Boating in Bristol and Boston 715

Athens, Athletes and Their Clubs 740

"The Great Outdoors" - Life at Country Club and Golf Club 755

XII THE POPULACE AND PROFESSIONALS AT PLAY 785

Sport for the Working Man 799

Gentlemen and Players 810

CHAPTER PAGE

XIII BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS AND SPORT 832

Strangers in the City. Causes, Conditions and Reactions 833

Black Bostonians and Sport 851

From the "Maid of Erin" to "King" Kelly 857

Englishmen and Scotsmen at Play 888

German Turners Around "The Hub." 904

Forgotten Foreigners and Sport 912

XIV ACHILLES AND HERCULES. PRIDE OF THE CITY 930

W.G. Grace. Bristol's Champion of Cricket ... 931

John L. Sullivan. The Boston Strong Boy 945

XV THE RISE OF SPORT. A TALE OF TWO CITIES 983

BIBLIOGRAPHY 1007

APPENDICES 1079

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
I	The Formation of Sport Governing Bodies in Great Britain and the United States of America.	10
II	The Cotton and Steel Industries of Britain and America, 1870 to 1900.	52
III	The Growth of Bristol, 1801 to 1901.	55
IV	The Intercensal Growth of Bristol by Net Migration, 1871 to 1901.	55
V	The Population and Intercensal Growth of Boston, 1800 to 1900.	71
VI	The Religious Affiliation of Bristolians in 1851.	138
VII	The Religious Affiliation of Bostonians in 1870.	141
VIII	Intemperance. The Status of Bristol and Other Leading British Cities.	157
IX	The Political Composition of the Bristol Corporation, 1835 to 1897.	210
X	The Distribution of Seats in the Bristol City Council, 1835 to 1897.	210
XI	The Mortality Rate of Britain's Most Healthy Towns, 1883.	224
XII	Parks and Playgrounds Owned by the Bristol City Corporation, 1861 to 1900.	234
XIII	The Development of Playgrounds by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association, 1885 to 1900.	270-271
XIV	Playgrounds Under the Jurisdiction of the Boston Park Department, 1883 to 1900.	274
XV	The Number of Swimmers, Bathers and Washers at Bristol's Municipal Baths and Washhouses, 1880 to 1883.	279

Table	Description	Page
XVI	The Balance Sheet of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club Annual Sports, Saturday May 15th 1897.	435
XVII	The Record Times of American Cyclists in 1879.	438
XVIII	The Location of Boston's Metropolitan Population in 1850 and 1900.	709
XIX	The Success of Boston's Athletes at the First Modern Olympic Games at Athens in 1896.	749
XX	The Nativity of Bostonians in 1900.	836
XXI	The Parent Nativity of Bostonians in 1900.	838
XXII	Social Class and Nativity of Bostonians in 1870 and 1885.	841
XXIII	The Black Population of Boston, 1850 to 1900.	853
XXIV	The Sporting Affiliation and Contribution of Some of Boston's Leading Irish Citizens.	876-879

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHIC PLATES*

Plate	Description	Following Page
I	Parks For The People.	85
II	Bathing at the North End Park, Boston in 1900.	86
III	The Young Men's Christian Association.	166
IV	The Physical Department of the Boston Y.M.C.A., in 1900.	176
V	Cricket - A Contrast of Class in Bristol.	330
VI	The Entertainers.	353
VII	Recreational Retreats.	389
VIII	Spectator Sports.	397
IX	Cycling in the City.	447
X	The Sporting Press.	457
XI	Sport at School.	585
XII	Cricket at College.	588
XIII	Athletes in Academe.	594
XIV	Athletics at Harvard.	629
XV	Harvard Athletic Teams.	632
XVI	Bourgeois Bristol and Boston at Play.	712
XVII	Conspicuous Leisure.	714
XVIII	The Boston Athletic Association.	744
XIX	Achilles and Hercules.	930
XX	Outside the Arena.	944

* Notes on the plates will be found in Appendix J.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The blab of the pave, tires of carts, sluff of
    boot-soles, talk of the promenaders,
The heavy omnibus, the driver with his interrogating
    thumb, the clank of the shod horses on the granite floor,
The snow-sleighs, clinking, shouted jokes, pelts of
    snow-balls,
The hurrahs for popular favorites, the fury of rous'd mobs.
The flap of the curtain's litter, a sick man inside
    borne to the hospital,
The meeting of enemies, the sudden oath, the blows and fall,
The excited crowd, the policeman with his star quickly
    working his passage to the center of the crowd,
The passive stones that receive and return so many echoes... [1]

Written by Walt Whitman, a man who stood apart from other American poets of the nineteenth century by virtue of his hatred for the aristocracy; his freedom from Puritanical bias; and his dream of democracy, this extract from "Song of Myself" conjures up a very real image of life in the emerging city on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Toward the beginning of the nineteenth century the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and later, the United States of America experienced a mass exodus from the countryside into the awakening urban centres, a migration largely resultant of the Industrial Revolution.[2] Such a transition was wont to bring with it many social, economic and political changes which will form the framework of this study.

The impact of this process of urbanization was seen earlier and to a greater extent in Britain than in America. During the first half of the nineteenth century the proportion of the total population of England and Wales living in urban areas was thirty-six percent. As mid-century passed, more than half of the nation's citizens were experiencing urban life. Between the years 1881 and 1891 the urban population of England and Wales increased by three and a quarter million.[3] In America however, the transition was considerably slower in comparison. In 1790 there were no more than six cities with a population greater than eight thousand, with a combined number of one hundred and thirty-two thousand, or little over three percent of the population. During the first half of the nineteenth century this proportion rose to sixteen percent. The federal census for 1880 showed that of the fifty million people counted, nearly forty million lived in rural areas. Only in the north-eastern states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island did the urban population outnumber that of the countryside. By 1890 eighty percent of Massachusetts' population lived in the State's cities and towns. The people poured into the cities in search of improved economic conditions, and spurred on by the belief that all that was good in life was to be found in the city. The nation and cities were not prepared for the relatively unannounced influx, and often regions, New England in particular, were unable to provide the necessary urban development to offset rural decline.[4] The withdrawal of the frontier meant more to the American nation. Formerly it had provided a common environment and goal for the binding together of people from diverse backgrounds. It had developed a characteristic type described in the words of Frederick Jackson Turner as:

> That coarseness of strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful

> to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom... 5

The changing face of the country witnessed by the end of the nineteenth century should be interpreted in terms of a geographical recession of the frontier rather than the disappearance of the frontiersman. Indeed, agriculture and mining continued, and remain, a fundamental component of the nation's economy. This age of demographic shift was typified in both countries by industrialization, mechanization, by immigration in America and by emigration in Britain. Such fundamental changes in society were to have deeper ramifications for the value orientations of Britain and America contrasting the static individualism of the farm to the dynamic collectivism of the city.

A series of land bills (1784-86), followed by the Acts of 1787 and 1789 served to promote the appearance of numerous scattered, individual smallholdings across America during the eighteenth century. While wealthy land barons accumulated vast estates in the mid-west, the small farmer remained the prime force in land ownership into the 1880s. Yet such isolation has seldom appealed to the social nature of man, and the close community offered by the city represented a tempting invitation. To the farmer, mechanization had led to an elevation in land values beyond the capabilities of subsistence level farming. Agricultural cooperatives and monopolies sprang up across the nation and the land owner was relegated to tenant. Britain had experienced these changes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The revolution in transportation, notably the extension of railway, road and canal networks, added to the destruction of the frontier. As the postal service developed, mail order firms such as Montgomery Ward (founded in 1872) and Sears, Roebuck and Co., (founded 1887) added to the disintegration of rural traditions. Industrialization, with added specialization in society provided consumer goods for the growing urban market. The prices of such goods frequently fell below the cost of production on the farm. Add to this the underselling of New England farmers in their own markets by the lowered freight rates offered by railroads favoring prairie farmers, and one might start to envisage the inevitability of rural decay. Disillusioned farmers were soon drawn to the cities through expectations of increased wealth. Nor were such hopes mere dreams. In 1896, C.B. Spahr estimated that the average wealth of a family living in the country did not exceed $3,250 whereas the average wealth of a city family amounted to greater than $9,000.[6] The advantages of such migratory trends toward the city have been many and will be discussed throughout the body of this study, however, serious problems were to emerge, difficulties to challenge the government, social structure and people of both nations.

Central to the problems of the city was the quest for community. Indeed, Benjamin Disraeli once suggested that "There is no community in England; there is aggregation, but aggregation under circumstances which make it rather a dissociating than a uniting principle."[7] Before the Civil War, democracy and individualism had been reality to the states of New England. With increased industrialization came inflated inequalities in wealth and clearly identified socio-economic strata within society. Nevertheless, America hung on to the democratic ideal, the dream that the birthright of each and every American was the opportunity for pecuniary success. The cities were not prepared for their new charges. As millions arrived on the doorstep to the city, the inadequacy of housing, sanitation, pure water supplies, and the availability of fresh food became all too evident. As the streets became overcrowded, the individual found himself engulfed in a sea of anonymity, not knowing who was master and who was servant, what spelled success, and what represented the laws of society. As Adna Weber put it, "...thousands of new residents are strangers to the city's history and traditions, have no local attachments and do not readily acquire any civic pride."[8] This condition of alienation or anomie represented a critical concern of city governments, for with it came the question of social control, at the root of so many other urban ills. In the rural community, society was bonded by natural laws, and control maintained by the extended family, neighborhood and community. As industrialization developed and the division of labor increased, so the classical theory gave way to a new urban, bureaucratic theory intent on achieving a sound mechanical integration of all societal units. Nevertheless, these bureaucratic theorists retained the idea of unity through man's contact with the soil, and to this end promoted the growth of peripheral suburbia.

It was to be the physical symptoms of urban malaise which painted the most striking pictures. Henry Bellows was in no doubt of the severity of the city's influence upon humanity when he wrote in 1861:

> The first murderer was the first city-builder; and a good deal of murdering has been carried on in the interest of city-building ever since Cain's day. Narrow and crooked streets, want of proper sewerage and ventilation, the absence of forethought in providing open spaces for the recreation of

> the people, the allowance of intramural burials, and of fetid nuisances, such as slaughter-houses and manufactories of offensive stuffs, have converted cities into pestilential inclosures, and kept Jefferson's saying - "Great cities are great sores"- true in its most literal and mortifying sense.[9]

It was the reaction produced by attempts to ameliorate such pitiful conditions that represented the foremost contribution of the city throughout the modern age. The ingenuity and resiliency shown by the urban people in dealing with such social misdemeanors as public health and social cohesion was one of the most distinctive features of the age. Eventually, through beautification crusades, civilizing missions, improved transportation, slum clearance and various political reforms, the city was to show a change of face:

> In new social services, in new amusements, in new intellectual and artistic pursuits, as well as in new technological and economic procedures...in new standards of consumption, in new relationships of the sexes and the members of families, in new positions of several age groups, in new circumstances affecting health and in new causes of death.[10]

The modern city was typified by increasing accumulations of capital shared as it was, unequally between the wage earning populace and the rising white-collar middle classes. The city became the recent of business and financial institutions as well as the atrium of expanding communication networks and the home of what Blake described "those dark satanic mills."

In short, the city offered up a series of paradoxes. While facilitating social transmission it led to alienation, while providing spiritual shelter, the evils of the city were frequently overpowering, while the parks and building contributed to civic pride, the streets and slums led to civic squalor, and the city was faced by a contrast of urban virtue and urban vice. It was the adaptive ability of the city and its people which was to determine whether that contained within the city wall was to prove a beneficial or damaging influence. In the final analysis, the collection of outcomes eventually emanating from the city, a reduction of working hours, an improved standard of living, a decline in Puritanical sentiments concerning the value of amusement, an increased awareness of the people's physical and mental well-being, together with an increased division of labour, contributed a milieu conducive to the rise of sport.

The Rise of Sport

> We may divide the whole struggle of the human race into two chapters; first, the fight to get leisure; and then the second fight of civilization - what shall we do with our leisure when we get it.[11]

These words spoken by James A. Garfield during his presidential campaign of 1880 reflect the two essential problems facing the urban population in both nations during the nineteenth century, while pointing out the two broad stages of the development of sport during the years covered by this study.

At the outset it is necessary to clarify what is encompassed by the term "sport" within this study. Much time has been spent in recent years arriving at both definitional and operational interpretations of sport;[12] however contemporary sociological explanations seldom provide utility for the historian, and there does not appear to be one universally held definition which would seem applicable to a comparative historical study of this nature. Components of sport will include goal orientation, competition, physical prowess, the demonstration of both cognitive and motor skills and the existence of rules. However, such concepts might be viewed along a continuum as there appears a need to differentiate between levels of sport described here as "Informal Sport," "Organised Sport," and "Corporate Sport."[13] In similar manner Terry Furst viewed the rise of sport as an evolution from play to game to work, while Lincoln Allison, through an excellent analysis, identified three ideal types in the form of vernacular, adaptive and modern sport.[14]

"Informal Sport," for the purpose of this study, refers to a type of sport that is for the most part furnished by, and practiced for the enjoyment of the participants, and will include the rise of the Playground Movement, together with selected aspects of the Leisure Revolution. "Organised Sport" is characterised by a bureaucratic structure whereby clubs, formal leagues, institutionalized rules and the provision of specialized facilities and equipment is conducted at a higher level. Further, at this level sport experiences an increased interaction with other institutions throughout society. "Corporate Sport" is the product of primary political and economic interaction with sport. Unlike "Informal Sport," its primary purpose is the enjoyment of the spectator. Johan Huizinga further elucidates the process and laments the loss of play in culture:

> The nineteenth century, we observed, had lost many of the play-elements so characteristic of former ages...
>
> What we are concerned with here is the transition from occasional amusement to the system of organised clubs and matches.

> Now, with the increasing systematization and regimentation of sport, something of the pure play-quality is inevitably lost... 15

Sport emerged from the eighteenth century exhibiting little recognizable change from when it entered the 1700s. Prior to the onset of industrialization and urbanization, sport in both countries was characterized by a loose structure, a marked absence of codified rules, and was strongly determined by social class. Aristocratic pursuits such as hunting, fishing and horse-racing contrasted sharply with the cock-fighting, bull-baiting, impromptu wrestling matches and foot-races so popular with the rural "rabble." Such medieval inhibition was soon to change with the advent of the nineteenth century. Evidence for the rise of sport is readily found in the growth of the sporting press, the emergence of the sports page, increased interest of sport in art, and the growth of a new sports consumer market. Perhaps the greatest indicator of the rise of organised sport in Britain and America during the nineteenth century was the founding of numerous sports governing bodies demonstrated in Table I. The rise of sport in both nations was to have a marked impact upon nineteenth century society. More recently Bruce Haley has suggested that sport in nineteenth century Britain represented a "National mania, perhaps the most widespread and long-lasting of any in the Victorian Age." In America, a nineteenth century observer noted that "There was the greenback craze, and the silver craze, and now there is the athletic craze." To Britain is owed the pioneer label with regard to sport. The taste for sport is not new to the British.

Table I

The Formation of Sport Governing Bodies in Great Britain and the United States of America[16]

Sport	Date founded in Britain	Date founded in America
Archery	1861	1879
Association Football	1863	1913
Athletics	1880	1879
Badminton	1893	1936
Baseball		1871
Basketball	1936	1898
Boxing	1880	
Canoeing		1880
Cricket	1788	1878
Croquet		1882
Curling	1838	1867
Cycling	1878	1880
Fencing	1898	1891
Field Hockey	1886	1922
Football (American)		1876
Golf	1754	1894
Gymnastics	1890	
Horse Racing	c1750	1894
Ice Hockey	1914	1896
Indoor Bowling	1961	1875
Lacrosse	1880	1879
Lawn Bowling	1892	1937
Lawn Tennis	1888	1881
Polo		1890
Rowing	1879	1872
Rugby Football	1871	
Shooting	1860	1871
Skating	1879	1888
Skiing	1903	1904
Swimming	1869	1878
Table Tennis	1927	1930
Volleyball	1955	1928
Yachting	1875	

Physical pursuits of one kind or another and even organized games had been a national tradition but during the second half of the nineteenth century the nature, extent and organization of such pastimes became nearly unrecognizable in comparison to those of former years.[17] Characterized by a complex bureaucratic structure, increased economic influence, the rise of spectatorism; and prompted by the press, the schools and members of all classes, sport reached such a peak of social significance as to cause The Times to suggest that "it would be almost unsafe to say that even Mr. Gladstone or Lord Salisbury is more famous than Dr. W.G. Grace or Prince Ranjitsinhji."[18] Those cruel sports of cock-fighting, animal-baiting and the like had rapidly declined, or alternatively undergone social refinement. Pugilism, which had ranged between brutality and manliness during the first half of the nineteenth century, likewise experienced modification leading to more widespread social approval. The value of sport to the people of nineteenth century England was being recognized, "Glorious and wealthy empires are no novelty upon earth; the empire of English games over English minds is quite new."[19] In "Summer Songs" a Bristol poet dreamt of the days "when Sport is the monarch of all." Prompted by the frustration of a summer drowned by a seemingly constant downpour he recalled the centrality of cricket, tennis and rowing to Bristol city life. Two years earlier, a sports correspondent for the Bristol Argus had reported that "Legitimate sport or exercise for the grave and gay, for the young and old, for the rich and poor, for the male and female, is the great order of the day."[20]

A similar sporting revolution was witnessed in America although its emergence was somewhat slower at the onset, particularly in the New England States where the most rigid and conservative of Puritans had made their home. With more than forty different Protestant sects scattered throughout the thirteen colonies generalisations in lifestyle was made difficult, as the popularity for field sports among the less orthodox Puritan settlers of Virginia and North Carolina attests. To them Puritanism did not have to mean Puritanicalism. The citizens of Massachusetts, on the other hand, retained a belief in asceticism and the importance of work. Creating a forerunner to the Protestant work ethic, which was later revived as an essentially nineteenth century notion, their lifestyle tended to revolve around business, although not completely void of play and amusement.

A complex social and economic structure unfolded with the building up of the new nation following the War of Independence. With traditional Puritan values eroded further, sport emerged as a new idea in a pluralistic society wrought by sectionalism. Principally emanating from the shores of Britain, sport took on an increasing significance so that by 1884 one observer was able to state that Americans "are at heart as fond of athletic work as the English, or they would never have given so much encouragement to their own manly and scientific game of baseball and to rowing."[21] This increase in the interest of sport in American society flourished after the Civil War. The new-found economic and industrial base had provided for the appearance of new sports, and such fads as cycling and tennis were met with enthusiasm before yielding to others.

Such had not always been the case. James D'Wolf Lovett comparing turn of the century Boston with the city of his childhood suggested that:

> Probably any boy of the present day and generation, if told that fifty years ago there was neither baseball nor football (as we know them today), that tennis, polo, golf, lacrosse, and basketball were unknown, besides many other athletic sports now so common, would at once ask, with surprise, not unmingled with pity, what the boys of that day did, anyway, for sport and recreation. 22

By the end of the nineteenth century men and women, rich and poor, black and white, were demanding their part in the pursuit of sport. Sport had become an industry in itself. During the decade 1860-1870, one million dollars were spent in the provision of fields, gymnasiums and other requirements necessary to the practice of sport. In the following decade the figure had risen to two and one-half million dollars thence in the "athletic awakening" of 1880 to 1890 to twenty-five million dollars.[23] Boston was in the forefront of this sporting revolution. By the end of the nineteenth century, sport had acheived an unequalled status in American society and one in which "Boston holds first place...[where] There are more athletics to the individual than in any other city of the Union."[24]

A sociologist of the time might well have been excused for thinking that the importance of sport in society would diminish with the migration of an essentially rural population into the new cities since the urban environment was hardly as conducive to the perpetuation of sport as the countryside had been. The enveloping of open spaces, the added emphasis upon social discipline which was enforced by the magistrates and police, accompanied by an expected extension of the work day, might have contributed to such thought. In direct contrast however, sport underwent a transmutation which is best explained in terms of an evolutionary process from "Informal Sport" to "Corporate Sport" resulting in increased social significance, particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This transformation was to have its inception in the expanding city, and occurred as both a product of and reaction to social, economic and political disorder precipitated through urbanization and industrialization.

Three groups of factors may be identified as being instrumental in the rise of sport in Britain and America during the nineteenth century. Each a product of the age, industrialization, urbanization and intellectual ideas were to extend important influences upon the nature of sport. The question of which came first, the chicken or the egg, might be considered with regard to these three forces, but it is a question to which answers are seldom readily forthcoming and one which holds limited relevance to this study.

The years of the Civil War momentarily slowed the rise of sport in America, but provided the stimulus for manufacturing and industrial expansion which was to form the economic base for the growth of sport in Boston. In both countries industrialization brought with it increased division of labour, mechanization, and automation, accompanied by a rise in bureaucratic thought which relegated the decision-making process of the individual, the resultant feeling of dehumanization added to the alienation of the individual within urban society. The subsequent changing patterns of social control in Western society were insufficient to cope with the restriction, frustration and aggression of industrial life.[25] Sport represented an instrument by which the individual could identify with a social group or sub-culture, while at the same time providing a function of maintenance of social norms and order. The Industrial

Revolution was to bring more to society. Eventually the increased wealth, once distributed unequally among clearly defined socio-economic strata, now began to filter down to the working classes. New-found wealth meant an improvement in the standard of living and the availability of excess money to be directed into non-work and non-subsistence expenditure. Accompanying this increase in real wages was a greater distinction between hours of work and leisure. Steadily working hours declined and non-work time increased, time which was soon to contribute to an appetite for sport although to many, hours of labour spent in industry continued to mean hours of monotony sitting at a machine from dawn to dusk. As an antidote to such habit, sport promised a cathartic release of frustrated emotions born of the mechanical age. As such, sport might be viewed as a reaction to industrialization. Yet as the machine age improved the standard of living, increased leisure time, and provided mass, cheap equipment and facilities in Britain and America during the latter half of the nineteenth century, sport became a product of the industrial revolution. For as John Betts suggested, by 1900:

> ...sport had attained an unprecedented prominence in the daily lives of millions of Americans, and this remarkable development had been achieved in great part through the steamboat, the railroad, the telegraph, the penny press, the electric light, the streetcar, the camera, the bicycle, the automobile, and the mass production of sporting goods. 26

In effect, the transportation revolution facilitated interaction between the urban centers of both nations, bringing the challenge closer to the opponent and the spectator closer to the spectacle. Paralleled by other advances in communication, and the appearance of sporting goods in stores and mail order catalogues, few were the citizens of either country who were immune to the impact of sport on their life.

Hand in hand with industrialization came urbanization. In the rural setting, what time was found for sport was occupied by traditional pursuits, fishing, hunting, poaching, swimming, skating and loosely organised games of mob football. Country fairs in both Britain and America provided the rustics the opportunity to pit their best fighting cock or dog against another or to test the racing prowess of their favoured horse. Eventually the influence of urban sport reached the most isolated small holding and contributed to the breakdown of rural tradition. 27 It was in the city that sport flourished. Here most people led a relatively sedentary life, no climbing trees, riding horses or working the land for the urbanite. In search of an outlet for his surplus energies he turned to sport. Frederick Paxson, who used Turner's frontier thesis to partially explain the rise of sport in America, concluded:

> The free lands were used up. The cow country rose and fell. The social safety valve was screwed down. But the explosion did not come. The reason for continued bearable existence under the increasing pressure generated in industrial society cannot yet be seen from all sides; but one side is already clear: a new safety valve was built upon the new society...Between the first race for the America's cup in 1851 and the first American aeroplane show of February last, the safety valve of sport was designed, built, and applied. 28

Such simplifications implied a planned effort to utilize sport as an agent of social control. However Paxson's explanation should not be viewed as the panacea of the urban crisis. Indeed, no one group or plan served to quell the social frustration and radicalism evident during a period of political audacity second only to the American Revolution. During the years 1870 to 1900, characterized by labour unrest and social reform, America achieved unparalleled democracy without large-scale Revolution.

It is true that the need to escape from the restrictive confines of the city was facilitated through improved transportation which offered man the opportunity to strike-up, once more, a relationship with nature, a relationship which had been part of his life in the country. But sport cost money and with many citizens unable to taste such luxury, the responsibility of its provision fell to municipal authorities. With the growth of cities accelerating and the urban perimeter receding still further, civic leaders searched for an alternative to the dangers and inadequacies of the city streets for the purpose of play and healthful living. The unwholesome horrors and realities of the urban centres were primarily a result of their inability to cope with the relatively sudden and large-scale influx of immigrants from the rural areas and from other, largely economically inferior countries, the significance of which will be discussed in Chapter XII. As the nineteenth century progressed the city's focus became that of improving conditions of public health, overcrowding, disease and hunger through social reform agencies. The people of both nations could not ignore the importance of health and not surprisingly, the greatest impact of urban reform with regard to health was the provision of breathing spaces and bathing places for the public's use. With similar intentions, the content of physical education programmes in schools emphasized health and hygiene. Fully aware of the alienating effect of the city, the local self-governments urged and promoted any activity that would serve to promote the idea of community, association and solidarity, although such was not the case with regard to other social institutions. Just as the city had learned to structure and organize its environment at a highly technological level, so also did bureaucracy bear down upon sport. As people from all walks of life flocked to the cricket grounds and baseball parks, while others took to bicycling, boating, tennis and golf, entrepreneurs and even municipalities realized the feasibility of charging admission to watch and play as well as renting equipment to impecunious and wealthy patrons alike. Through the combination of these factors which both impinged upon and issued from the city, organized sport may be viewed as both a reaction to and a product of the nineteenth century city.

During the years 1870 to 1900 neither Britain nor America were to be involved in large-scale, international conflict. The absence of obligatory military training in both nations led to a call for, and a need of physical recreation. Such a state of relative peace is likely to be represented in a shift of the ideological basis of physical education from the ethnocentric and egocentric to the biocentric and even anthropocentric ethic.[29] Briefly, such a transition would be reflected in a changed emphasis from physical fitness and character development to a perception of man as part of nature. Yet this was not so, as the gradual erosion of orthodox Puritanism was paralleled by a deepening influence of humanistic ideas upon the nineteenth century mind. Following the work of John Hooker, Cotton Mather and others, intellectual life in New England flourished through the contributions of Thoreau and Emerson creating, in part, a catalyst to the rise of sport. As mass education became a reality, first in Britain and soon after in most regions of America, the school and university became the primary arena within which to preach and practice the laws of physical education. From military drill, calisthenics and gymnastics practiced in the elementary schools, and the organized games, at mid-century the preserve of the private school and university, came a fusion, a well-rounded programme suitable for introduction into the secondary schools of both nations. While the American system of gymnastics and calisthenics tended to ignore moral judgement, Britain clung firmly to its ideals of manliness and the gentleman tradition. In Britain gymnastics were utilized to provide discipline and games provided for individualism whereas it appears that Americans reversed the process. It was in the schools that women, through the work of various pioneers, first realized their liberation from ankle-length skirts and corsets. As ladies reached out into their new world of amusement so sport was presented with a new population to satisfy. The most important influence of the schools' programmes is that they instilled in the minds of many, a strong affinity for sport, one which they would carry with them to their graves. Sport became a rational activity for those of all ages, as John Boyle O'Reilly reminded his readers in dedicating Athletics and Manly Sports to "Those who believe that a love for innocent sport, playful exercise, and enjoyment of nature, is a blessing intended not only for the years of boyhood, but for the whole life of a man."[30] As the status of sport in society became elevated, the emergent sporting heroes played their own critical role in the promotion of sport, creating characteristic role models beside which millions of sporting enthusiasts were able to place themselves.

The rise of sport in Britain and America has been seen as both a product of and reaction to the fundamental processes of industrialization and urbanization in nineteenth century society. Accompanied by a return to Romantic naturalism and other prevailing thoughts, the process of transition from "Informal Sport" to "Organised Sport," and hence to "Corporate Sport" was well developed by the end of the nineteenth century. While it is not possible to totally divorce the impact of one factor from another, this study will focus upon the relationship of sport to the rise of the city, for "...whoever wishes to understand the significance of sports in our modern western world and in contemporary society must begin with a fundamental experience, with the phenomenon of increasing urbanization."[31]

The Value of Studying Sport in History

> None can properly be said to write history, but he who understands the human heart, and its whole train of affections and follies. Those affections and follies are properly the materials he has to work upon. The relations of great events may surprise indeed; they may be calculated to instruct those very few, who govern the million beneath, but the generality of mankind find the most real improvement from relations which are levelled to the general surface of life...[32]

These words of Oliver Goldsmith in his biography of Richard Nash of Bath, the eighteenth century "father" of the English holiday resort, reflect the importance of studying an aspect of society which looms large in the life of men, regardless of colour, class or creed. So often in the past historians have neglected the fact that men have worked in order to play or to acquire the means necessary for watching the performance of others. In this regard, sport during the nineteenth century came to play a significant role within society. This is critical to the value of such a study, for the knowledge that sport came to reflect societal values, norms and objectives has been well documented in the past. Frederick W. Hackwood, English historian, clearly stated this belief when recognizing that:

> The Sports of the people afford an index to the character of the nation. They show how the people have met the stress and the exigencies of life by varying their pursuits during those hours of leisure stolen from the more serious efforts of bread-winning; how they have taken advantage of their climatic and other physical environment for the purposes of recreation; what progress they have made along the paths of civilization towards culture and moral refinement; and, generally, it may be accepted that the temperamental qualities of a people not infrequently manifest themselves in the outlets they seek for their superabundant energies.[33]

In this perspective sport becomes the product of society and as such will reflect the structure, framework and ethics of the larger society in microcosm. A Bristol newspaper reporter reiterated this view in exclaiming that "The masses of English people have always been and always will be, so long as they preserve some of their national characteristics, fond of amusement."[34] Nineteenth century sport in Britain and America certainly supported this thesis. Changing ideologies and value systems within society at large were well represented in sport's micro-society.

A more important question that needs to be addressed is how can sport help us to understand the structure and function of past and present societies, or a part of them? Although sport, as has been suggested in the previous section, may have functioned to maintain social order and stability, it also contributed to social change. This idea, broadly perceived as "society the product of sport," has received far too scant attention in comparison with the former. The fact that sport did facilitate improved health of the city, modified the role of the church, increased employment opportunities in industry and transport, forged community and cultural integration and stability, provided a platform for democracy, and contributed to the emancipation of women, supports its significance as an agent of social change in nineteenth century Britain and America. However not all change brought about by sport was for the good. Equally sport provided the instrument to strengthen the bonds of social, cultural, racial and sexual segregation.

Throughout this study, the aim is not merely to view sport as a microcosm of society, but rather to identify and evaluate the impact that sport had upon individuals and society. The study is conducted with clear cognizance being afforded the role of sport in the nineteenth century city, and questions the city's relationship to the role of contemporary sport.

A Comparative History of Sport, the City and the People

The role of the historian has undergone some radical changes in recent decades. Perhaps the most important change is that the historian now seeks "to achieve a more complex representation of past reality than hitherto found in the subject."[35] Since the primary focus is Man, the modern researcher has found it necessary to interpret the past in the light of various conceptual frameworks, theories and models of human behavior, thus drawing from all corners of the social sciences. The earliest models presented were generally of a static nature, however, recent advances in the social sciences have resulted in new approaches which take into account the notion of change over time.

The city in history represents one of these relatively contemporary areas of study. Arthur Schlesinger Sr., one of the earliest proponents of urban history, wrote of the primary difference encountered within the British and American experience, and of the importance of the city to American history:

> ...In Europe the modern urban community emerged by gradual stages out of the simple town economy of the middle ages; by comparison, the American city leaped into being with breath-taking speed. At first, servant to an agricultural order, then a jealous contestant, then an oppressor, it now gives evidence of becoming a comrade and cooperator in a new national synthesis. Its economic function has hardly been more important than its cultural mission or its transforming influence upon rural conceptions of democracy. The city no less than the frontier, has been a major factor.[36]

Urban history connotes a dichotomy in the focus of study. On the one hand it may be viewed as the history of the urban area, a static municipal portrait, on the other hand "urban" may be viewed in a dynamic sense, the history of the city as process. Urbanization is a process by which cities emerge and evolve out of interaction with a broad spectrum of social influences. This study, while necessitating a flavour of the two cities, centres upon the role of sport within this city building process. With this in mind, three fundamental questions are postulated. How did the city change over time? What social experience was correlated with different aspects of urban settings? And what were the mechanisms through which environmental and social change were effected?[37]

Yet sport was only one cell in the social structure. To ignore the totality of the Victorian city would be to provide an incomplete and invalid account of its life. The city like no other environment necessitates an eclectic approach in its study, a fruitful exchange among disciplines in the search for greater understanding of the spatial and structural organization of the city:

> ...there is no sense in which I can pursue studies in city history as a practitioner of a self-contained 'discipline' called history...if the approach is worth anything at all it needs a great deal of reinforcing from other so-called disciplines.[38]

However such an approach clearly represents an ideal application to urban history. As it is, sport does not represent an easy area to research since evidence is scattered throughout many different documentary sources, necessitating search in seemingly unrelated areas.

While an eclectic view is desirable in urban history, and "to ignore the contributions of the social sciences is clearly fatal; to master them all, or even any one, is clearly impossible."[39] As increased evidence is drawn from more diverse sources within society, study clearly necessitates an improved organizational framework. In viewing the city in three lights, the physical, the social, and the intellectual, the urban historian is presented with a clear, discrete framework facilitating the answering of critical questions.[40]

Although few studies in the history of sport have focussed upon one particular urban centre, cities have long interested historians in other fields.[41] As this study attempts to compare and explain the similarities and differences identified in sport and society of nineteenth century Bristol and Boston, two invaluable sources will be utilised in Helen Meller's study of leisure in Bristol and Stephen Hardy's thesis on sport and the community in Boston.[42] Both studies focus upon the second half of the nineteenth century and on into the first decade of the twentieth century. Meller's work is an excellent pioneering study written by a social historian. Although her study centres around the broader concept of leisure in Britain during the years 1870 to 1914, many of the social, economic and political implications drawn will be of particular relevance to the role of sport in the city. While considering other provincial towns of the period (including Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester), the inquiry is located in Bristol. A comprehensively researched study, the author traces the growth of leisure in the city, describing its changing form and identifying the major thrusts that impinged upon its growth. Unfortunately the existence and role of sport in the city receives scant attention and such information that is presented seldom reaches beyond narration. While the study provides a particularly interesting account of the contribution of philanthropists and the church to the cause of sport, thoughts on the role of sport in the city are not developed.

Hardy's study represents a scholarly piece of work that goes a long way toward answering the author's questions pertaining to sport's role in the search for community within the city. Although the author utilizes sport in a generic sense the reader's attention is constantly drawn to the part played by parks and playgrounds in the process. That sport represented more to the American city is clearly recognized in the concluding chapters, which fail to highlight its particular role. In the same manner, although socio-economic and religious subcultures are considered, the author affords only limited attention to national and racial groups within the city, or to the cause of women, all seemingly significant groups in the search for community within the nineteenth century American city. Nevertheless, after careful collation and interpretation of the evidence selected, the author develops a thesis that permits him to conclude that, "it was in complex ways that sport proved extremely valuable to Boston's search for community order and stability."[43] While falling short of the evidence necessary to conduct a reliable comparison of sport in the two cities the author owes much to the labour and scholarship manifested in these two studies that form so much of the foundation and rationale behind this study.

The methodological approaches utilized in this study appear to be new to the field of sport history. All too often the student of sport history has voluntarily or otherwise concentrated his scholarly endeavour toward the production of such works as the history of a particular sport, sport institution or even the history of sport in a city, without continued reappraisal of the purpose behind the undertaking of such a study. With little direction other than heaping all data relating to the research topic into a tangled mess, the student was frequently faced with a problem of overload, and was seldom found to be achieving any valued academic goal. With too much information, the student's prime focus was upon selection, and a questioning of the relevance and value of specific material. The result being, due largely to prolonged attention being paid to the process of selection and organization, that the studies lingered at a descriptive phase, providing the reader with a comprehensive knowledge of what happened, where and when, but failing to delve into that invaluable domain of "Why?"

Comparative history has attempted to overcome these problems, and has been necessarily constrained toward the provision of a carefully formulated framework through which analysis will be facilitated. In considering the need for structure in his comparison of nineteenth century Paris and London, Lynn Lees suggested that "International comparisons of urban structures can help to establish the distinctively

English qualities of Victorian cities. Moreover, they force the historian to refine his vocabulary and his analytical approach."[44] Given the wide variety of times and locales experienced in the life of humanity, C. S. Lewis, in The Weight of Glory, outlined the value of a comparative approach to history:

> Most of all, perhaps, we need intimate knowledge of the past. Not that the past has any magic about it, but because we cannot study the future, and yet need something to set against the present, to remind us that the basic assumptions have been made in quite different periods and that much which seems certain to the uneducated is merely temporary fashion. A man who has lived in many places is not likely to be deceived by the local errors of his native village: the scholar has lived in many times and is therefore in some degree immune to the great cataract of nonsense that pours from the press and the microphone of his own age.45

Possibly the paramount problem facing the student of comparative research today, is knowing just what is encompassed by the title "Comparative Study." Ever since man undertook to venture outside of his immediate social or cultural group, so observing the lifestyle of other individuals or groups, comparison of a socio-cultural nature has been reality. Often the result of curiosity these first steps paved the way for deliberation, an intent to better one's own lifestyle by taking what was good from others, and implanting it into one's own social and cultural group. This process of reform represents the primary goal of the contemporary world of comparative study. Marco Polo must be considered one of the earliest proponents of Comparative Education when, during the fourteenth century he described the lifestyle and education of the Chinese to the Western World. Yet comparative study has not been isolated to education. Comparisons within other disciplines, philosophy, politics, religion, and central to the study at hand, Comparative History, have been practiced for many years.

Comparative History may be viewed from two perspectives. First, through a comparison of the past events (or series of events), of two or more social or cultural groups. Such was the study of civilizations written by Arnold J. Toynbee, probably the best known comparative historian. The second approach is demonstrated by an analysis of two or more comparable events (or series of events), in the history of one social group. This in the view of many scholars represents a contemporary view of history. Both perspectives hold validity for as Berkhofer has suggested, the function of Comparative History lies in "the testing of one or more hypotheses about cause by a comparison of similarities within units presumed comparable."[46] Although this is not the complete story, it does throw light upon a central assumption made in comparative study, that of comparability. This represents the foremost consideration in comparative study, particularly when reform represents the valued end, for as the old adage says, "One cannot pick flowers from someone else's garden and expect them to grown in one's own." To a scientist, in the basic assumption that samples be comparable lies the validity and reliability of the experiment. So is the case in Comparative History. The assumption that the cities selected in the study are comparable, will be developed throughout the next chapter.

Comparative study in the area of sport and physical education represents a vein of comparative studies which, while focusing upon the present, has been searching for academic acceptance over a number of years. In 1970 Bruce Bennett suggested that:

> ...the student of comparative physical education needs both the breadth which comes from a study of contemporary life in other countries and the depth which can only come from a study of the history of those countries.[47]

Apparently his words went unheeded (perhaps due in part to the haziness of his intention), for despite such concern the Comparative Study of Physical Education and Sport continued in the same manner to which it had been born, serving no apparent purpose other than superficial descriptive interest. For the Comparative Study of Sport to hold any scholarly value, it must represent a systematic comparative analysis of contemporary and past sport systems in the light of the milieu of the times, with the intent of achieving a better understanding and appreciation of the causation behind the sport structure and function of other social and cultural groups, so facilitating reform of one's own. To date, research in this area has generally fallen short of the goals built into the preceding definition. Past studies have lacked organization, similarly, few have considered the past, and more important, they have frequently drawn to a close characterized by pure description. How will one be better able to understand differences in the organization and function of sport within various social and cultural groups without observing both past and present, through identifying similarities and differences leading to careful evaluation? Only through this process will one be able to offer a better explanation of why a particular event occurred.

It might be possible to categorize past studies in terms of the level of analysis that they represent. The lowest level is typified by descriptive reports. Such studies consist of simple, casual reports of an event or series of events, often motivated by curiosity. Examples of these studies might be many of the popularised histories of the Olympic Games that flood the bookstores every four years. A second level may be labelled directed studies, represented by works that have intentionally focussed their attention upon a clearly defined central concept, such as the world histories of specific sports. Due primarily to the problem of overload frequently encountered by students, initial attempts at a systematic approach were adopted. Unlike the disorderly appearance of lower level works, these studies are characterised by both the formulation of an hypothesis and the existence of a systematic framework of study. Not until recent years has Comparative Sport experienced the advent of interpreative studies, the value of which is clearly recognised.

Throughout history the major influential forces in the socio-cultural world of sport appear to have been religion, polity, education and economy, the significance of each changing from one civilisation to another. The social institution provides a manageable unit affording a breakdown of society into its component parts, facilitating comparison. An English social historian supports this approach in suggesting that "Comparison in urban history is best conducted at the level of particular institutions within the town, rather than between towns as a whole."[48] It would seem that in order to better explain events past and present (and bearing in mind the views of urban historians that have already been shared), the highest level of comparative study should adopt an eclectic approach. Such a combination of institutional comparisons encompassing a sociocultural interpretation represents the level for which all studies pertaining to Comparative Sport History should strive.

An awareness of the foremost methodologies adopted throughout the evolution of Comparative Education would seem to be of considerable relevance to the student engaged in Comparative Sport History. In particular, an understanding and appreciation of the Sociocultural Approach,[49] the Problem Approach,[50] the National Character Approach,[51] together with the Philosophical Approach,[52] would be valuable as each is applicable to the study of Comparative Sport History.

The process of comparative study reached a new height when George Bereday extended its essentially descriptive nature by introducing a series of four consecutive steps which, while falling short of causal explanation represented a considerable advance upon earlier studies. In an attempt to clarify this process an example based upon this study will be utilized:

Stage 1: Description - The first stage includes the presentation of facts pertaining to the relation of sport to the sociocultural unit selected. By way of example, this comprises a review of the nature and role of education (one could equally substitute any one of the social institutions identified), and its interaction with sport in the city. Here, the factual data will be presented in terms of development, involvement and achievement of educational institutions and sport.

Stage 2: Interpretation - Leads to a preliminary evaluation of the data set out in Stage 1, in the light of knowledge pertaining to all other disciplines and social processes. The evidence collected with regard to the interaction of education and sport in the two cities is interpreted in relation to one's knowledge of other various national social processes such as the polity and economy of the nineteenth century city. Here, an attempt is made at identifying similarities and differences in the relation of sport to education, more particularly the congruence and incongruence of knowledge, belief, attitude and value systems between the units is evaluated.

Stage 3: Juxtaposition - By careful adjacent positioning of the data, similarities and differences are more readily identified, so facilitating the formulation of hypotheses. At this stage the information collected on the mutuality of sport and education is juxtaposed and carefully scrutinized so as to identify further similarities and differences between such social interaction in the two cities. Now, one or more hypotheses becomes apparent with relevance to the final outcome of the study, although their modification is considered feasible as the study evolves.

Stage 4: Comparison - Once all similarities and differences have been identified, simultaneous comparison will be afforded, not only in the nature of terminal manifestation (that is, intrinsic values), but also in regard to instrumental motivation.

A comparative approach to sport history offers more than a structured framework and organized method of analysis. Perhaps evidence in the nature of a multitude of facts will serve to satisfy one's curiosity and desire for increased knowledge, particularly where such evidence reflects the "Other's" perception of "Self." Of this value Bereday showed little doubt in stating "It is self-knowledge born out of the awareness of others that is the finest lesson comparative education can afford."[53] Comparison may be achieved at a purely descriptive level in the search for regularities in and between units. However, greater value may be accrued through a systematic analysis of similarities and differences in the relation of sport to the city and urbanization. Critical evaluation must be seen as the primary objective of the student of Comparative Sport History, for the value of facts in isolation is limited as Nicholas Hans has pointed out:

> Pure historical description of individual facts is as devoid of meaning as pure scientific research without any reference to space and time and the individual scientist.[54]

Historians have shown that between the middle of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, sport in America took on a very different complexion to sport in Britain, a nation whose sporting traditions the Americans had, throughout the previous two hundred years, generally adhered to. Although similarities are identified, it appears, despite initial setbacks, that America developed new games and elevated the status of collegiate and professional sport in particular. In short, while the transition from "Informal" to "Organized Sport" was initiated in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century, the ongoing shift from "Organized" to "Corporate Sport" was accelerated in America. The central questions are "What part did the city play in this transformation?" and "What ramifications did such social change hold for the urban environment?" While the problem of causation and correlation in history lingers at the heart of such questions, the resultant laws seem neither necessary nor feasible as an historical objective. Such philosophical discussion is beyond the bounds of this study, but represents a decision commonly resting with individual sentiment and interpretation.

The popular conception that a knowledge of the past will provide a clearer understanding of the present, certainly rings true in the case of Comparative Sport History. Again, Hans illuminates the unique contribution of comparative study to this end:

> Whereas philosophy, sociology, and economics, by comparing education in different countries, attempt to find general principles underlying the evolution of educational theory and practice, the historical approach tries to investigate the past causes of individual and group variations among religions or national communities. The differences, of denominational attitudes, of national aspirations or of so-called 'national character' go deep into the past and sometimes subconsciously determine the present. Only historical investigation can bring them to the surface, illuminate their potency in the cultural lives of nations and make Comparative Education really educative. 55

Such concentration on analysis will lead the scholar to other "higher order" ends, toward greater international understanding, and self-evaluation of the nature and status of one's own system, in the light of others' throughout history. In addition, adoption of a sociocultural model will direct the scholar to recognize and understand the process of social interaction more clearly, interaction between individuals, social and cultural groups in historical perspective, while at the same time relating the specific knowledge collected from the sports field to that of all other relevant social and cultural institutions.

In summary, a model approach to the study of Comparative Sport History will endeavour to climb the highest peaks of scholarship. Interested students are reminded of the words of Ivan Pavlov in his "Bequest to the Academic Youth of Soviet Russia," presented on February 22nd 1936:

> Learning, experimenting, observing, try not to stay on the surface of facts. Do not become the archivist of facts. Try to penetrate to the secret of their occurrence, persistently search for the laws which govern them. 56

While Comparative Sport History enjoys many of the advantages of both comparative study and history, this approach must also cope with the added problems and pitfalls resulting from a combination of methodologies. Although many of these have already been discussed there remain some which are characteristic of comparative study. All too often, comparative studies are ventured into without due attention being given to the many pitfalls confronting the student. Although not unique to the comparative approach, the question of delimitation within this study is clearly overcome in setting the scope of enquiry within the city walls. Although the eclectic quality of this study discussed earlier, extends its bounds, the study is seen to represent a relatively complete investigation of a discrete sample population. The task of collecting accurate, reliable and comparable data has been facilitated by lengthy visits to the two cities. Interpretation of a specific concept might well reveal different meanings within the two cities through a clear cultural understanding of the populations studied. With regard to particular facets of the study an imbalance may be noted in the nature and availability of evidence. For example, the influence of national groups in Boston represents a major impulse with regard to sport, whereas in Bristol such groups seldom existed. To ignore the seemingly one-sided influence is to conduct an unreliable and biased inquiry. Finally, it must be considered that however much the writer has attempted to stand aside, as a dispassionate observer, a value-free study is unavoidable due to the evaluation of individual and group thought and action within the city.

Set within this framework for Comparative Sport History is a socio-psychological emphasis which centres upon the deep-seated belief that most human action and all social structure and systems are based upon a clearly identified system of beliefs, attitudes and values. Changes in either will be manifested in behaviour. The framework utilized throughout this study represents a series of conceptual components linked by a complex communicative network.

At the root of this conceptual hierarchy is knowledge, perhaps the strongest and most important determinant of social structure. Knowledge represents all that is known about the world and is derived from history, technology and research. Such knowledge forms the basis of an individual, or group system of beliefs, and hence one of attitudes and values. It appears that man is inherently resistant to change particularly where concepts of an abstract nature are concerned. Nevertheless knowledge presents the least problem in one's attempt at changing it and is most readily altered in adding to its pool.

Belief represents an element of personal conviction to what one knows, and is seen as "any simple proposition, conscious or unconscious inferred from what a person says or does, capable of being preceded by the phrase, 'I believe that...'"[57] Beliefs are found to be more resistant to change than knowledge, although change need not prove necessary if one works within the existing system of beliefs. To initiate change in a related facet of the social structure will frequently set up a chain reaction, resulting in modified beliefs.

Attitudes represent an individual's or group's likes and dislikes and have been more scientifically defined as "a mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience - exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all situations with which it is related." The functions of an attitude are fourfold, instrumental, ego-defensive, value expression, and cognitive.[58]

Values represent the highest level of this conceptual framework. The centrality of this notion within the process of socialization is essential to the understanding of formation and change processes with regard to human values. Milton Rokeach defines a value as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." Rokeach, an American sociologist, continues in suggesting that the importance of these values lies in their aggregation to form a system of values, "an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance."[59] It is these value systems which in turn form the basis of human behaviour As such, one's value system can be viewed as an ordered collection of values which determines one's preferential mode of behavior and direction in life. In addition to the identification of terminal values (end-states of existence), and instrumental values (specific modes of conduct), further grouping of values is possible. Two kinds of terminal values might be observed, those that directly relate to the individual (personal), and those that involve interaction with others (social). In similar manner, two kinds of instrumental values, competence and moral, might be isolated.

The existing knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and values direct behaviour through the social world of the individual or group. A composite "social self" will create norms, roles and positions within the macro society. That an individual or group may possess a multiplicity of "social selves" is accepted, bearing in mind the number of cells identified in the social matrix of this study. It is the complexity of congruence and conflict involving these conceptual systems which will result in the maintenance of social order and the promotion of social change. Such an importance is clearly recognised in Talcott Parsons' Social Action Theory, whereby cultural values become the key to latent pattern maintenance within a social system.[60] Values also present an interesting approach in contrasting the Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft forms of social organisation. The Gemeinschaft type has a traditionally defined pool of knowledge handed down from generation to generation and considered beyond reproach. As a result, testing, doubting or questioning of the existing beliefs and values are ruled out on moral grounds. In contrast, the Gesellschaft type of social organisation also utilises a traditional pool of knowledge but does not perceive it as being either conclusive or final. In this organisation there is no moral constraint, but justification, searching, and questioning form the basis of a value system through critical and pragmatic modes of thought. Consequently knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and values are constantly open to modification and change in response to the advent of new evidence and theory. Charles Loomis also recognizes the overriding importance of human values in the function of social systems. He considers the elements, processes and conditions of action and in relation to his Processially Articulated Structural Model feels that all are, "under certain circumstances of action value laden."[61]

If beliefs, attitudes and values represent such a fundamental part of social action one must question why historians have shown so limited or at most misdirected interest in their role. The major problem facing the historian is that of identifying their existence in past societies, for as Oscar Handlin has so clearly suggested:

> Lacking the sociologists' or anthropologists' direct access to the subject by questionnaires or observation, he must piece together his story from widely diversified sources, and, tethered within the limits of that which is known, impale upon a rigid page the intimate lives and deepest feelings of humble men and women who leave behind few formal records. 62

Surprisingly few studies have been directed toward the identification of national and cultural systems of value.[63] Nevertheless philosophical approaches to the problem have suggested the existence of characteristic national types. A questioning of national value systems with regard to sport has yet to be fully addressed, however early studies suggest marked differences in attitude and value orientations between national groups.[64] One might expect this to be the case with regard to smaller sub-cultures, particularly in the city where many groups possessing characteristic values can be identified. Local sub-cultures might be expected to be of particular significance in the city where "each community is likely to have a particularistic set of values uniquely adapted to its needs."[65]

The central question that is addressed in considering the interaction between systems of value, sport and the city in this study, is based on the degree of congruence between ultimate values, those held by particular sub-cultures, and sport. As has been suggested earlier, similarity within value systems will be demonstrated in social stability and a likely elevation of the status of sport as perceived by the social group. Alternatively, clearly divergent systems of value will be manifested in social conflict leading to value and behavioural change in sport or the particular social group identified, or both.

This study represents an attempt to further investigate the changing role of sport in Britain and America during the second half of the nineteenth century. A comparative approach is utilised with the intent of better understanding the similarties and differences in the relation of sport and the city. Whether the two cities were representative of their mother nations during the period studied is difficult to ascertain although it is probable that no one city represented the larger society in microcosm. The comparability of the two cities is critical to the foundation of this investigation. Bristol and Boston are situated on separate continents divided by the three thousand miles of Atlantic Ocean, causing expected differences due to geographical location. However, with the great divide bridged by shipping routes, the Boston of colonial years, and even of the nineteenth century, resembled Bristol of the time. Although major social changes were witnessed later in the nineteenth century which pulled the cities further apart, sufficient similarity remained to consider the cities comparable.

In viewing the city as structure and process, this study endeavours to better explain the differences encountered in sport within the urban context, throughout the years 1870 to 1900, and more particularly at the onset of the twentieth century. Further, it is anticipated that this study will uncover a new approach to understanding the role of sport in past societies through the utilization of Comparative Sport History. The value of this interpretation rests with the assumption that its socio-cultural base is sound, and will provide the necessary tool for analyzing the evidence with the intent of supporting or refuting hypotheses postulated throughout this and the following chapters.

From past experience it is felt that although the two cities entered the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrating close similarities in the nature and role of sport, by the year 1900 these likenesses had become distant. Evidence will show that each city was witness to the rise of a characteristic sport system which might be viewed as typical of that nation. This change will be seen as the direct product of conflict between various social and sport value systems.

The completion of this study is based upon the belief that the comparative study of sport in the nineteenth century city has an interest which reaches beyond the antiquarian. That sport and the social components of the city are inseparable represents a fundamental premise to this investigation. The central theme of this study rests with supporting the comparability of the cities and of addressing relevant questions to the city and the people about their sport.

Footnotes

1. Walt Whitman quoted in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, eds., The Victorian City. Images and Realities (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 481.

2. Throughout this study the United Kingdom of Great Britain and the United States of America will be abbreviated to Britain and America respectively. Also, the Industrial Revolution is viewed as an aggregate of the agricultural, commercial or economic, democratic, industrial, and scientific revolutions which may be seen as having emerged from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while evolving in the nineteenth century. It is the aggregate of knowledge and behaviour born of these events which, for the purposes of brevity and practicality, represents the Industrial Revolution.

3. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898 (New York : Macmillan, 1933), p. 78.

4. Ibid., pp. 1-2, 68-69.

5. Quoted in Harvey Wish, Society and Thought in Modern America. A Social and Intellectual History of the American People From 1865 (New York : David McKay, 1962), p. 330.

6. C.B. Spahr, An Essay on the Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States (New York : Scribner's, 1896), pp. 46-49.

7. Benjamin Disraeli, In Sybil, quoted in Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950 (London : Chatto and Windus, 1967),p.109.

8. Adna F. Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century : A Study in Statistics (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1963), p. 429.

9. Henry Bellows, "Cities and Parks," Atlantic Monthly VII (April 1861), p. 416.

10. Ralph Turner, "The Industrial City : Center of Cultural Change," In Caroline Farrar Ware, ed., The Cultural Approach to History (New York : Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 228-242.

11. Quoted in J.L. Hurlburt, The Story of Chautauqua (New York : Scribner's, 1921), p. 184.

12. See in particular, John W. Loy Jr., "The Nature of Sport : A Definitional Effort," In M. Marie Hart, ed., Sport in the Socio-Cultural Process (Dubuque : Wm. C. Brown, 1972), pp. 34-36.

13. The first and last terms were first coined by Bill Gilbert, "Gleanings from a Troubled Time," Sports Illustrated 37 (December 25th 1972), pp. 34-46.

14. R. Terry Furst, "Social Change and Commercialisation of Professional Sports," International Review of Sports Sociology (1971), pp. 153-170; Lincoln Allison, "Batsman and Bowler : The Key Relation of Victorian England," Journal of Sport History 7 : 2 (Summer 1980), pp. 5-20.

15. Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens : A Study of the Play Element in Culture (Boston : Beacon Press, 1955); Throughout this study, "sport" will be used as a generic term to include play, games, athletics, healthful exercise, physical education, Man's concept of the body and selected aspects of recreation and leisure. Where possible, specific sports will be used by way of example.

16. Adapted from Peter C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London : C.A. Watts, 1963), p. 63; and Robert G. Glassford and Gerald Redmond, "Physical Education and Sport in Modern Times," In Earle F. Zeigler, ed., History of Physical Education and Sport (Englewood Cliffs : Prentice-Hall, 1979), pp. 138-139.

17. Bruce Haley, The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 124; "The Athletic Craze," Nation LVII (December 7th 1893), p. 423.

18. The Times (September 2nd 1897), p. 7.

19. Ernest Ensor, "The Football Madness," Contemporary Review LXXIV (November 1898), p. 751.

20. The Last Minstrel, "Summer Songs," Amateur Sport I : 6 (May 29th 1889), p. 87; Bristol Argus (March 1887), p. 4.

21. Gordon Bennett Jr., "Athletics in America," The Saturday Review (October 11th 1884), p. 464.

22. James D'Wolf Lovett, Old Boston Boys and the Games They Played (Boston : Riverside Press, 1906), p. 17.

23. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Reestablishment of the Olympic Games," The Chautauquan XIX pp. 698-700.

24. Henry Loomis Nelson, "The Clubs of Boston," Harper's Weekly XXXIV : 1726 (Supplement, January 25th 1890), p. 67.

25. See Norbert Elias, The Civilising Process : The History of Manners (New York : Urizen Books, 1978), for a discussion of the changing patterns of social control in the Western World.

26. John Rickards Betts, "The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 40 (September 1953), p. 232.

27. See Edward Wilkerson Montgomery, "The Urbanisation of Rural Recreation," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934, for a study of this process in the American Mid-West.

28. Frederick Logan Paxson, "The Rise of Sport," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review IV : 2 (September 1917), p. 45. A similar explanation for the rise of sport in Britain is offered by George Orwell, "The Sporting Spirit," In Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, eds., The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Vol. IV., (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1970), pp. 60-64.

29. For an interesting discussion of this classification of physical education see Glassford and Redmond, pp. 108-128.

30. See, Roberta J, Park, "The Attitudes of Leading New England Transcendentalists Toward Healthful Exercise, Active Recreations and Proper Care of the Body : 1830-1860," Journal of Sport History 4 : 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 34-50; John Boyle O'Reilly, The Ethics of Boxing and Manly Sport (Boston : Ticknor, 1888), frontispiece. Published in 1890 as Atletics and Manly Sports.

31. Helmut Plessner, "Die Funktion des Sports in der industriellen Gesellschaft," In Gottfried Klohn, ed., Leibeserziehung und Sport inder Modernen Gesellschaft (Weiheim, 1961), pp. 18-32, cited in Stephen Hall Hardy, "Organised Sport and the Search for Community : Boston, 1865-1915," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1980, p. 7.

32. Oliver Goldsmith, Life of Nash quoted in J.A.R. Pimlott, The Englishman's Holiday : A Social History (London : Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 9.

33. Frederick L. Hackwood, Old English Sports (London : T. Fisher and Unwin, 1907), p. 1.

34. Western Daily Press (January 3rd 1869), p. 4.

35. Robert F. Berkhofer, A Behavioural Approach to Historical Analysis (New York : Free Press, 1969), p. 4.

36. Arthur Schlesinger Sr., "The City in American Civilistaion," Mississippi Valley Historical Review XXVII (June 1940), p. 66.

37. Theodore Hershberg, "The New Urban History : Toward an Interdisciplinary History of the City," Journal of Urban History 5 (November 1978), p. 33; also, for a discussion of urbanisation as a dependent and independent variable in process, see Eric Lampard, "The Dimensions of Urban History : A Footnote to the Urban Crisis," Pacific Historical Review 5 (November 1978), pp. 3-40.

38. Theodore A Brown, "The Usable Past : A Study of Historical Traditions in Kansas City," Huntington Library Quarterly 23 (May 1960), p. 259.

39. Lawrence Stone, "History and the Social Sciences in the Twentieth Century," In Charles E. Delzell, ed., The Future of History : Essays in the Vanderbilt University Centennial Symposium (Nashville : University Press, 1977), p. 19.

40. This idea of identifying the "city physical," "social relationships within the city," and "the state of mind with regard to urbanisation," is discussed in Hardy, pp. 16-33.

41. The most notable exception in sport history is Dale A. Somers, The Rise of Sports in New Orleans 1850-1900 (Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University Press, 1972). Also, turn to the Bibliography for some of the growing number of theses being written on sport in the city.

42. Helen Elizabeth Meller, Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914 (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).

43. Hardy, p. 296.

44. Lynn Lees, "Metropolitan Types. London and Paris Compared," In Dyos and Wolff, p. 413.

45. Clive Staples Lewis, The Weight of Glory, and other Addresses (New York : Macmillan, 1949), pp. 50-51.

46. Berkhofer, p. 252.

47. Bruce L. Bennett, "A Historian Looks at Comparative Physical Education," Gymnasion VII (Spring 1970), p. 11.

48. Brian Harrison, "Pubs," In Dyos and Wolff, p. 161.

49. C.A. Anderson, "The Utility of Societal Typology in Comparative Education," Comparative Education Review 3 : 1 (1959), pp. 20-22; L.W. Bone, "Sociological Framework for Comparative Study of Educational Systems," Comparative Education Review 4 : 2 (October 1960), pp. 121-126.

50. Brian Holmes, "The Problem Approach in Comparative Studies : Some Methodological Considerations," Comparative Education Review 2 : 1 (June 1958), pp. 3-9; Brian Holmes, Problems in Education. A Comparative Approach (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

51. V. Mallinson, "Comparative Education Studies in Great Britain," British Journal of Educational Studies I : 1 (1952), pp. 60-63; Vernon Mallinson, An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education (London : Heinemann, 1966); I.L. Kandel, Comparative Education (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1933); I.L. Kandel, "Problems of Comparative Education," International Review of Education II (1956), pp. 9-11; I.L. Kandel, "The Methodology of Comparative Education," International Review of Education 5 : 3 (1959), pp. 270-278.

52. J.A. Lauwerys, "The Philosophical Approach to Comparative Studies," International Review of Education 5 : 3 (1959), pp. 281-298.

53. George Z.F. Bereday, Comparative Method in Education (New York : Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 6.

54. Nicholas Hans, "The Historical Approach to Comparative Education," International Review of Education 5 : 3 (1959), p. 299.

55. Ibid., p. 307.

56. Cited in George Seldes, The Great Quotations (New York : Simon and Schuster, 1967), p. 339.

57. Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values; a theory of organisation and change (San Francisco : Jossey-Bass, 1968), p, 113.

58. G.W. Allport, "Attitudes," In C. Murchison, ed., A Handbook of Social Psychology (New York : Russell and Russell, 1967), p. 810; For a discussion of the function of attitudes see D. Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," Public Opinion Quarterly 24 (1960), pp. 163-204.

59. Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York : Free Press, 1973), p. 5.

60. See, Talcott Parsons, Toward the General Theory Action (New York : Harper, 1962); and Talcott Parsons, et al., Theories of Society (New York : Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

61. Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems -- Essays on Their Persistence and Change (Princeton : Van Nostrand, 1960), p. 18.

62. Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880 (Cambridge : Belknap Press, 1959), pp. ix-x.

63. Two exceptions are, N.T. Feather, "Value Changes Among University Students," Australian Journal of Psychology 25 (1973), pp. 57-70; and Y. Rim, "Values and Attitudes," Personality I (1970), pp. 243-250.

64. Initial attempts have been made by K.A. Collins, "The Attitudes Toward and Interests in Physical Activity of Western Australian Urban Secondary School Students," M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1967; Darwin Semotiuk, "Attitudes Toward and Interests in Physical Activity of Edmonton Secondary School Students," M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1967; Ralph C. Wilcox, "The Expressed Values of College Varsity Athletes in England and the United States of America -- A Cross-National Analysis," M.Sc. thesis, Washington State University, 1978.

65. Loomis, p. 18.

66. Such terms as "by the year 1900," "the end of the nineteenth century," and "fin de siècle," are used interchangeably throughout this study to avoid repetition. The latter coined by the French but used in Britain and America in reference to the end of the "greatest century," is taken in its most literal sense. While European economic and political historians attach a particular significance to the term "fin de siècle," it is used here in its simplest form.

PART ONE

- SPORT AND THE CITY -

CHAPTER II

THE CITY AND ITS SPORT HERITAGE

The process of urbanization took a hold on the population of England and Wales during the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901). As better paid jobs in the cities attracted the lesser paid farm labourers away from the fields, and as the spread of elementary education created a state of rural discontent, people flocked to the cities, leaving the agrarian economy in a state of decline.[1] Britain's cities became the dominant social environment of the nation. After urbanization had reached fifty percent by mid-century, it rose to nearly sixty-two percent in 1871 and to over seventy-two percent by 1891. Accompanying this shift to an urban lifestyle was a rise in population, in part an eventual product of the city. The increased birthrate, a reflection of growing affluence, the conquest of starvation largely brought about by the agricultural revolution, the conquest of disease through scientific advance, improvement of public health facilitated by government reform, and the immigration of Irish and Scots in particular, contributed to the growth of population. While such a rise prompted the expansion of the British Empire in search of food for the growing home market, while an improved merchant fleet, and naval force for its protection was necessitated, and while increased industrial production stimulated foreign trade and raised the standard of living and prosperity of the nation, a shroud of poverty, poor health and crime hung over the Victorian city. Much of the perceived improvement may be attributed to a century's immunity from any large scale hostilities for other than the Crimean War (1854-56), the Indian Mutiny (1857), the Afghan War (1879), and the South African War (1898-1902), Britain was free of international conflict during the reign of Victoria. To Britain the Crimean War (in which she was allied with France), represented little more than a pointless argument over Russian power in the Middle East. Yet Britain was shaken by her military impotence, the inexperience of her generals and the confused civil administration, and the nation set out on the path of military reform.

A refined national economy was emerging with the advent of industrialisation. the face of the rural environment changed from strip farming tenancy and the four field fallow system of a feudal agronomy to a scientific system of farming, characteristic of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Between the years 1802 and 1815 the impact of the Enclosure Acts reached a peak with fifty thousand acres of land being enclosed annually.[2] With the innovations of agricultural pioneers including Jethro Tull, Viscount Townsend, Coke of Holkham, Robert Bakewell, "Farmer" George III, Arthur Young and Sir Humphrey Davy, and particularly with the adoption of nitrogen fixing crops and artificial fertilizers, Britain's agronomy flourished. The introduction of the Corn Law (1815) meant that Britain's farmers were able to compete with the prices of imported grain upon which a tariff was levied. Technological progress came to Britain first in the textile industry[3] during the second half of the eighteenth century, but it was to be the realization of the utility of fossil fuel power over man, animal, wind and water power which was to signal the advent of industrialization.

The rise of population in Britain resulted in the largest internal market of Europe and the existing wealth available to finance industrial productivity contributed to the pioneer role of the United Kingdom as an industrial nation. This "Age of Progress" was a world of iron and coal and steam, and of mechanical invention. Britain possessed the necessary ingredients for advance, the coal mines of Northumberland and Yorkshire, the iron ore seams of Cumberland and ready access to water. Although such resources were to be found in lesser quantity in the south of England, industrialization took root in the north. Industrial growth was prompted by the World Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London (1851). First Sir Henry Bessemer (1855-59) and later the Siemen's-Martin "open hearth" process, developed the conversion of pig iron to steel. Supported by changing political ideology and legislation in the nature of economic liberalism, defeat of mercantilism and the arrival of free trade in 1852, the United Kingdom's foreign trade was by 1870 greater than France, Germany and Italy together, and nearly four times that of America.[4] The resulting national wealth led to a general spirit of complacency and self-confidence across the nation (although critics preached the word of thrift, duty and character) which eventually contributed to a plunging economy. The years 1873 to 1896 are known as "The Great Depression" by economic historians. Britain had benefitted from her role as "Mother of Invention" but during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the nation's technology, structure and values became obsolete, her former pre-eminence being destroyed. E.J. Hobsbawm concludes, "During the 'Great Depression' Britain ceased to be the 'workshop of the world' and became merely one of its three greatest industrial powers; and in some crucial respects, the weakest of them."[5] The other two powers were Germany and America. A comparison of the percentage of world output in cotton and steel reflects Britain's decline and America's rise in industry:

Table II

The Cotton and Steel Industries of
Britain and America, 1870 to 1900.
(Percentage figures of world production)[6]

		Britain	America
Cotton	1870	50%	20%
	1900	22%	30%
Steel	1870	40%	15%
	1900	20%	40%

Similarly, between the years 1871 and 1900 British output of pig iron increased by one-third whereas world output trebled.[7] While some industries foundered, others were to realize expansion. As real wages improved so also did the standard of living which in turn led to an explosion in consumer spending. In 1880 there were fifteen hundred multiple stores in Britain, by the turn of the century this figure had risen to nearly twelve thousand.[8]

Such relative affluence is also reflected in the changing leisure patterns of the people. Seldom did the British city reflect this affluence. Instead it remained a grim, unsanitary, alien environment, its improvement outstripped by industry.

The City of Bristol

> Bristol is built upon seven hills, and has been compared to ancient Rome in this respect...It has two rivers, the Frome and the Avon... [9]

At the time of writing the Domesday Book, Bristol was part of the manor of Barton, land owned by the crown. A number of royal charters granted to the burgesses of the town between the years 1154 and 1373 bestowed privileges which increased the influence and power of the medieval borough. By the onset of the thirteenth century the burgesses were electing their own mayor who, with his council, comprised the governing body of the town. Bristol became England's first provincial county borough when Edward III granted a charter on August 8th, 1373.[10]

An early relationship between Bristol and Boston was initiated through the trans-Atlantic trade routes. Bristol would ship goods to Boston such as nails and other metallic goods, boots and shoes, saddlery and harnesses, together with a wide range of textiles. By return, tar, turpentine and other forest products, cranberries and furs would fill the holds of vessels bound for Bristol. However, the cargo was not always totally inanimate. The port of Bristol early became the destination of many American loyalists. The Battle of Bunker Hill (1775), and the fall of Boston during the American War of Independence the following year prompted the exodus. After former Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Thomas Hutchinson had visited Bristol on January 10th 1775, and a second time in 1777 he stressed the attractiveness of Bristol for Americans:

> The manners and customs of the people are very like those of the people of New England, and you might pick out a set of Boston Selectmen from any of their churches.[11]

Within a few years, Bristol had become a refuge for several Tory loyalists among them "some of the most eminent and respectable families of New England..."[12] The community that they founded included Hutchinson, two lieutenant-governors and a judge. Such names as Waldo, Vassall, von Schaak and Robert Hallowell, all once prominent in colonial Boston, were included in a group that was received in a hospitable manner and prospered until its decline in 1816.[13]

Whereas the modern city is perhaps best known for Bristol Cream, the Bristol Old Vic, Bristol aircraft or the phrase "shipshape and Bristol fashion," it might also be remembered as the home of great and famous men, among them John and Sebastian Cabot (the former stepping ashore at Newfoundland a year before Columbus), John and Charles Wesley (the former, the founder of the Methodist Church), Robert Louis Stevenson, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Edmund Burke (the Irish Protestant Member of Parliament 1774-80) and William Gilbert Grace. The city also became the home of two of the nineteenth century's greatest engineers. John Loudon McAdam came to Bristol in 1802 and was appointed General Surveyor of Roads to the Bristol Turnpike Trust in 1815. The second, Isambard Kingdom Brunel, will be considered in Chapter VII.

During the eighteenth century Bristol was the second largest city in England, after London. Its demographic position reflected the city's role in the trade triangle. The figures in Table III demonstrate the city's growth, the result of immigration, improved social conditions and annexation. By 1851 Bristol's population had more than doubled its number in a space of fifty years, yet had dropped to sixth largest city in England. Clifton had been annexed in 1835 and two other boundary changes occurred during the nineteenth century, in 1895 and again in 1897 when Stapleton and St. George were swept into the municipality. While Table III presents the raw evidence of the physical growth of Bristol during the nineteenth century, Table IV

Table III

The Growth of Bristol, 1801 to 1901[14]

Year	Population	Area (in acres)	Rateable Value (in pounds sterling)
1801	61,153	755	Not available
1871	182,552	4,538	719,983
1881	206,503	4,538	906,861
1891	221,578	4,538	1,029,256
1901	329,086	11,468	1,751,313

Table IV

The Intercensal Growth of Bristol by Natural Increase and Net Migration 1871 to 1901[15]
(in percent growth)

	1871-1881	1881-1891	1891-1901
Natural Increase	16.5+	14.8+	13.3+
Net Migration	3.8+	1.1-	1.1+
Bristol Total Increase	20.3+	13.7+	14.4+
Mean Increase for England and Wales	14.4+	11.7+	12.2+

questions the nature of this increase. Despite the fact that Bristol rested in a rich rural region, the city recognized modest migratory changes in the influx of farm labourers. Also, Bristol didn't experience a sudden influx of poverty stricken immigrants such as the northern cities of Manchester and Liverpool, and across the ocean as Boston did. Throughout the period 1871 to 1900 the growth of Bristol was greater than the average growth for England and Wales, expansion due in the main to natural increase rather than migration.

The nineteenth century city became compartmentalized and segregated on the basis of social stratification. An industrial area grew up to the east of the city upon the extension of the Great Western Railway to Bristol in 1841. By the 1870s and 1880s the new districts of Easton and Eastville had emerged and, together with the districts of Bedminster, Totterdown, Brislington and Mangotsfield (the latter two developing by the turn of the century) showed all the characteristics of working class communities of the north and midlands. Housing and locality of residence became a symbol of status. Consequently the middle classes withdrew to Clifton, an area "fenced in" by Clifton and Durdham Downs to the north and the River Avon to the south and west. The limit on the land area of this district maintained its high value and thus its social exclusivity. "Clifton society became a symbol of the social aspirations of the rising middle classes, as they moved from the centre of Bristol."[16] Social stability was maintained through its appearance as a city within a city. It was largely independent of central Bristol, providing extravagant residences, schools, churches and leisure resources for Bristol's wealthier citizens. To the east Kingsdown, Cotham and Redland represented residential districts of a less salubrious and affluent nature.

Bristol has maintained a relatively stable population since the initial impact of urbanization. But for a limited black component of the city's population, a remnant of the slave trade, nineteenth century Bristol reflected the ideals and values of what has been labelled the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethic. Unlike other large British cities, Bristol society was strongly influenced by the emergence of small groups of middle class individuals who as one became a governing elite. The nature and status of this group provided the opportunity and means to mould social life, and it did, frequently adhering to the middle and upper class values that its individuals wished to promote. The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by an ever-increasing social consciousness, the promotion of which was left to an even smaller group of men. Through their philanthropic and religious endeavours this group became welded into a non-conformist elite concerned with voluntary, socio-religious and educational work. Notable among these men were J. Storrs Fry (1826-1913), head of the Fry Cocoa and Chocolate firm, H.O. Wills (1829-1911), head of the Wills Tobacco Company, and Mark Whitwill (1826-1903), shipowner and shipbroker. Their objectives during the 1860s and 1870s were threefold. As businessmen, their primary interest was in economic success. Second a search for civilization based upon morality and culture, in this way hoping to narrow the social cleft between the "haves" and "have nots". Further, yet related, their mission included a search for community in the increasingly fragmented city. To the cause of culture, and in recognition of the emergence of a new found leisure time it is significant that one of their earliest provisions was the opening of a Municipal Museum, designed by Foster and Wood, in 1871. Such provision might be viewed in the light of compromise; better that it should be conducted in the social and cultural sphere rather than the economic arena, if social order is at stake. Libraries represented the second direction the group looked in regard to its civilizing mission. The 1850 Act authorized large cities to provide free public libraries. The Act of 1855 extended the former authorization to towns of five thousand people, while also legislating a one penny rate for maintenance of library facilities, although the Bristol Library Committee levy amounted to one-half penny. Although Bristol lays claim to possibly the oldest municipal library in Britain, founded by merchants in 1613, it had become private by the nineteenth century. Lewis Fry and Mark Whitwill opened the first municipal branch library in the city, in their ward of St. Phillip in July 1876. Other libraries followed in St. James (1877) and Bedminster (1878) although it was to be 1885 before Redland became the first middle class suburb to own a branch library.[17]

Situated in south-west England, Bristol is set apart and relatively independent of London (one hundred and twenty miles to the east) especially in terms of trade and influence. G.M. Trevelyan noted that during the eighteenth century:

> It was the peculiar boast of the men of Bristol that they alone kept their trade independent of London, bringing American goods to their port and disposing of them in the west through their own carriers and agents. Everywhere else the strings of trade were pulled from the capital.18

This is important because unlike the other industrial cities of the Victorian era who drew so much upon the nation's capital, Bristol remained relatively apart. Having evolved as a major port in its own right there was no need to rely upon the commercial prosperity of London as Bristol developed to be the premier market centre of the West of England and held a marked advantage in terms of distance, in trans-Atlantic trade. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the City's economy was based on the trade in slaves and colonial products particularly from the West Indies, sugar, tea, tobacco and cotton. Add to this the lucrative Spanish wine and wool trades, and local merchants were to be seen enjoying considerable wealth during the early years of the century. Three major factors contributed to the relative decline of the port of Bristol during the ensuing years. The rise of the Lancashire cotton trade after 1785 directed its business through Liverpool. The Bristol merchants were too wealthy to be enterprising and made no adequate effort to compete. The Dock Company was formed in 1802, when the City Council ceded all responsibility for the management of the port. The new company promoted a scheme for the construction of the Floating Harbour at a cost of six hundred thousand pounds. In an attempt to recoup this outlay the Dock Company levied exhorbitant duties on ships using the port. Thus, despite the improvements, foreign ships found the duties too excessive and sailed to Liverpool rather than Bristol. Finally, few, if any, attempts were made at improving upon the unique problems encountered in navigating the River Avon, a neglect which prompted commerce to desert the Bristol Channel for the Mersey. Nevertheless, Bristol continued to experience increased commercial activity through its port. In 1847 the total tonnage of vessels entering port amounted to 546,753 tons, by 1867 this figure had risen to 819,710 tons and in the space of another twenty years had climbed to 1,301,805 tons.[19]

The expansion of the railway network promoted Bristol's role as an entrepôt for the south and west of England. The city's commercial prosperity lay in imports rather than exports, and particularly luxury goods including cocoa, tobacco and paper products. This style of economy was due in large part to the absence of an industrial hinterland. Although shipbuilding, light engineering, chemical and printing works, the largest corrugated ironworks in the country, together with small scale manufacturing for the domestic market were located in Bristol, the city hardly compared with the large scale industrial centres of the north and midlands. W. Eagar provides a summary of the contrasting impact of industrialization on Bristol:

> Bristol's eventful industrial history, sweetened by home-coming cargoes of sugar and rum against the lingering stench of the slaves which its ships packed into their holds abroad, dulled by small-scale factories battening on a chronic surplus of labour and brought to better savour again by chocolate and tobacco, produced central slums, which even late in the 19th century were foul beyond present-day imagining, and a patchwork of meanly monotonous working-class areas doomed to degenerate from birth. Little wonder if those who could escape from the valley went out and up for their homes.[20]

Poverty, corruption and the ill-health of the city, coupled with reaction to early rejection of The Reform Bill, had erupted in the Bristol Riots of 1831. Charles Kingsley (who was to become a leading Christian Socialist and proponent of muscular Christianity) was at the time attending the Reverend John Knight's preparatory school in Clifton.

Later in life he recalled the sickening sight of fire, blood and corpses which, in his own words, "made me a radical."[21] The condition of the city at the time was indeed poor:

> ...hideous bacchanals where Gorgon ugliness, matured in the filth and squalor of Bristol's darkest dens, and slums of slime and excrement, were in strict keeping with the seething hell of riot and rapine around - the Saturnalia of robbery and license got up under the pretence of liberty and reform.[22]

This picture could well be mistaken for a city of the industrial North. However, despite Anthony Richmond's view that "there is a sense in which Bristol may be regarded as a microcosm of the wider society,"[23] the city was not a typical product of the Industrial Revolution. The city's economy, demography, and even polity tended to stray from the national trends for large cities. Nevertheless, by the end of the nineteenth century, Bristol found itself a growing city in terms of population and wealth. The population was five times greater, while the rateable value of the city had multiplied more than eighteen times. A new awareness had been afforded social neglect and poverty and an interest in improving the state of the city. Where did sport fit into this social matrix? Before such a question may be answered an appreciation of the city's sporting past must be forthcoming.

Bristol and Its Sport Heritage

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England brought with them a renewed trust in the therapeutic value of mineral water. The most popular traditional spa at Bath declined by the middle of the seventeenth century and new spas offering greater access to London opened at Tunbridge Wells and Epsom. The Hotwells at Bristol became popular during the last decade of the seventeenth century and a pump room was built in 1695.[24] Bristol's earliest swimming bath was owned by Thomas Rennison, an eighteenth century threadmaker and apparent part-time entrepreneur. An advertisement in 1764 stated:

> To be sold, Terrett's Mill, 'in the parish of Westbury-on-Trym,' lately used as a snuff mill, with a cold bath much frequented by bathers, and made within the last seventeen years by the lessee, Thomas Rennison.

It appears that the grounds were fitted up in an elegant manner and catered for both gentlemen and ladies who wished to take tea after their swim.[25] That Bristol became a popular health resort during the eighteenth century is borne out in the words of William Cowper:

> Your prudent grandmammas, ye modern belles,
> Content with Bristol, Bath and Tunbridge Wells,
> When health required it would consent to roam,
> Else more attached to pleasures found at home.
> But now alike, gay widow, virgin, wife,
> Ingenious to diversify dull life,
> In coaches, chaises, caravans, and hoys,
> Fly to the coast for daily, nightly joys,
> And all, impatient of dry land, agree
> With one consent to rush into the sea.

And "fly to the coast" they did, well, those that could afford it. As early as 1810 the advantages of Weston-super-Mare as a local watering place had been anticipated by a speculative innkeeper who advertised in a Bristol newspaper in July of that year, that an hotel had been opened in that village in order to accommodate bathers. Unfortunately for the innkeeper his idea was somewhat premature and failed. A writer in the Monthly Magazine for 1810 saw a different side of Bristol life in commenting, "Perhaps there is no place in England where public amusements are as little attended to as here."[26] This was more probably the case, for although participation in sport may have been common with the wealthy, the lower classes either had yet to acquire a taste for particular pastimes or were unable to afford the time and resources necessary for their practice. One such pastime was lawn bowling, "a game which can be played without the least loss of dignity;..." As early as 1622 the city surveyors laid out a green in Bristol to enable the gentlemen and merchants of the city to play bowls. Green fees collected were utilized in erecting a pair of stocks to deter ruffians from interfering with the games. Millard's map of Bristol for 1673 shows the prominence of bowling greens within the city. The popularity of the game was maintained by the gentry into the nineteenth century. In 1801, according to the chronicler John Latimer, "the most cherished amusement of middle-aged citizens was an occasional visit to the suburban bowling-greens at the Ostrich Inn, over Durdham Down..." Interest in the game appears to have dwindled until, in 1894, a local printer and publisher J. W. Arrowsmith, a keen bowling enthusiast, formed the Bristol Arrow Bowling and Quoits Club. Initially founded with the intention of providing recreation for his employees, a green was secured at the County Cricket Ground. Before long however, popularity for the game had grown and the club was opened to the public.[27]

Interest in pedestrianism was stimulated in Bristol during the early nineteenth century by the emergence of John Stokes who had been born in the Stapleton district of the city in 1790. He started walking in 1813 with the intention of trimming his two hundred and seventy-four pound frame. In 1815 he successfully completed a walk of one thousand miles in twenty days. An interesting and comprehensive account of Stokes' achievement remains, from which the following extract is taken:

> Mr. Stokes' height is precisely five feet ten inches and a half; and his form is truly athletic and handsomely proportioned. His dress during the walk was generally a green frock jacket, a silk plush waistcoat, net pantaloons, with a white hat, and shoes of strong calf-skin with very stout soles, thickly studded with nails.
>
> On the last day, an immense number of all ranks of people, from Bristol, Bath and the surrounding country, assembled to greet our pedestrian at the goal of victory; and the quiet demesne of Saltford presented all the enthusiastic bustle and applause that may be conceived of a Roman Amphitheatre.[28]

The festivals, fairs and traditional pursuits practiced on Holy days were particularly attractive to the lower classes. Such occasions frequently led to drunkeness and general disorder but commonly represented the only leisure time available to the populace. As early as 1752 there is an account of measures taken to arrest participants in Shrovetide sports at Bristol with particular condemnation of the "throwing at cocks". The Bristol Journal of April 13th 1822 described the festive climate in the city during the Easter holidays of that year:

> The annual scenes of rude festivity, and, we may add, of low debauchery, known by the name of 'the Bedminster revels,' took place on Monday as usual at this period of the year; and a fight of no interest was exhibited on Durdham down, between two combatants of 'little note and less skill.'

Three weeks later, the same paper described the gay and colourful scenes of the May day celebrations in Bristol:

> Soon after sunrise there was an unusually strong muster upon Clifton down... 'to sport the light fantastic toe'... The next and most attractive 'bit of life' was on Clifton down to see the racing. Here was life in all its variety...The

> Fancy too, mustered pretty numerously. [An account of the racing follows]. A better day's sport was never witnessed. After the races, a ring was formed, and Jacky Cabbage Shewd to challenge Hazell for a bellyful. Some interruption, however, occurred by the appearance of a Deputy Beak in the ring, so it was off... 29

Since early days, the Downs had represented a major venue for a variety of physical pursuits, and was witness to hot air balloon flights as early as the eighteenth century. The Duke of Beaufort had long organized hunts at Badminton House, but in the more immediate vicinity of Bristol, bullbaiting, dog fighting, ratting, badger-hunting, cockfighting and coursing attracted the most devoted admirers. Whereas the others became illegal, coursing remained within the law and regular meets were held at Long Ashton. That the other brutal and cruel sports received sanction did not guarantee their extinction.

> The mongrel's hold will slip,
> But only crowbars loose the bulldog's grip;
> Small though he looks, the jaw that never yields
> Drags down the bellowing monarch of the fields.

These words by Oliver Wendell Holmes in "The Bulldog" could as well be attributed to one of Bristol's popular pursuits as to that of the "Autocrat's" native Boston. Bullbaiting was supported and watched by leading physicians in Bristol during the eighteenth century. Although upper class patronage gradually declined, it was taken up with vigour by the lower classes during the early years of the nineteenth century. An account in a local journal for June 8th 1816 read "A poor animal was led through our streets on Monday, with blue ribbons tied to its horns, for the savage purpose of being baited on Clifton Down." Its popularity remained and bullbaiting was still being practiced in Bristol as late as 1830. In 1835 Parliament finally passed an act that effectively stopped bullbaiting and forbade the maintaining of any "house, pit, or other place for baiting or fighting any bull, bear, dog or other animal." Nevertheless, a local newspaper report suggests the continuation of bullbaiting at Wells as late as 1839 or 1840.[30] Accounts of cockfighting in the city are scarce. This is likely due in part to the social disapproval directed toward the sport, for frequently the bloody combat of the cockpit attracted crowds of spectators wont to rowdyism. During the eighteenth century an apothecary by the name of Rowand was dismissed from the Bristol Royal Infirmary for keeping some fighting cocks in the dispensary and for being involved in betting at a cockin.[31]

Accounts of ball games are similarly scant although there seems little doubt that they enjoyed considerable attention. A series of church wardens' presentments in the Bristol Diocesan Record office relate to persons playing "at ball" in the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliffe during the seventeenth century. The churchyards were seemingly a common location for playing fives and other games. Social and legal constraints represented the most severe problem to the practice of games in the city, a point well illustrated by the following extract from Felix Farley's Journal for February 2nd, 1804:

> Several boys were on Sunday taken to Bridewell [the police station] for playing in the streets in St. James's parish during the time of morning service.[32]

The participation of Bristolians in sport up to and including the early years of the nineteenth century was diverse and greater than once thought. Despite the constraints of labour, religion and law, the city's people found time to engage in a wide variety of "informal sport" particularly on holy days and holidays. Further evidence for the enjoyment of early amusement remains in place names found within the city and its vicinity such as Chulyenhulle (Children's Hill) in Mangotsfield, Plythorn, (a tree where sport took place) in Thornbury, and the Bullpit in Paulton.

As a port handling primarily trans-Atlantic trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one might have expected a westward migration of Bristol lifestyle, in some degree, to the "New World." Boston became an important destination point for ships sailing from the port of Bristol. The growth of the American city, together with evidence of British cultural export, is considered in the following section.

The City of Boston

Boston is built on three hills and has three rivers, the Charles, the Mystic and the Neponset, a city whose history stems from the early seventeenth century.

Earlier claims to the discovery of America had been forgotten when Christopher Columbus landed in 1492. The country named after the Italian explorer and mapmaker Amerigo Vespucci, soon attracted other explorers and navigators in the search for new lands, gold and adventure. After numerous attempts to establish colonies in the New World had failed, St. Augustine in Florida was founded by the Spaniards (1565), Jamestown by the British (1607), and Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia by the French (1610).

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold and John Breretan first stepped ashore at Cape Cod, but it was not until 1614 that one of the founders of Jamestown, John Smith, arrived in Massachusetts and named the region New England. This event was soon followed by the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and later independent traders who set up trading ports in the vicinity. John Endecott became first Governor of a colony established by way of a land grant charter issued by King James I. John Winthrop succeeded Endecott as Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629, and sailed to Salem in June of 1630. Winthrop held the position until his death in 1649.[33]

In 1630, only ten years after the Pilgrims had landed at Plymouth Rock, Boston was founded by Puritan Englishmen. The settlement became known as Trimountain because of the three peaks on Beacon Hill, and later as Shawmut, an Indian name variously translated as "Living Fountains," "Place where boats land," "Unclaimed land" and "Place near the neck." The name Boston was adopted by a court held in Charlestown on September 7th 1630. Suggested by exiles from a town of that name in Lincolnshire, England, St. Botolph's day (the Saxon monk from whose name Boston is derived) when the work of the "boat helper" is remembered, is still celebrated on June 17th (also the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill). The Puritans arrived in Boston as a result of, in the words of Edward Ward of the London Spy (1699), "Bishops, Bailiffs and Bastards were the three Terrible Persecutions which chiefly drove our unhappy Brethren to seek their Fortunes in Foreign Colonies." Similarly religious persecution led to the arrival of the French Huguenots in 1685, a group who had escaped the response to the revocation of the

Edict of Nantes. Their arrival sounded Boston's earliest experience in cultural conflict precipitated by immigrants. Their recognition of a God was all that the two groups had in common, for while one preached the value of sobriety and industry, the other reflected a cheerful and fun loving disposition. It appears that the Puritans triumphed, for Boston by the end of the seventeenth century is described as:

> ...an English town of English people living in English homes in English orchards and gardens. It was England some 3,000 miles from home - but it was also self-reliant, spiritually independent Massachusetts Bay.[34]

The street names further reflected this process of Anglicization. One such thoroughfare, Pudding Lane created in 1702 was, after the fire of 1766, renamed Devonshire Street in honour of a Bristol merchant by the name of Christopher Devonshire who gave two hundred pounds to aid the sufferers of the terrible conflagration.[35]

Once established, Boston quickly became the most important entrepôt in New England. From early years the bulk of the city's economy comprised the buying, processing and selling of goods, for unlike America's leading commercial centres of the colonial period, New York and Philadelphia, Boston was unable to lay claim to a rich food producing hinterland. As was the case in Bristol, Boston's role in the trade triangle led to the arrival of negro slaves. As early as 1640, Governor Winthrop records the arrival of two negro slaves on a ship from Africa, the Court ordered them returned, but within a short while there was no limit on the number of slaves arriving in the city. The Navigation Acts restricted imports to those goods arriving from English ports, carried in English ships that were manned by English crews, while the Colony was only permitted to export its products to England. This legislation, combined with the Stamp Act of 1765 (repealed a year later with the accession of William Pitt), paved the way toward a feeling of discontent among the city's merchants, eventually contributing to the American War of Independence.

Boston was indeed the spiritual heart of the American Revolution. The home of Paul Revere and those radicals[36] of the Revolution, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, the modern history of Boston and of the United States of America started almost simultaneously. After the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17th 1775, Boston became a military garrison under the command of General George Washington and the British were ousted. But politics and business were dead, the port was closed and only forty percent of the city's population remained. After the War the city slowly recovered, prompted by the adoption of the Constitution in 1787 ships sailed to Russia, China and later Britain in search of the commercial luxuries that the nation had sacrificed during the war.

The contemporary city is perhaps best known for its professional sports teams, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Harvard University. Although no city represents America in microcosm, Oliver Wendell Holmes considered Boston as "a fraction of the civilized world, as its harbour is part of the ocean. In both we expect to find general laws and phenomena, modified more or less in their aspects by local influences."[37] The City of Boston showed considerable demographic expansion throughout the nineteenth century, from a colonial seaport town of twenty-four thousand inhabitants in 1800 to a cosmopolis of more than five hundred and sixty thousand people (see Table V). After a relative plateau in population growth during the Civil War, the city once again grew rapidly.

Table V

The Population and Intercensal Growth of Boston 1800 to 1900[38]

Year	Population	Percentage Change
1800	24,000	-
1870	250,526	905 +
1880	362,839	45 +
1890	448,477	24 +
1900	560,892	25 +

Although the city's position had fallen to seventh in 1870, behind New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Chicago and Baltimore, it was no longer recognisable as the small New England colonial town that it had once been. Of the quarter of one million population; ninety-nine percent were of either native or foreign white stock.[39] Although the increases were in the main due to immigration from the rural areas and more particularly from Europe, the face and space of the city did change through land reclamation and annexation. By the end of the nineteenth century the city was nearly three times its original size in terms of acreage. Hills were levelled, coves filled in and marshland and bogs reclaimed from the sea. The North Cove (70 acres), East Cove (192 acres), Mill Pond (70 acres), South Cove (186 acres) provided increased land mass, but it was the filling in of the Back Bay between 1857 and 1894 that contributed the largest chunk of land, eight hundred acres, free from the encroachment of the sea. Such change led to a claim in the

Encyclopaedia Brittanica that the topography of Boston has undergone greater changes at the hand of man than any other city, ancient, or modern."[40] The nineteenth century also saw surrounding towns incorporated within the municipal boundary, Roxbury (1867), Dorchester (1869), Charlestown, Brighton, West Roxbury (1874) and later the rural suburbs of Watertown, Jamaica Plain and Brookline. To the outsider the geographical division of central Boston is somewhat confusing, for of the four major districts South Boston is located to the south, the South End to the south and west, the North End to the north and east, while East Boston lies across Boston Harbour to the north and east.

The local government was instituted under a city charter granted in 1822. With John Phillips as first mayor, followed by Josiah Quincy, Boston maintained its Yankee heritage throughout the nineteenth century to the delight of its leading citizens and visitors alike. In 1871 Mark Twain considered that "there is no section in America half as good to live in as splendid old New England - & there is no city on this continent so lovely & loveable as Boston..." The city's reputation as an intellectual centre of high esteem attracted many literary and prominent figures to cross the ocean. Charles Dickens arrived in Boston on January 22nd 1842. While in the city he wrote, Americans "are as delicate, as considerate, as careful of giving the least offence, as the best Englishman I ever saw," and he later added, "Boston is what I would have the whole United States to be." While Dickens built up a strong affinity for America, it was soon destroyed when American copyright authorities rejected a reciprocal agreement so effectively preventing the author from receiving any royalties for American sales of his novels. His change of heart is well reflected in Martin Chuzzlewit (1843-44) wherein the hero visits America, New York rather than Boston, a city that Dickens had found less congenial than Boston. When George Santayana (later to become professor of philosophy at Harvard) arrived in Boston in 1872, he was at once struck and confused "by symbols of Yankee ingenuity and Yankee haste." A Frenchman visiting Boston in 1891 confessed:

> The more I see of Boston the more it strikes me as a great English city. It has a character of its own, as no other American city has excepting perhaps Washington or Philadelphia. The solidarity of the buildings, the parks, the quietness of the women's dresses, the absence of the twang in most of the voices, all remind you of England. 41

Yet Boston was a city of many contrasts and while an air of Yankee ideology continued to permeate Boston society, by the end of the nineteenth century power and influence in local politics had been wrested from Yankee hands by an emerging Irish majority.

Originally settled by white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, from the early nineteenth century Boston experienced a constant influx of various national, cultural and racial groups. Irish, Scots, Germans, Poles, Italians and Blacks flooded into the city accompanied by those religious beliefs and cultural values so typical of their homeland. By the turn of the century Boston represented an amalgam of the Yankee elite minority on the one hand, and the largely immigrant populace on the other, clearly segregated in all facets of life, a city divided, and described in poetic manner thus:

And this is good old Boston,
The home of the bean and the cod,
Where the Lowells talk to the Cabots,
And the Cabots talk only with God.

And this is good old Boston,
The home of the bean and the cod,
Where the Careys talk to the Curleys,
And the Curleys talk with whomever they please.[42]

Neither was nationality nor colour the sole measure of social differentiation, as religious affiliation, socio-economic status and residential locality strengthened group identity. By mid-century residential areas were well fixed in Boston. The affluent remained on Beacon Hill or escaped the problems of urbanization by fleeing to the rural suburbs, Roxbury and Cambridge. The middle classes settled in the South Cove or South Boston districts with some of them following the wealthy citizens to the suburbs. As early as 1847, twenty thousand passengers were being carried in and out of the city daily.[43] The inner city was one of work, and of low income housing extending into the North End and West End districts. Three contrasting perceptions of the world were offered by Bostonians. Increasing industrialization of labour brought with it the idea of romantic capitalism; while the horrors of urbanization brought forth a return to the rural ideal evidenced by the building of country houses, the emergence of country clubs and breathing spaces such as the Arnold Arboretum. Finally, the high proportion of immigrants gave rise to nostalgic nationalism.[44] Nineteenth century Boston was faced with the deep-rooted problem of social cohesion, one with which the city's political, religious and intellectual leaders struggled with for the duration of the century, a problem highlighted by the social reformer Vida Scudder:

> Cleavage of classes, cleavage of races,
> Cleavage of faiths! an extricable
> confusion. And the voice of democracy,
> crying ahead in our streets: "Out
> of all this achieve brotherhood!
> achieve the race to be."[45]

Urged on in part by the many problems that faced Boston, it became a city in "intellectual ferment." It was not by accident that so many of the great names of nineteenth century America were either born or spent part of their life in the city. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), Walt Whitman (1819-1892), Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) and Louisa May Allcott (1832-1889) were among those who made Boston the "Hub of the Solar System" a perception that led its people to look upon other American cities as planetary bodies revolving around a "nucleus of all that there is great on this side of the Atlantic." The city had been a leader in education since 1636 when John Harvard turned over half of his estate to the first College in America. Yet Boston offered more, as a cultural hub of New England the city provided forums and lyceums for public lectures, literary clubs, magazines, publishing houses and libraries. The Boston Public Library founded in 1852 was the first in a large American city. It moved from its first permanent home (1858) to the new Renaissance palace designed by Charles Follen McKim, in 1895. The various lecture series that were promoted throughout the second half of the nineteenth century attracted many eminent speakers across the Atlantic. Thomas Hughes arrived in Boston in

October 1871 and a newspaper account read:

> The announcement that the opening lecture of the Parker Fraternity Course would be delivered by the well known author of "School Days at Rugby" and "Tom Brown at Oxford" has excited unusual interest in the literary circles of Boston and vicinity, and the audience which greeted him upon this, his first public appearance in this country, has had no parallel since the visit of Dickens.

Among those who attended his lecture entitled "John to Jonathan" were James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Reverend Edward Everett Hale, Reverend James Freeman Clarke and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. It was with no threat of exaggeration that Holmes, a professor of anatomy and physiology at Harvard Medical School, was able to state that "Boston has opened and kept open, more turnpikes that lead straight to free thought and free speech and free deeds than any other city of live or dead men."[46] In summary, Allan Nevins in considering the years 1865 to 1878, concluded that:

> Visitors to Boston found the city in the Indian Summer of its cultural effulgence,...The Saturday Club still brought together a New England group of such intellectual distinction as could scarcely have been surpassed in any country...the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1865), Boston University (1869) and the Museum of Fine Arts (1870) were being founded...[47]

However, not all was well in the city. A glance through the newspapers of the day uncovers a society bearing considerable resemlance to the contemporary city, as accounts of wife beating, abortion, indecent assault, shop lifting and seal hunting ships bound for Nova Scotia prevailed. The conditions of urban life were shocking, with the inner city and dockside districts reflecting the worst evils. Anne Street, laid out along the original waterfront was:

> ...lined on both sides with brothels, "jilt shops" into which sailors were enticed and robbed; salons, rat pits, dance halls, theaters of lewd entertainment, gambling joints and boarding houses of the lowest type.[48]

All this before the pitiful conditions of overcrowded housing, poor sanitation, and social order are considered.

The sharpest criticism of the city's ills not surprisingly came from the intellectual who had made Boston his home. During the eighteenth century Benjamin Franklin had expressed concern at the threat of fire, crime, ill health and inadequate fresh water supplies in the city. Indeed, fear was the most common reaction of the leading intellectuals of the time. The nation's foremost transcendentalist, Ralph Waldo Emerson, essentially a Romanticist, lamented at the loss of agrarian values. He viewed the moral environment of the city as destructive to literature, philosophy and social interaction. Henry Adams showed similar concern at the city's influence upon the breakdown of civilized values as evidenced with increased crime rate accompanying the process of urbanization. Two of Boston's best known nineteenth century novelists joined the ranks of urban critics. Henry James painted the picture of a declining city in his novel The Bostonians (1886). William Dean Howells author of A Modern Instance (1882) and The Rise of Silas Lapham (1884) viewed immigration and "millionaire vulgarity" as the most important contributory factors to urban decline. Howells represented a theoretical breed of urban critic while living the life of a practical city dweller.[49] That these men were generally among the most critical of their age; it reflects the lethargic attitude with which the many problems of the city were confronted.

However, concern at the state of the city did not stop at intellectual criticism. Boston's social reformers represented an articulate minority and were of two types. There were those reformers who were themselves affected by the state of the city. As members of interest groups based upon the discriminatory concomitants of religious, racial, national and sexual differences they unfortunately but frequently placed group interest above the goal of urban reform. The second group were those reformers who viewed themselves as leaders and philanthropists, among its membership, writers, artists, professors, Protestant ministers and politicians. In short, the Bostonian reformer was:

> ...not numerous; for he belonged to the avant-garde of his generation. He was not unreasonable, for many of his dreams have come true. He was not un-American; for he believed in the good American doctrine of extending the fruits of civilization to the many.[50]

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century these individuals began to meet the challenges of an expanding Boston. Their many and varied contributions to the cause of the city will be discussed throughout the following chapters.

The role of Boston in the world of science has been an important one since the city's youth. The city's hospitals have upheld the name of Boston with regard to medical research. A Bostonian, Dr. Jonathan M. Warren was the first to use ether as an anesthetic during surgery, and Dr. Reginald H. Fitz of Harvard conducted the first appendectomy in the world at Massachusetts General Hospital in 1886, while a Children's Hospital had been opened in Boston as early

July 19th 1869.

The economy of the city has been briefly mentioned earlier with regard to the city's role as a colonial port, yet a more thorough understanding is necessary in an attempt to view its central importance to Boston life. In appearance Boston of 1800 resembled an English market town, with a few wealthy merchants and a governing group of clergymen and lawyers who boasted a modest income. Unlike other American cities Boston's role as entrepôt for new England dominated its character, prompting Henry Adams to claim in 1889 that "Boston was the Bristol of America, New York was the Liverpool, and Philadelphia the London."[51] Boston's ocean trade had gradually recovered after the War of Independence but President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo Act closed the port during the years 1807 to 1809 until its subsequent repeal. Despite the Boston Morning Journal's conclusion at the result of two hundred and thirty vessels entering port in April of 1870 that, "Boston as an importing city is clearly seen to be not a vision of the past, but a present reality which still promises for the future," the city's position as America's "window on the world" was slipping.

The geographical location of the city was a major factor in its commercial decline. No other major port was as distant from the major food producing and mineral rich regions. As American industry moved closer to the seams of raw material so Boston's importance as a port shifted southward to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and on down the Eastern Seaboard. Yet Boston did not submit to such a decline and offered enterprising alternatives in search of economic uplift.

Industrial enterprise had come early to the Boston region. Between the years 1780 and 1840 two thousand, two hundred and fifty-four corporations were founded in Massachusetts.[52] The booming textile industry created new towns such as Lowell, and shoe manufacturing led to the emergence of Lawrence, and other industrial centres including Lynn and Fall River. Early industrial growth, though financed from Boston, frequently occurred away from the city for inventions had not yet appeared and such activity was essentially characterized by cottage industry. Added to this was the limited supply of municipal labour willing to work for low wages. Yet this situation was to change with the influx of immigrants by mid-century. The arrival of this industrial work force, willing to sweat long hours for negligible remuneration and coupled with the redirection of Bostonian capital, led to the evolution of a characteristic manufacturing process that became known as "the Boston system." Although Boston has been called the birthplace of American Industry, development was taken up by other communities more suited to industrial production.

No sooner had the Boston System stabilized than the city was struck by another economy-shattering event. The Great Fire of November 9th 1872 started on Summer Street and destroyed warehouses, factories, shops and dwelling houses. When the conflagration had finally died down, sixty-five acres in the heart of the city, fourteen lives and seventy-five million dollars worth of property had been destroyed. Hampered by the depression that arrived the following year, economic rebuilding in Boston was slow, business was demoralized and unemployment high. However, the city weathered this debilitating storm and redeveloped its economic base so that by the end of the nineteenth century Boston was a well established and wealthy shipbuilding and manufacturing centre. Boston's story is one of economic rise and decline, of commercial metamorphosis created by low points in the city's and America's history.

The year 1900 saw a city whose population had multiplied twenty-two times in the past century, an area that spread over a ten mile radius swallowing up thirty-one other cities and towns, and an industrial cosmopolis that bore little resemblance to the merchant seaport of one hundred years hence. Little remained of the colonial era. Yet the "crooked and narrow" streets, the Boston Common and an ever-lingering air of Yankee intellectual gentility hung over the city, to remind the new city of its past life.

Boston and Its Sport Heritage

The first arrivals in the New World were preoccupied with clearing new lands, building towns and fighting Indians. In essence, their primary concern was with survival. Faced with a harsh environment, honest labour and religious worship was their panacea. The dominant Puritanical beliefs of the early colonists frowned on any form of play or amusement and viewed it as representing no more than an idle waste of time; pleasure was an offence in the eyes of God. Their lifestyle followed the path of ascetic Puritanism, the leaders attacking dancing on account of its carnal nature, football because of its inherent violence and the maypole celebrations were labelled as pagan.

One year after the Pilgrims had landed, Governor William Bradford found boys and young men "in ye streete at play, openly; some pitching ye barr, & some at stope-ball, and shuch like sports." In refusing them the right to play while others worked, he declared, "If they made ye keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in ye streets."[53] Nor was the situation to be any different to the north, after the founding of Boston. During its early years, the city's First Church exhorted John Webb for his inattendance at church while spending "part of the day in 1630, feasting and sporting at Quoytes abroad and that in the Company of such whereof some of them were scandalous." In 1656, the town's leaders directed that:

> If any person or others be found without either meeting house, idling or playing during the time of public exercise on the Lord's day, it is ordered that the constables or others appointed for that end shall take hold of them and bring them before authority. 54

Indeed, so strong was the feeling against sport in Boston, that another law was passed the following year stating:

> Forasmuch as sundry complaints are made that several persons have received hurt by boys and young men playing at football in the streets, these therefore are to enjoin that none be found at that game in any of the streets, lanes or enclosures of this town under the penalty of twenty shillings for every such offence. 55

However, in defiance of, rather than in deference to these laws, life in colonial Boston was not as dull and wearisome as tradition has suggested. The leaders' wish for compulsory church attendance was not realized and the colonists turned to horse-and foot-races together with wrestling and shooting matches to fulfil their inborn need for amusement. The inns and taverns became the venue for gambling, nine pins, billiards and cockfighting. By the end of the seventeenth century sport practiced on training or "muster" days was overlooked by the city's magistrates. These days were reserved for the congregation of able-bodied men comprising the militia. The people gathered on the Boston Common and at the conclusion of drill they engaged in a great feast and relative sport spectacular which included target practice, wrestling, jumping and running.[56] With the advent of the eighteenth century the colonials became more independent of their "home" across the ocean. First and second generation provincials were faced with a surplus of produce, time and energy, the result of long hours of toil by their forefathers. A public bowling green and public billiard room were advertised for the amusement of Bostonians, as early as 1700. The following advertisements reflect the changing outlook on sports in Boston:

> This is to give Notice that at Cambridge on Wednesday the 21st day of September next, will be run for, a Twenty Pound Plate, by any Horse, Mare or Gelding not exceeding Fourteen and half hands high...
>
> -Boston Newsletter (August 22nd to 29th, 1715)

> There will be a Bear, and a Number of Turkeys set up as a Mark next Thursday Beforenoon at the Punch Bowle Tavern in Brookline.

In the New England Courant of April 30th 1722, a public house in Charlestown advertized tables for those who "had a Mind to Recreate themselves with a Game of Billiards."[57]

Within the space of one hundred years a shift of power was observed in Boston society, from the once over-arching authority of God, to economic success of wealthy merchants. Rational thought and individualism took the place of divine revelation and social mutuality. Such radical social change paved the way for the rise of sport although to an English visitor in Boston during 1740, "plays and such like diversion do not obtain here." Even if a sense of sobriety remained, the vestiges of Puritan restraint, the mid-eighteenth century city reflected a new-found delight in amusement. Although temporarily stunted by the War of Independence, a visitor to the city soon after the Revolution observed that "the inhabitants of Boston are fond of high play,..."[58] Independence brought a movement in national thought from colonialism to the idea of nationalism:

> Why should our thoughts to distant countries roam
> When each refinement may be found at home?
>
> -Prologue to The Contrast (1787)[59]

Yet sport in Boston did not reflect this shift. It was during the eighteenth century that the people of Boston began to consciously imitate the sporting customs of Europe, so much so that Stephen Hardy considered that "the roots of Boston's sporting heritage, were transplanted apparently as an unshakeable inheritance from the earlier life in England."[60]

The first half of the nineteenth century might be perceived of, as a period of transition, a popularization of the informal sport enjoyed by the few during the colonial era, so that by the years leading up to the Civil War, sport of one kind or another received genuine approval from, and was practiced by most segments of Boston society. During the early years of the nineteenth century, such growth was hampered by a Puritan revival, stimulated by the opportunity for directing all physical effort into the building of a new and independent nation. Religious leaders led the wholesale denunciation of sport, with the result that the general populace turned to taverns and the like in search of satisfaction for their want of pleasure. As late as 1843, Charles Francis Adams reflected the impact of this Puritan repression when, after playing with boys for a few hours, he wrote in his diary:

> I idled away the morning on Mr. Daniel Greenleaf's wharf, perhaps this consumption of time is scarcely justifiable; but why not take some of life for simple enjoyment, provided that they interfere with no known duty? 61

A social climate typified by the belief that "Our only pleasure was business, our only amusement making money," was gradually vanquished by an unconscious determination in the pursuit of pleasure.

Prompted by the sentiments of agrarian romanticism, the natural environment was taken as Boston's most popular playground during this period. Nowhere in Boston is one far from open water, whether river, pond or the ocean. Swimming in the Charles river was an early favourite of Harvard students, and in winter the popular pursuits became coasting, skating and sleighing. While a student at Harvard in 1825, Oliver Wendell Holmes apologized for his neglect in attending to his style of writing in a letter to a friend, explaining that he had taken time out for skating. Earlier in 1820, the professors and trustees at Harvard forbade skating on deep water, the penalty being fifty cents. However, the great playground of the city was Boston Common. Initially a pasture for grazing cattle and a training field

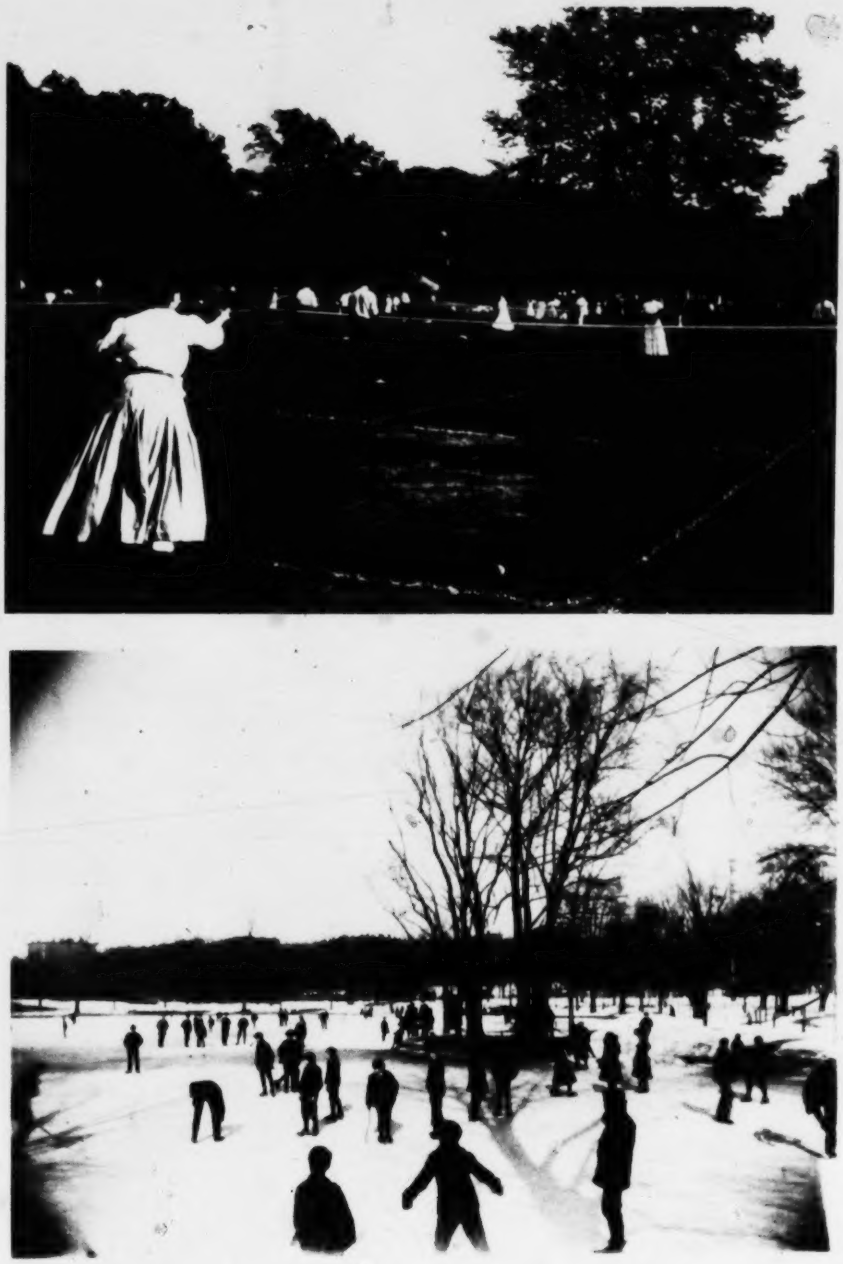

PLATE I

Parks For The People

(Above) Public Tennis Courts in Franklin Park, Boston in 1900.

(Below) Ice Skating in the Boston Public Garden in 1900.

for the voluntary militia, it became the site of increased sporting activity; football, hockey, rounders, coasting and other favourite pastimes were practiced on the Common during the first decade of the nineteenth century.[62] As in Bristol, holidays represented the freedom within which to enter mass sport. Walter Camp considered the forerunner of the modern "Thanksgiving Game,":

> In the olden times here and there in New England it was the custom upon Thanksgiving Day, after the dinner had been properly discussed, for the gentlemen of the party to adjourn to the 'yard' of the old house and there kick an inflated pig's bladder about, amid shouts of merriment from the rest of the party. 63

Lawn bowling was one of the more popular pursuits among Boston's wealthy residents of the colonial era. To the aforementioned public bowling green that was advertised in 1700 may be added the "Bowling Green" purchased from James Ivers by Daniel Stevens of the British Coffee House in 1714. Its opening was advertised with the now familiar line, "... where all gentlemen, merchants and others that have a mind to recreate themselves can be accommodated." Popularity for the sport spread with bowling greens being established on Fort Hill and Cambridge Street by the 1740s.[64] The city's early interest in horse-racing has been alluded to. Gallops along Boston Neck and in the surrounding towns were common during the eighteenth century with sleigh-races substituting in winter. Another advertisement in the Boston Newsletter for May 22nd to 29th, 1721 announced that:

> A Silver Punch Bowl Value Ten Pounds will be run for on Cambridge Heath, Three Miles by any Horse, Mare or Gelding 13 hands 3 inches high, none to exceed 14, carrying Nine Stone Weights if any Horse is 14 hands high to carry Ten stone weight; The Horses that put in for the Plate are to enter at the Post Office in Boston...and pay down Twenty Shillings. The winning Horse to pay for the charge of this Advertisement. 65

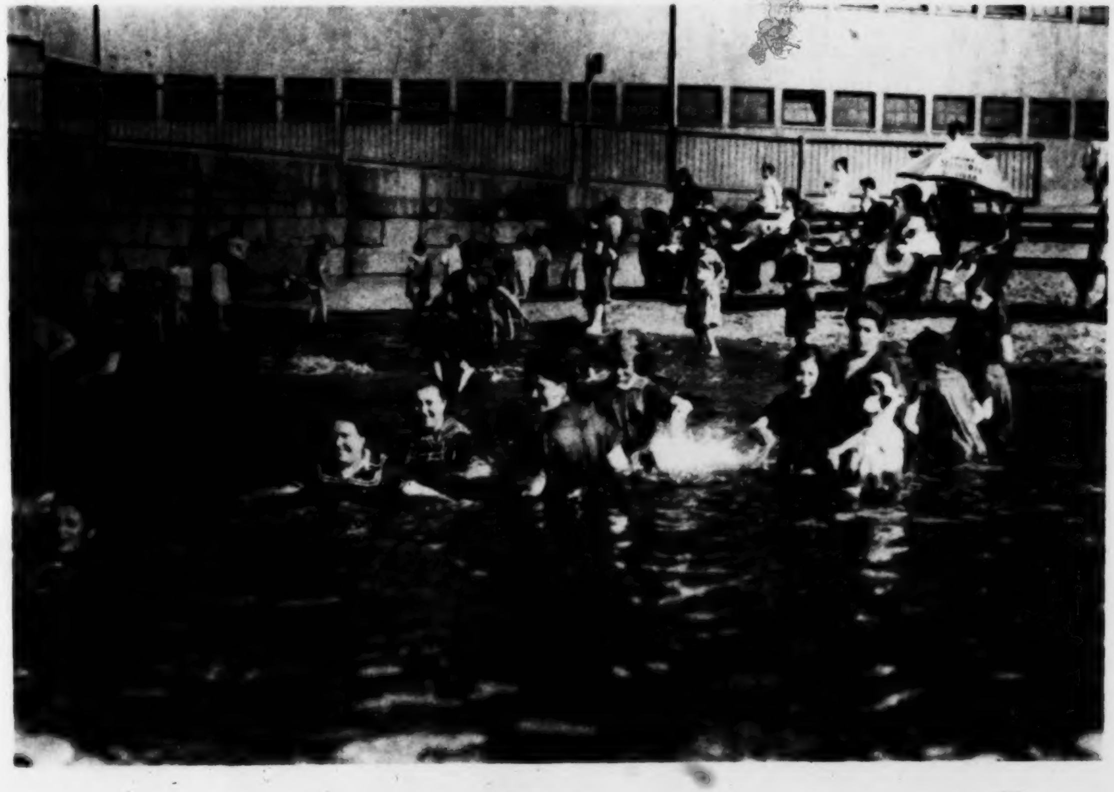

PLATE II

Bathing at the North End Park, Boston in 1900.

Animals played a prominent role in the entertainment of Bostonians up to the early nineteenth century. In 1803 a Roxbury tavern keeper furnished twenty-one interested gunners of Boston with all the turkeys they could kill between sunrise and sundown, for the price of one hundred dollars. His supply of one hundred and fifty-three turkeys became exhausted at five past noon. Part of the Independence Day celebration for 1809 was a bullfight, advertised by the citizens of Boston thus:

> The gentlemen sportsmen of this town are respectfully informed that a grand combat will take place between the Ursus, Zebra, and Spanish bull, on the 4th of July, if fair weather (if not, the next fair day) at the Half Way House between Boston and Salem. 66

Cockfighting and ratting represented two of the least approved but nevertheless popular activities of the early nineteenth century. Centred in the "Black Sea", a district of Boston radiating from Richmond Street which led from the wharves to the heart of the North End, the city was at one time reputed to be the cockfighting capital of the world. The cruel encounters' primary attraction was the betting that focussed upon the time it took a "ratter" to kill twenty rats or the correct identification of the fighting cock who mortally wounded his opponent. Not surprisingly, these bloody exhibitions were soon deemed illegal and the "pit", though hardly disappearing, was carried underground.[67]

While sport in antebellum Boston broke through a variety of discriminatory boundaries and increased in popularity, it was not until after the Civil War that greater structure and organization was afforded sport. To the Bostonian, opportunities for amusement increased yet the remaining years of the nineteenth century were to witness an unparalleled transformation from the "Informal Sport" of the city's youth, to "Organised" and "Corporate Sport" by 1900. By way of summary, Henry Adams wrote of his school life in Boston during the 1840s:

> Most school experience was bad. Boy associations at fifteen were worse than none. Boston at that time offered few healthy resources for boys and men. The barroom and billiard-room were more familiar than parents knew. As a rule boys could skate and swim and were sent to dancing-school; they played a rudimentary game of baseball, football and hockey; a few could sail a boat; still fewer had been out with a gun to shoot yellow-legs or a stray wild duck; one or two may have learned something of natural history if they came from the neighbourhood of Concord; none could ride across country, or knew what shooting with dogs meant. Sport as a pursuit was unknown. 70

Faced with a complex world of organised sport and increased opportunity for participation, the schoolboy of late nineteenth century Boston looked back in near disbelief at the loose framework of play available to his parents, a period that will be further considered in the following chapters. The changes that came with the last three decades of the century raised sport to a status of unequalled significance in Boston's society.

A careful comparison of the evidence pertaining to each city uncovers similarities and differences between Bristol and Boston contributing to their comparability, so critical in a study of this nature. It has been seen that the process of urbanization touched Britain some twenty years earlier than America. Whereas in Britain the process of city-building had been ongoing for several centuries, stimulated by the impulse of nineteenth century urbanization, in America the rise of the city represented a more rapid event. However, at no time in history has the proportion of urban dwellers in America, matched that of Britain.

Accompanying this migratory trend was the growth of industrialization. Once more having its roots in Britain, by the end of the nineteenth century it allowed the American economy to surpass a declining British economy, a process clearly reflected in Table II.

The City of Bristol is considerably older than Boston. The interaction that the two cities enjoyed during the colonial era led to the development of an American seaport possessing many of the characteristics of an English town. Whether it was Thomas Hutchinson visiting Bristol in the eighteenth century, or Charles Dickens visiting Boston during the nineteenth century, each was certain of the resemblance in lifestyle of the two cities. Although Bristol's harbour was situated somewhat inland, in the heart of the city, while Boston's rested on the shore of Massachusetts Bay, the two ports maintained comparable status throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As the nineteenth century progressed both cities lost their position to ports offering ease of access to the major industrial centres, Bristol to Liverpool and Boston to New York. Both cities had grown despite the absence of a rich agricultural or industrial hinterland, into market centres for the south-west of England, and New England. Both cities demonstrated limited industrial enterprise yet they flourished as manufacturing centres.

Although Boston's demographic dimensions outgrew those of Bristol during the nineteenth century, the difference is sufficiently small to consider comparison. A major difference is observed in the growth of population during the period 1870 to 1900. While Bristol grew by eighty percent during the thirty years, Boston's population figure increased by one hundred and twenty-four percent over the same period. Even greater differences are observed in the nature of this increase. Whereas Bristol had maintained a relatively stable population and had experienced negligible migration either from the countryside or other nations, Boston's immense growth, rather than due to natural improvement and increase, was the result of fully laden immigrant ships arriving from Europe. The physical sprawl of both cities increased during this period. Annexation of peripheral districts occurred in both cities, while Boston added to its land holding through reclaiming low lying land and draining basins.

Both Boston and Bristol reflected clearly stratified social structure at the beginning of the period, with a Conservative, wealthy elite governing Bristol and a similar group, of Yankee heritage, maintaining control in Boston. By the end of the nineteenth century both groups found the power slipping through their hands and falling into the laps of an emerging majority of Liberals and Socialists in Bristol, and a parallel upsurge of Irish Democrats in Boston. Social status was similarly reflected in the residential segregation of both cities. Overcrowded, unsanitary working class housing crammed into identifiable districts of Bristol and Boston, while the wealthy retreated to the exclusive higher ground of Clifton, above the river valley in Bristol, and Beacon Hill in Boston.

Sport in the two cities has been clearly seen to reflect this socio-economic differentiation. Whereas games such as lawn bowling remained the preserve of the affluent until the end of the nineteenth century, holy days and holidays including Easter, May Day, Independence Day and Thanksgiving, provided all the opportunity to rush to the cities' most popular playgrounds, Clifton and Durdham Downs and Boston Common, where fairs and amusements provided for their enjoyment. As important in the rise of sport was the changing ideology prevailing within each city. While Puritanical inhibition retarded the rise of sport in Bristol and perhaps more particularly in Boston, changes in the perceived relation of work and play, and the value of sport, were to constitute a climate conducive to "Organized Sport" during the years 1870 to 1900.

Footnotes

1. This decline is reflected in part by the recognition that between the years 1871 and 1900, the area of land under cultivation in the United Kingdom fell from eight and one-quarter to five and three-quarter million acres. See David Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century. 1815-1914 (Harmondsworth, Middlesex : Penguin, 1950), p. 195.

2. William L. Langer, ed., Western Civilisation. The Struggle for Empire to Europe in the Modern World (New York : Harper and Row, 1968).

3. Among the important technological advances were John Kay's "Flying Shuttle" (1733); James Hargreaves' "Spinning Jenny" (1764-65); Richard Arkwright's "Water Frame," and Samuel Crompton's "Mule" (1769); Edmund Cartwright's first practical mechanical loom (1785); and Eli Witney's "Cotton Gin" (1793) which removed the seeds from American cotton bolls and has been considered an underlying cause of slavery in America.

4. Thomson, p. 100.

5. E.J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire : An economic history of Britain since 1750 (London : Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968), p. 104.

6. Ibid., p. 125.

7. Carlton J.H. Hayes, A Generation of Materialism 1871-1900 (London : Harper and Row, 1941).

8. James Walvin, Leisure and Society 1830-1950 (London : Longman, 1978), p. 63.

9. E.R. Norris Mathews, New Illustrated Guide to Bristol and Clifton with map (Bristol : W.F. Mack, 1890), p. 1.

10. Elizabeth Ralph, Government of Bristol 1373-1973 (Bristol : The Corporation of Bristol, 1973), pp. 2-5.

11. Thomas Hutchinson, Diary and Letters, Vol. II, p. 148, quoted in Wilbur H. Siebert, The Colony of Massachusetts Loyalists at Bristol, England (Boston : Massachusetts Historical Society, 1912), p.3.

12. Siebert, pp. 7-8.

13. B. Little, The City and County of Bristol (London : Werner Lawrie, 1954), pp. 162-163.

14. Adapted from George Frederick Stone, Bristol : As It Was -- and As It Is. A Record of Fifty Years' Progress (Bristol : Walter Reid, 1909), p. 195; and George William Edwards, "Bristol During the Reign of H.M. Queen Victoria, From 1837 to 1887." A paper read at the 39th Annual Meeting of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Bristol, July 26th 1887.

15. From A. Shannon and E. Grebenik, The Population of Bristol (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1943), p. 11.

16. Helen Elizabeth Meller, Leisure and the Changing City 1870-1914 (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 36; Attempts to distinguish between upper and middle class citizens of Bristol are considered beyond the bounds of this study. Unlike other regions of Britain, the upper stratum of the west-country City's society was not totally founded on land ownership. Often achieving status through mercantile wealth, the aristocracy concealed itself in the bourgeois comforts of Clifton. For the most part, any reference to the middle class throughout this study might more accurately pertain to the non-working class.

17. Meller, p. 104.

18. G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History. A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria (Harmondsworth, Middlesex : Penguin, 1967), p. 345.

19. Edwards, p. 7.

20. W.McG. Eager, Making Men : the History of Boys' Clubs and related movements in Great Britain (London : University of London Press, 1953), pp. 288-289.

21. Quoted in Robert Bernard Martin, The Dust of Combat. A Life of Charles Kingsley (New York : W.W. Norton, 1960), p. 29. See also, Charles Kingsley, "Great Cities and Their Influence for Good and Evil," In Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays pp. 188-190, (London : Macmillan, 1889).

22. From, The Workingman's Way in the World, being the Autobiography of a Journeyman, Printer (1884), quoted in M. Kaufmann, Charles Kingsley, Christian Socialist and Social Reformer (London : Methuen, 1892), pp. 13-14.

23. Anthony H. Richmond, Migration and Race Relations in an English City. A Study in Bristol (London : Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 40.

24. J.A.R. Pimlott, The Englishman's Holiday : A Social History (London : Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 33.

25. Stone, p. 316.

26. William Cowper, "Retirement," (1782), quoted in Pimlott, p. 49; John Latimer, The Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century (Bristol : W. and F. Morgan, 1887), pp. 3, 40.

27. Frederick L. Hackwood, Old English Sports (London : T. Fisher and Unwin, 1907), p. 175; Ronald Eliot, "Arrow Bowling Club," Bristol Evening Post (April 24th 1954); Latimer, p. 4.

28. Joseph Gilbert and Thomas Howell, Pedestrianism (Bristol : Joseph Routh, 1815), pp. 11-12.

29. Gentleman's Magazine XXII (1752), p. 89, cited in R.W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850 (Cambridge : University Press, 1973), p. 120; Latimer, p. 97.

30. Western Daily Press (March 3rd 1870); Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Bulldog," quoted in Hackwood, p. 297; G. Munro Smith, A History of the Bristol Royal Infirmary (Bristol : J.W. Arrowsmith, 1917), p. 223; Latimer, p. 68; Hackwood, p. 325.

31. Smith, p. 222.

32. Cited in J.H. Bettey, "Leisure and Recreation," In J.S. Moore, ed., Avon Local History Handbook (Chichester : Phillimore and Co. Ltd., 1979), p. 92; Latimer, p. 24.

33. Annie Haven Thwing, The Crooked and Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston. 1630-1822 (Detroit : Singing Tree Press, 1970), pp. 1-3.

34. George F. Weston, Jr., Boston Ways. High, By and Folk (Boston : Beacon Press, 1967), pp. 12, 28-40, 82; James Playstead Wood, Boston (New York : The Seabury Press, 1967), p. 43.

35. Thwing, p. 144; Weston, p. 157.

36. Although hardly considered radicals by their "brothers of Independence," there seems little question of the label attributed such men by the loyalists to the British Crown.

37. Oliver Wendell Holmes when asked to contribute to a chapter on "Medicine in Boston," quoted in Justin Winsor, ed., Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusettts, 1630-1880 (Boston : James R. Osgood, 1881), p. 549.

38. Adapted from Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians. Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis 1880-1970 (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 11.

39. "1870 Census Report," Boston Morning Journal (February 1st 1871 and March 24th 1871), pp. 4 and 2.

40. Quoted in Weston, p. 15.

41. Mark Twain to Mary Eleanor Clemens (1871), quoted in Wood, flyleaf; Marc Pachter and Frances Wein, eds., Abroad in America : Visitors to the New Nation 1776-1914 (Reading : Addison-Wesley, 1976), pp. 83-86; George Santayana, Persons and Places (New York : Scribner's, 1944), p. 134; Max O'Rell, A Frenchman in America quoted in Samuel Barber, Boston Common. A Diary of Notable Events, Incidents, and Neighbouring Occurrences (Boston : Christopher, 1916), p. 241.

42. Quoted in Michael P. Conzen and George K. Lewis, Boston : A Geographical Portrait (Cambridge : Ballinger, 1976), p. 23.

43. Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880 (Cambridge : The Belknap Press, 1959), p. 18.

44. Sam Bass Warner, Streetcar Suburbs : The Process of Growth in Boston 1870-1900 (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 5.

45. Vida D. Scudder, A Listener in Babel Being a Series of Imaginery Conversations Held at the Close of the Last Century (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1903), p. 74.

46. Wood, p. 76; Ik Marvel (New York, 1850), quoted in Barrows Mussey, Old New England (New York : A.A. Winn, 1946), p. 37; Boston Morning Journal (October 12th 1871), p. 1; Oliver Wendell Holmes quoted in Wood, p. 9.

47. Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878 (New York : Macmillan, 1928), p. 94.

48. Weston, p. 188.

49. Morton White and Lucia White, The Intellectual Versus the City. From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1962).

50. Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age (Cambridge : The Belknap Press, 1954), p. 229.

51. Henry Adams, History of the United States Vol. I. (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), p. 25.

52. Handlin, p. 9.

53. William Bradford, Bradford's History of "Plimoth Plantation" (Boston, 1898), p. 135, quoted in John Rickards Betts, America's Sporting Heritage : 1850-1950 (Reading : Addison-Wesley, 1974), p. 4.

54. Richard D. Pierce, ed., Records of the First Church of Boston Vol. III (Boston, 1961), p. 12, and Boston Town Records (1656), quoted in Nancy L. Struna, "Sport and Societal Values : Massachusetts Bay," Quest 27 (Winter 1977), pp. 40-41.

55. Alice Morse Earle, Customs and Fashions in Old New England (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894).

56. R.B. Weaver, Amusements and Sports in American Life (New York : Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 5; John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, Saga of American Sport (Philadelphia : Lea and Febiger, 1978), p. 36.

57. Advertisements quoted in Foster Rhea Dulles, A History of Recreation. America Learns to Play (Englewood Cliifs : Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 31-32, 36; Earle, p. 238.

58. Joseph Bennett, "Diary," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1861), p. 125, quoted in Dulles, p. 46; Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America (New York, 1827), pp. 334-335.

59. The Contrast was the first American theatre production performed in public, in New York City on April 16th 1787, by a group of professional actors, quoted in Lucas and Smith, p. 67.

60. Stephen Hall Hardy, "Organised Sport and the Search for Community : Boston, 1865-1915." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1980, p. 6.

61. Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915, an autobiography. With a memorial address delivered November 17, 1915 (New York : Russell and Russell, 1968), p. 12.

62. J.T. Morse, Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes Vol. I. (Boston : Houghton and Mifflin, 1896), p. 52; Laws of Harvard College (Cambridge, 1880), p. 22, cited in Jennie Holliman, American Sports (1785-1835) (Durham : Seeman Press, 1931), p. 95; Barber, p. 124.

63. Walter Camp, "Football in the United States," In Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football (London : Longmans, Green and Company, 1894), p. 395.

64. Thwing, pp. 200-201. The bowling green of 1700 and that owned by Daniel Stevens in 1714 could conceivably have been the same land package under different ownership.

65. Boston News-Letter (May 22-29 1721), quoted in Struna, pp. 43-44.

66. Columbian Centinel (January 4th 1803), cited in Holliman, p. 23.

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68. Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1974), p. 38.

CHAPTER III

THOUGHT, WORK AND PLAY

> No man can be thoroughly healthy in mind
> who has bad digestion.
>
> -Leslie Stephen[1]

The History of Ideas and Intellectual History represent two areas of study that have been markedly neglected in Sport History to date. However, their importance should not be ignored, for an understanding of the predominant ideologies underpinning British and American society during the nineteenth century is critical to better understanding sport in Bristol and Boston during the period 1870 to 1900. Man's changing conception of the Body-Mind relationship throughout history has served to promote or retard the status and role of sport within society. Ideas are closely related to the sociological concepts considered in the first chapter. Like beliefs, attitudes and values, ideas grow out of increased knowledge precipitated by the study of religion, politics, economics and the broad spectrum of science. While theological and political ideas receive bare consideration here, they are considered more fully in Chapters IV and V. This chapter will centre upon the impact of various strands of intellectual thought permeating society during the years 1870 to 1900 and considers the often inextricably linked relationships of Body-Mind and Work-Play.

The Body-Mind Relationship in Nineteenth Century Britain

It has been seen that Puritan attitudes prevailed in both societies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Despite the Puritanical Revival of the early nineteenth century their orthodox values began to be questioned during the 1800s which in turn led to the gradual emergence of a secularized society. To the philosopher, Man is viewed as a tripartite form comprising Body, Mind and Spirit. While Body refers to the physical being, Mind perceives Man as intellectual, and Spirit suggests an emotional and creative view of Man. An elevated status afforded Body would doubtless promote the cause of sport, yet as such monistic views of man are seldom apparent in modern societies, it is the interrelation of the three views of Man that will be of interest here.

However, the Puritanical and evangelical views of man represented a spiritual preeminence which negated the value of sport. While a strong and healthy body was necessary for the call of everyday life, it was work and not play that represented all that was good in the eyes of God. Likewise, Hegel, the German philosopher, presented a spiritual monistic view of man. He considered that the Body could not exist except as the expression of the Spirit or Mind. In contrast Marx viewed the Body as the determining factor in the process of social change. Dialectical materialism elevated the role of the Body.

Possibly the greatest contribution of Victorian thought to the cause of sport was its fascination with health.[2] Scientific advances allowed for a clearer understanding of the physiological function of Man, and as psychology looked to medicine for explanations, so the Body and Mind became more closely related. Dr. Southwood Smith emphasized the importance of recognizing the Body in studying psychology:

> The mind is dependent on the body: hence an acquaintance with the physiology of the body should precede the study of the physiology of the mind. The constitution of the mind must be understood before its powers and affections can be properly developed and directed: hence a knowledge of the physiology of the mind is essential to a sound view of education and morals. 3

In this respect, a total understanding of Man and his behavior is dependent upon the study of Body. The idea that the physiology of the brain is dependent upon the physical state of the Body, that Mind is dependent upon the structure of the brain, and that Man's behavior is the product of the Mind, became known as "the notion of ascending dependencies." The emerging field of psychophysiology enhanced the dualistic view of Man. In the 1860s Thomas Laycock wrote in Mind and Brain that:

> It appears certain that no morbid change however minute, can take place in the body without a concurrent change, although not cognizable by observation, in the mind... mental alienation is generally the result of some wrong condition of the body, either functional or organic. 4

This interdependency of Mind and Body was supported by British intellectuals, among them Thomas Carlyle and Leslie Stephen. Carlyle viewed the Body as an expression of the Spirit. Stephen, a Cambridge don and rowing coach, stated quite adamantly that "a thoroughly healthy state of the body is the normal and most essential condition of athletic excellence. And just the same thing may be said of spiritual and intellectual health."[5]

This view of Man fitted neatly into nineteenth century British society. The Victorians' obsession with health was all too clearly evidenced by the growing interest in spas, beaches, medicines and the search for fresh air. Industrialization and urbanization had brought with them social maladies which resulted in a deepening of social consciousness, particularly in the city. Poor sanitation, primitive conditions at work and home, together with the rapid spread of disease promoted by improved transport systems, produced a concern for health improvement. Good health meant more to the Victorian than mere physical perfection. To James Hinton a man was healthy when "his blood is in harmony with the ceaseless activities of nature; when his body is warm with the toil, his brain fertile in wise and generous thoughts, his heart glowing with generous purposes." The harmony of the Body and Mind is critical, "the mind should be a good, strong, healthy feeder, but not a glutton. We have no right to despise the body, or speak of it only and exclusively as something which is vile in comparison with the mind."[6]

While the status of the Body recognized an elevation unequalled since Hellenistic times, the intellectual view of man was not forgotten. Nevertheless, criticism was levelled at increased emphasis upon the Body, particularly by the classicists. An article entitled "Mind and Muscle" written in 1860 concluded that, "It is a great loss that young men should think of their bodies more than their minds." However, an article written a year previous, in the same journal, recognized that "strength of mind may be expected to be closely connected with, or may perhaps be said to be reflected in strength of body." Matthew Arnold quite perceptively explained the problem:

> Bodily health and vigour do have a value in themselves, but the moment we disjoin them from the idea of a perfect spiritual condition and pursue them, for their own sake, and as ends in themselves, our worship of them becomes as mere worship of machinery, as our worship of wealth or population, and as unintelligent and vulgarising a worship as there is. 7

Much has been written of the emergence of athleticism and muscular Christianity in the English "public" school of the mid-nineteenth century. This idea emanating from, and promoting the dualistic perception of the Body-Mind relationship received its greatest impetus from two mid-nineteenth century British novelists, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. These and other proponents of muscular Christianity were to face a seemingly insurmountable barrage of criticism from many directions, however, the idea survived and spread throughout the globe.[8] In summary, a further extract from "Physical Strength" describes the prevailing view of man:

> The body may obviously be looked upon in either of two lights. It may be regarded as an essential part of the man - as the outward and visible part of himself, containing and constituting, with its various powers and qualities, some of the most important elements of his character. On the other hand, it may be regarded as something radically distinct from the man himself - a mere material instrument of the immaterial essence which properly constitutes the individual - a sort of clog, necessary indeed to the action of the soul, but in its essence a mere appendage to it, and a somewhat degrading one...There can be little doubt which of these two is the popular view in the present day. Almost every popular writer,...delights to make the body not the agent, but the partner, of the mind; and each accordingly invests his heroes with every imaginable bodily perfection. 9

Despite early and ongoing criticism, this faith of Mens Sana in Corpore Sano had become well developed and accepted by 1870. It represented the foremost justification for the practice of games in schools and became an acceptable rationale to clergymen and politicians alike who found themselves increasingly involved in promoting the cause of sport. While the importance of this ideal is not questioned, its universality across society must be. That this ideal reflected middle class values is clear to see. For the working classes life comprised long hours of labour, hard work to ensure survival among the depths of urban decay and depravity. The absence of non-work time that could be devoted to pleasure meant that the worker was not provided the opportunity to experiment with this new idea on the sports field. Eventually social change presented a dichotomy between Work and Play in the life of the working class.

Work and Play in Nineteenth Century Thought

The idea that a proper balance between Work and Play is also critical to the emergence of healthy Man, grew out of the second half of the nineteenth century. An article in Bow Bells for 1866 clearly noted that "a proper amount of labour, well-spiced with sunny sports, is almost absolutely necessary to the formation of a firm, hardy, physical constitution, and a cheerful and happy mind."[10] Nevertheless, industry dominated later Victorian society, although it was not necessarily a reflection of earlier thought surrounding the relationship of Work and Play.

In ancient Egypt work was forbidden on about one-fifth of the days of the year, while in classical Greece fifty or sixty days of festivity were enjoyed annually. By the time of the old Roman calendar the number of non-work days had increased to one hundred and eight which was to multiply with the institution of the Julian calendar. Much of this time was devoted to religious celebration which traditionally provided ancient festivals with time away from work for the practice of amusement. Yet early nineteenth century British and American society was to be radically different. It had evolved out of medieval and Puritanical thought which, while elevating Mind and Spirit above all else, placed a premium upon work. Even in the late 1850s remnants of the purposeless view of play are observed:

> An easy and luxurious existence does not train men to effort or encounter with difficulty, nor does it awaken that consciousness of power which is so necessary to energetic and effective action in life. 11

Still, industrialization and urbanization prompted a change in ideological thought. Long hours of monotonous hard work on the factory floor coupled with the declining conditions of the urban environment was producing an individual that ran counter to the Victorian ideal. Deteriorating physical and mental health led to the realization that nineteenth century industrial and urban society represented a markedly contrasting hierarchy of needs to the rural life of former years. At the outset this realization attempted to incorporate play into work by viewing life and even labour as a game. But the Victorians came to insist on carefully distinguishing Work and Play once more:

> Work while you work; play while you play,
> That is the way to be happy and gay. 12

A new status was afforded play, and life was viewed as comprising two distinct segments, of equal worth.

Frequently, economic improvement lay at the foot of this change in thought. Sir James Paget, in an address delivered at the International Health Exhibition in London contemplated that:

> I think we cannot escape from the reasons to believe that we lose in England and Wales, every year, in consequence of sickness, twenty million weeks' work: or, say, as much work as twenty million healthy people would do in a week...This is equal to about one-fortieth part of the work done in each year by the whole population between fifteen and sixty-five years old. 13

In 1889 a Bristol firm announced the grant of a week's holiday with pay. With true philanthropic sentiments, the head of the firm expressed the hope that such provision would contribute to the health and happiness of his employees although, no doubt, visions of increased industrial efficiency lingered at the back of his mind. Indeed, this concept of re-creation became a central justification for the emergence of non-work time, a value noted by a clergyman who warned that, "Unless recreation leaves us ready and willing to begin work again, there has been something wrong in its use."[14]

Not surprisingly, the new culture of play drew tumultuous criticism from many directions. While clerics conceded that play was lawful in the eyes of God, their fear was "in the measure or the manner, we exceed, we pollute the pure stream, [for] else, like beasts in heat, we drink to our destruction."[15] Others readdressed the very non-serious and non-productive nature of play, among them John Ruskin who viewed play as:

> ...an extension of body or mind, made to please ourselves, and with no determined end...If it were done as an ordered form of exercise, for health's sake, it would become work directly. So, in like manner, whatever we do to please ourselves, and only for the sake of pleasure, not for an ultimate object, is 'play', the 'pleasing thing,' not the useful thing. 16

The value of play in the industrial urban area had been overlooked. However, it was to this end that W. Robert Dale directed his criticism in identifying pastimes that take away from the true purpose of play. Those that sap energy rather than regenerate; those that interfere with the regular and orderly habits of life, and instead of producing healthful and vigorous beings, tend to weariness and exhaustion, are not viewed as falling under the aegis of play. Nevertheless Dale fails to consider a common criticism of play by Victorians, "worldliness" as being justified since such a label necessitates moral judgements and threatens the freedom of action.[17]

A very real doubt was levelled at Man's inherent ability to enjoy amusement. The rigidity of the Puritan work ethic contributed to this concern, echoed in The Saturday Review for June 16th 1866:

> The results of the man's whole mode of life, the almost instinctive disposition to proceed methodically in the laying out of one's time...may prove fatal to the enjoyment of leisure. People trained to habits of order and punctuality, and to the most scrupulous employment of every moment are not fitted for the early careless attitude of the holiday-maker. 18

Neither was such a view reflective of middle class loss of confidence in the lower classes. Although this inability to utilize non-work time in a valuable manner was clearly demonstrated by the working class habits of gambling and drinking, there is no reason to consider these were the sole reserve of the lower classes nor that such middle class pursuits as whoring were any more socially acceptable or valid. Yet this did represent a genuine concern for a population reared upon the gospel of work for:

> We really do not know how to amuse ourselves, and are forced to snatch at the first pretext that offers itself, and to make believe very hard that we are really enjoying ourselves. It is a duty not as yet generally recognized to study the art of pleasure-hunting. 19

However prepared or unprepared the people were, the reality of non-work time for the purpose of play emerged in Britain during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. The Early Closing Movement adopted King Alfred's maxim, eight hours each of work, play and sleep. A transition from holy day to holiday increased leisure time. Saturday and not Sunday gradually became a national day for the enjoyment of non-work activity. The Bank Holiday Act of 1871 provided the first legal recognition of non-religious, non-work time and added four days, Boxing Day, Easter Monday, Whit Monday and the first Monday in August to the nation's already increasing hours of leisure. By 1874, the fifty-six hour work week had become reality. Although holidays with pay did not become common in Britain until the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, a giant step had been made in the realization of the need for leisure time.[20] While workers had been freed from the confines of the factory for increasing hours, and the status of physical activity was elevated to one of purpose, efforts were directed toward the provision of a physical environment conducive to the practice of play. As early as 1867, The Saturday Review had recognized this need, particularly with regard to the limited hours of leisure available at that time:

> Their hours of activity are like bits of china, which must be packed separately in a great deal of hay or wadding; and their hours of leisure are like some kinds of plants, which will not blossom freely unless set in plenty of space and in a rich light. 21

An early distinction between hours of play and mere inaction was overcome by increased provision of facilities, opportunities and education. In 1885, Frederick Gale summed up the value of the new found leisure time, and its application to physical activity:

> [It] has converted the employees, who from crowds and constant late hours in cities and large towns have degenerated into effeminate men...into fine, manly young fellows of pluck and sinew. 22

This idea of health, the harmonious development of Mind and Body in a society that attributed increased value to the recognition of work and play represented the fundamental and most valuable ideological contribution to the rise of sport in Britain during the nineteenth century.

It appears that the idea of Puritanical asceticism was more deeply impressed in early nineteenth century American society. The settling of the most orthodox sects in New England served to anchor Puritan ideals in Boston, beliefs which were to remain the dominant force in the life of the City upto the early years of the nineteenth century.

It was a combination of factors that led to the existence of a strict, orthodox Puritan influence in seventeenth century Boston. The early settlers, faced by a new and hostile environment, were determined to build in the New World an unadulterated version of the land from whence they had travelled. The Puritan leaders developed among their essentially primitive, pioneer society an unequalled devotion to an all-powerful God and a detestation of idleness. Hard work represented the fundamental action to the cause of survival and spiritual fortitude. Such an ideal was hardly supportive of the practice of sport for:

> The grave old Pilgrim Fathers seem to have practiced an asceticism and self-denial which not only held pleasure of little account, but even looked upon it as sin, or at least as an idle waste of time. 23

Early in the history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Governor Endecott cut down the Maypole at Merry Mount just south of Boston whilst reminding the revellers that "no person, household or other, shall spend his time idly or unprofitably" and that, by Order of the Court. Meanwhile, another declaration informed "that noe idle drone bee permitted to live amongst us."[24] The early Bostonians worked from dawn to dusk six days a week and on the seventh day they worshipped God from dawn to dusk. While this lifestyle was a product of the inhospitable environment it was also a reaction to the changing values of English society, "It was the devotion of the hated Cavaliers to bounteous sports and immoderate merrymaking that led their opponents to condemn all sports and all merrymaking as wiles of the devil." Holidays and diversions were considered fit only for children although as has been seen in Chapter II sport was not totally ignored by their parents. Many of these activities were related to subsistence living with fishing, hunting, corn huskings and bees representing their major pastimes. These agrarian related pursuits soon evolved into impromptu contests particularly when social interaction was facilitated at Thanksgiving, muster days and other communal gatherings. These in turn led to a perceived threat of social breakdown and provoked stricter legislation with regard to amusements. The town council meeting in Boston on April 9th 1677 ordered that horseracing for money was forbidden within a four mile radius of the city. On one occasion the city fathers refused permission for an exhibition of tight-rope walking "lest the said divertisement may tend to promote idleness in the town and great mispence of time." So restrictive did the controls on the pursuit of pleasure become that along with dice, card-playing, quoits, bowls and ninepins, even dancing at weddings was prohibited.[25] However, the effect of these laws was limited. Fatigued by the endless toil, frustrated by poor harvests and living in fear of native aggression, starvation and disease, the Colonists continued their search for a release of their pent up emotion. The tavern became increasingly important as an arena for catharsis, offering an abundance of "trespass sport" which included blood sports and gambling, pursuits falling outside of the Puritan mandate.[26]

Despite peripheral deviance from the norms and laws established by the Colonial leaders, the spirit of the Puritan work ethic remained. During the 1750s, John Adams, a young man destined to become the second President of the United States in 1796, wrote in his diary while a resident of Braintree, Massachusetts, "Let no trifling diversion, or amusement...; no girl, no gun, no cards, no flutes, no violins, no dress, no tobacco, no laziness, decoy from your books." Yet Adams, while personifying the Puritan ideal was known to enjoy the times he spent in making and playing with model boats and kites, while like other boys he drove hoops, played marbles, and quoits, wrestled, swam and skated. During his freshman year at Harvard his duties included providing his seniors with bats, balls and footballs.[27] Perhaps no one typified the

Puritan ethic more than Benjamin Franklin who once stated that "America's recreation is business." While a printer's apprentice in Boston, he developed his moral code which he later scored throughout his daily life. Those virtues he identified included temperance, frugality, industry, cleanliness, chastity and humility.

The debate over what represented proper Christian behaviour continued. With the church becoming more tolerant of sport in general, severe criticism was levelled at the blood sports of bull baiting, cockfighting and ratting. As successive generations of Puritans attributed less importance to the values of their forefathers and as immigrants arrived in Boston presenting their own conflicting ideologies, so the Puritan work ethic began to be whittled away in New England. However, as the Unitarians began to dominate Boston's pulpit during the first decade of the nineteenth century, an evangelical revival sprang up in the city, a return to Puritanical Orthodoxy was promulgated in reaction to the amusements that the Unitarians allowed with particular criticism being levelled at participation in games of chance.

Concern at amusement took another direction during the first half of the nineteenth century. Paralleling the doubt expressed in Britain, leaders questioned the ability of New Englanders to enjoy their non-work hours. James Russell Lowell expressed this concern in The Biglow Papers:

> Pleasure doos make us Yankees kind o'winch,
> Ez though 'twuz sumthin paid for by the inch;
> But yet we do contrive to worry thru,
> Ef Dooty tells us that the thing's to do,
> An' kerry a hollerday, ef we set out,
> Ez steadily ez tho 'twas a redoubt.28

The idea of work had been so deeply embedded in the foundations of the nation that adaptability to ideological change was hampered.

Neither did the impact of Puritan sentiments escape the searching eyes of overseas visitors. After her visit to America in 1828, the British author Frances Trollope wrote, "I never saw a population so totally divested of gayety; there is no trace of the feeling from one end of the Union to the other." A similar view was expressed by the English traveller, Francis J. Grund who suggested that, "The Americans are not fond of any kind of public amusement; and are best pleased with an abundance of business. Their pleasure consists of being constantly supplied." The critical eye of Charles Dickens later permitted an explanation for the apparent absence of any amusement in observing that "the peculiar province of the Pulpit in New England (always excepting the Unitarian ministry) would appear to be the denouncement of all innocent and rational amusements."[29] Such observations were made by the people of a nation that was witnessing an upsurge in sport during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. However, to many Americans, reiterating the principles of the Puritan work ethic, play was little more than a waste of God-given time, hours that should be best spent in the act of industrial productivity. As immigrants flocked to the New World they were faced by an ideal that scorned the athletic practices of their home country. In 1840, an emigrant handbook warned the English working man that America knew:

> ...none of those sports, pastimes, amusements, and recreations such as he has been accustomed to in his own country, as cricket, quoits, rackets, fives, & c., although many attempts have been made on the part of 'old country' people to establish them; to

> walk much about the city is contrary to general custom and therefore only renders him singular; few, if any, Americans do so for mere pleasure, Sundays perhaps excepted, and then only for a few hours in the middle of the day, never in the latter part of it. 30

Yet, as change had come about in Britain so was a metamorphosis inevitable in industrial America. The nation's Gilded Age brought with it a transformation of the economy, from one of deficit to one of surplus. The growing realization of a consumer economy, increased leisure hours and affluence combined to form the abrasive tool by which the Protestant ethic became slowly and steadily eroded. Although affecting the middle classes initially, their legitimization of the new gospel of play sounded its uptake by the working classes.

Universal acceptance of play came about with the knowledge that industrialization and urbanization presented a very real threat to the physical state of the American people, that this and industrial productivity could be improved with due attention being paid to physical pursuits. However, Puritanical self-denial was so deeply entrenched in the American mind that sport could only penetrate the periphery, while long hours of toil, even characterized by their amusements, frequently led to injury.[31] National holidays were limited in the second half of the nineteenth century. The muster days and Harvard Commencement days of former years had disappeared to leave Christmas, Thanksgiving, Decoration Day (in memorium of the Civil War), and Fast Day as recognized days of non-work. The public's utilization of these added hours for over-indulgence in non-serious pursuits is well reflected in Bartlett's rather cynical yet critical description of Fast Day:

> ...a day for fast living, and fast driving, - a day when the public places of amusement are thronged, and the churches are abandoned; when drunkenness, revel and riot too often turn the national fast into an occasion of national reproach. 32

Such action formed the very basis of ongoing Puritanical criticism of amusement. While recreation toward the restoration of the exhausted mind and body was tolerated by the clergy, amusements in the pursuit of pleasure were not. The people were reminded that, "the Scriptures forbid us to do anything from such a motive. Whatever we do, we are to do it as unto the Lord." While social reformers endeavoured to change the nature of socially unacceptable behavior the church held firm to its belief that, "There is but one way of reforming sin, and that is to abandon it." However, the quibbling and inconsistency so apparent in the moral and religious judgement of amusement which was deemed acceptable, prompted debate. While fishing, draughts, chess, the circus and bagatelle were acceptable pursuits to the Puritan leaders, shooting, backgammon, whist, the pantomine and billiards were frowned upon. This seemingly arbitrary distinction led one critic to consider that:

> Simplicity, robustness, and manliness of character, are seriously imperilled whenever the conscience is perplexed by the refinements and intricacies in which casuistry delights. 33

The church was soon to relax, albeit slowly, its strict mandate concerning recreation. A statement issued in 1867 recognized the individualistic need of human nature for amusement and recreation whilst clearly expressing the opinion that "it is not the province of the ministry or the churches to draw lines restricting individual liberty." The liberal quality of this view was not surprisingly tempered by a concluding loophole which stated:

> We lay down as one more principle that recreation should be under the control of Christian principle and be made subservient to holy living. 34

The gospel of work, and the undivided faith in God remained, with modesty, rectitude, thrift and sobriety colouring a new realization of the need for play. As sport and the Protestant work ethic survived in the same environment, the traits of the latter, an intense and nervous fear of idleness, the dream of success and the idea of individualism were adopted in the creation of a characteristic American sport type which differed from its British counterpart. Whereas the rural areas retained a strongly orthodox Puritan prejudice for many years, the city, through a combination of weakening evangelical constraint and mutual acceptance of the values of industry, faith and amusement, became the temple in which the gospel of play flourished. The impact of this ideological change upon Boston is related in no better manner, than by the words of Allan Nevins:

> The Puritans lived in the early youth of the race, and would be astonished by nearly everything that occurs in the daily lives of their very much more highly developed descendants. They would not only be horrified by the Sunday concerts at the St. Botolph, but conscientiously neglectful of their divinely formed bodies as they were, they would have shaken their lank chops at the swimming pool, the baths, the gymnasium, and the tennis-courts on the roof of the great Athletic Club, which is a noble monument to Bostonian worship at the shrine of muscle. 35

Although several of the catalysts toward change have been briefly discussed, a deeper understanding of the major fronts of attack in the breakdown of the Protestant work ethic is necessary in fully appreciating the subsequent rise of sport.

Critics, Intellectuals and the Physical State of Nineteenth Century Bostonians.

Strategies for changing beliefs, attitudes and values have been discussed in Chapter I. In considering the cognitive-behavioral relationship, the gradual decline of the once all-powerful Puritan Church is seen as a reaction to a changing social environment and the result of the preaching of a band of largely Bostonian intellectuals in the cause of sport. Although perhaps the nineteenth century American's obsession with health failed to reach that degree of the English Victorian, the search for a healthy nation during the second half of the nineteenth century occupied the hours of many Americans. Increased urbanization and industrialization had led to a decline in the physical state of the people. Thomas C. Grattan British Consul to Boston during the years 1839 to 1846, recorded that:

> A Boston boy is a picture of prematurity. It can almost be said that every man is born middle aged in every state of the Union. He enters college at fourteen and graduates at seventeen into the business world. The interval between their leaving school and commencing their business career offers no occupation to give either gracefulness or strength to body or mind. Athletic games and the bolder field sports being unknown...all that is left is chewing, smoking and drinking...Young men made up of such materials as I describe are not young men at all... They have no breadth either of shoulders, information or ambition. Their physical powers are subdued, and their mental capability cribbed into narrow limits. 36

Nor was the critical eye, that was directed at the people and society, solely of overseas origin. Many Americans, and particularly Bostonians, joined the ranks, among them John Boyle O'Reilly who wrote in his preface to The Ethics of Boxing and Manly Sport.

> So long as large numbers of our young people, of both sexes, are narrow-chested, thin-limbed, their muscules growing soft as their fat grows hard, timid in the face of danger, and ignorant of the great and varied exercises that are as needful to the strong body as letters to the informed mind, such books as this need no excuse for their publication. 37

Among the strongest proponents of exercise as a preventative measure in ill-health was Dudley Allen Sargent, director of the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard University from 1879. Shocked by the high percentage of military rejections on the basis of poor health during the Civil War, Sargent considered that while so much of the sickness, suffering and premature death could be prevented, "our responsibility in the matter is almost overwhelming."[38] An increased awareness of the necessity for good health, and a growing rejection of Puritan subordination of the Body to the Mind was reflected in a growing interest in the structure and function of the Body. Boston newspapers carried advertisements for lectures on physiology, health and hygience, as well as "Dr. Jourdain's Gallery of Anatomy" which comprised "a thousand startling and thrilling models of the human frame in Health and disease." A leader article in the Boston Morning Journal for April 23rd 1870, entitled "Neglect of Health by Intelligent Men" spoke of health as "not merely knowledge of the right, in physical as well as in moral matters...but a training of the will to do what is right."[39]

The training of the will, toward a conscious realization of the need for good health received great impetus from the economic base of the nation. The negatory effects of industrial and urban expansion upon the physical condition of the people worried the nation's leaders, for this was the very foundation of material prosperity. Whereas the rural life of the frontier had developed a physically well-rounded healthy individual, the habits of industrial life tended to the development of particular muscles and physiological systems. "Crowd poisoning" (to use Sargent's term), represented a real problem to the health and economy of America. Utilizing data collected from gymnasts at Harvard, Sargent demonstrated the value of physical exercise for health and suggested:

> The best plan is to regard exercise as one of the important agents of health, and treat it with as much consideration as the subjects of food, sleep, bathing, clothing, etc. 40

Foreign criticism of the physique and health of the American people had injured the nation's pride and now a self-realization of human physical decay had prompted the rise of sport. Supported by the transcendentalist's ultimate goal of perfecting man and society, together with the emerging faith of muscular Christianity, numerous individuals set out to champion the cause of sport in Boston.

As early as 1833, a Boston physician, John Jeffries, questioned the prevailing monistic view of Man while presenting a contrasting dualistic type in which "the powers of the body should be cultivated because it is the workmanship of God."[41] Perhaps the earliest muscular Christian in America was Edward Everett (1794-1865) who, while losing hope in the American obsession with work, developed a harmonious perception of the Body-Mind relationship, in which sport represented a key to their mutual development. His nephew, Edward Everett Hale, a Boston Unitarian minister, delivered a public lecture in Boston on December 16th, 1855 entitled "Public Amusement for Poor and Rich," which was published two years later. Concerned at the rise of urbanization and the City's apparent disregard for amusement, Hale observed,

> So long as we live in the country, the subject does not come up for discussion, for there God provides the best entertainment for everybody. Every boy can find it in the trout streams, and every girl among the buttercups. But when we choose to bring people into crowded towns; to substitute pavement for the meadows; and mains six feet underground for the trout's brook, we must substitute something for the relaxation and amusement which we have taken away. 42

His apparent distress at the retreat of the frontier and his subsequent call for amusement in the city was doubtless taken none too kindly by evangelicals intent on promoting a revival of Puritan ideals. Yet the ineffectiveness of amusements practiced by the city folk, as sought after relief from the monotony of their working lives interested Hale further:

> So a sad public returns next morning to its filing of iron, its balancing of accounts, its sewing of seams, or its digging of mud, without one wrinkle smoothed, without one care lightened. The killing of rats has not soothed it; the death-rattle of Camille hath not soothed it; and the lecture certainly has not rested it. The evening has been killed, and that is all. 43

He went on to attack the casuists who, in their seemingly inconsistent manner, permitted the digging of gardens because of its air of utility while condemning the playing of ball and skating. Hale viewed the provision of suitable amusements as an obligation of the city's churches and government. While realizing the impracticality of expecting private enterprise to provide for poor and rich alike, he urged the clergy to abandon random criticism of less desirable pursuits but rather preach the dualistic qualities of such pursuits as cricket and football. The publication of his discourse prompted the establishment of a theological panel with the purpose of inquiring into the Church's role in the provision of entertainment in New England. Its deliberations were published in the Christian Examiner for July 1857. Focussing upon the health of the overworked populace, the importance of considering the utilization of non-work time was ranked along with other critical labour questions of the day including the ten-hour day and the status of women and children in the labour market. An equal consideration was also afforded the relationship between intemperance and the necessity for providing socially acceptable alternatives. The statement included an expression of typical muscular Christian sentiment:

> The question of the courage of a people, shut up in towns, and unused to meet danger, - the question whether you and your children shall grow up cowards or no, - is only to be solved by a right understanding of athletic amusements.

Expressing the need to rid the city of dangerous, cruel and degrading amusements, the panel concluded in guarded manner by reiterating that question so central to the relation of religious ideas and sport during the nineteenth century:

> Each question of religion demands an answer, which shall show whether the Puritans were right in thinking God is insulted when his children are amused. Till we decide that, we do not know how to convert the world.[44]

Probably the most prominent school of thought developing in Boston during the first half of the nineteenth century was that of the Transcendentalists. Among its most notable membership were William Ellery

Channing (1780-1842), Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888), Margaret Fuller (1810-1850) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), all of whom lived, studied, taught or wrote in Boston at some time. Concerned with the perfection of the human being, these intellectuals sought a harmonious development of Body, Mind and Spirit. Frequently achieved through inner reform of Man, this group performed a role of central importance in the process of social reform. The most important figure in the movement was Emerson, a frail philosopher of transcendentalism and graduate of Harvard Divinity School. Very much a romantic, he had been influenced by the work of Jean Jacques Rosseau which provided the basis of Emerson's system of physical culture which paralleled transcendental thought. Emerson lamented the physical imperfection of Boston's intellectuals and promoted the outdoor life:

> Out upon the scholars...with their pale, sickly, etiolated indoor thoughts! Give me the out-of-door thoughts of sound men, thoughts all fresh and blooming. 45

Emerson followed his beliefs by joining the Adirondack Club (along with Lowell and Agassiz). Yet physical culture meant more to him. In Emerson's words, "The first wealth is health." The Body represented the means by which Man could attain all the benefits of the material world, it was a necessary tool in the development of moral and physical courage, values which he promoted through the idea of self-reliance. Emerson cautioned those that ignored the role of sport in the process of education, while adding that intellectual and book training failed to provide the stimulus for all the nation's youth and continued:

> Well, the boy is right; and you are not fit to direct his bringing up, if your theory leaves out his gymnastic training. Archery, cricket, gun and fishing rod, horse and boat, are all educators, liberalizers. 46

One of the most outspoken critics of the deteriorating physical state of Americans was Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894). A medical doctor by profession, Holmes held a position among Boston's intellectual fraternity. Although apparently a frail individual, he admired the physical giant and frequently stopped by the training quarters of the champion "Benicia Boy" and other pugilists who provided a certain fascination for him. Holmes spent many hours in rowing, riding and walking and used his experiences to illustrate his essay "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," in which he proclaimed the virtues of sport particularly with regard to premature ageing. After a dialogue between "The Professor" and "Old Age", Holmes concludes:

> I dare not publicly name the rare joys, the infinite delights, that intoxicate me on some sweet June morning, when the river and bay are smooth as a sheet of berylgreen silk, and I run along ripping it up with my knife-edged shell of a boat,...What a city of idiots we must be not to have covered this glorious bay with gondolas and wherries, as we have just learned to cover the ice in winter with skaters!
>
> I am satisfied that such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our Atlantic cities never before sprang from loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage. Of the females that are the mates of these males I do not speak here...We have a few good boatmen - no good horsemen that I hear of, - nothing remarkable, I believe, in cricketing, - and as for any great athletic feat performed by a gentleman in these latitudes, society would drop a man who should run round the Common in five minutes. Some of our amateur fencers, single-stick players, and boxers, we have no reason to be

> ashamed of. Boxing is rough play, but not too rough for a hearty young fellow. Anything is better than this white-blooded degeneration to which we all tend. 47

These words likely received sympathetic support from another graduate of Harvard Divinity School, Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823-1911). A descendant of Francis Higginson, the first minister of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, his father was a prosperous Boston merchant and bursar at Harvard. Thomas became a central figure in social reform matters, fighting for women's suffrage, temperance and anti-slavery measures to which end he commanded an all-black regiment during the Civil War. A strong admirer of the romanticists Emerson and Thoreau, he too placed the outdoor life on a par with intellectual pursuits. While at Harvard Higginson enjoyed swimming, skating, football and cricket. Along with others, Higginson felt that sport was the greatest remedy for most social ills and developed his thoughts through a series of articles published in the Atlantic Monthly between 1858 and 1862. In his first essay, "Saints, and Their Bodies," he viewed Body and Mind as related and interdependent while noting that "there is in the community an impression that physical vigor and spiritual sanctity are incompatible."[48] Later, in "Letter to a Dyspeptic," Higginson considered that even "if athletic amusements did nothing for the body, they would still be medicine for the soul." Also in his first contribution, Higginson expressed a concern at the nation's neglect of the Body and more particularly its ignoring of any systematic form of exercise. In words quite reminiscent of Holmes' earlier criticism, Higginson observed:

> Even the mechanic confines himself to one set of muscles; the blacksmith acquires strength in his right arm, and the dancing teacher in his left leg. But the professional or business man, what muscles has he at all? 49

Higginson continued to promote good health through his articles in the Atlantic Monthly, his efforts were not in vain for as a female member of the Abolitionist Movement spoke with regard to the rise of skating in Worcester, Massachusetts, Higginson's later home:

> What do you say to nineteen cars being loaded with twelve hundred men, women, boys, and girls, all bound for the ice...? Mr. Higginson's articles...and his lectures and personal efforts seem to have stimulated everybody, old and young, grave and gay, to participate in this excellent and fascinating exercise. Last winter some rigid-minded people called it "Higginson's Revival." 50

Emerson and Higginson were among a group of Boston theologians who championed the cause of sport. Although they have been often labelled muscular Christians, their major thrust lay in the improvement of the physical state of the people and at first, little emphasis was placed on the role of sport in character development. Another clergyman who promoted sport was Henry Ward Beecher. Born into a strict Puritan family, his father was an orthodox Calvinist minister, and his sister, Catharine Beecher the pioneer in higher education for women and popularizer of calisthenics for all. Beecher viewed sport as more important than the theatre, Young Men's Associations, debating clubs or even religious meetings in providing for the relaxation of an excitable nation. He called upon the church to provide gymnastic facilities and bowling alleys to counter the evils and temptations of the commercial bowling and billiard palaces. Above all, amusements should provide for the needs of individuals for:

> As the director in a dance cries out "change partners," so it is with amusements, the still people must stir; the bustling folks must be still; those who stand must sit; those who labor with their hands should use their brains, and scholars should exercise their bodies. 51

James Freeman Clarke (1810-1888) attended Boston Latin School and went on to Harvard where he was a classmate of Oliver Wendell Holmes. After attending Harvard Divinity School he was ordained a Unitarian minister and later, between 1867 and 1877, held the position of non-resident professor of Ethnic Religions at Harvard Divinity School in which role he became the first American scholar to study non-Christian religions in a comprehensive manner. As a social reformer he took up the fight to abolish slavery and was involved in attempts to admit women to Harvard. As a Unitarian, Clarke rejected many of the beliefs and values inherent in orthodox Calvinism and presented a "liberal and rational form of Christianity." Clarke's interest in physical culture was nurtured by Karl Follen, while a student at Harvard. He played baseball and football but most of all remembered the open-air exercises that he practiced in the Delta turnplatz, the effects of which:

> ...were very conducive to health. While at school, I had frequent attacks of fever and pulmonary trouble, but after two or three years of gymnasium exercise I became free from these tendencies, and the foundation was laid for the physical health which has been one of the blessings of my life. 52

Later Clarke met another of the Germans who had come to Boston to promote gymnastics, Francis Lieber. These influences culminated in him formulating a theory of physical culture which was presented in a series of public lectures, published in 1880 under the title, Self-Culture: Physical, Intellectual, Moral and Spiritual. Clarke also addressed the two critical questions of relationship considered earlier in this chapter. To him "the letter and the spirit of the New Testament teach that we are to glorify God with our body as well as our spirit."[53] Yet, this apparent dualistic view of Body and Spirit may be questioned for in much of his writing the Body is seen as subordinate to, yet necessary in the response to a superior Spirit. With regard to the relation of Work and Play, Clarke adopted a natural approach in viewing play as necessary, agreeable and pleasant, contributing to the purpose of re-creation. Nevertheless to him, play also possessed a discipline component, one which necessitated hard work and self-denial. Indeed, even Clarke found it difficult to throw off all the shackles of Puritan restraint.

Novelists represented another strain of intellectual thought which had an impact upon the role of sport in nineteenth century Boston society. Sometimes critical, reforming and utopian in nature, certain novels provided an illustrative backcloth of a deteriorating urban society upon which their creators could present their ideas. The most important novel of the period was Looking Backward, 2000-1887, a story of an American utopia written by Edward Bellamy. Born at Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts in 1850, he was admitted to the bar in 1871. However, disillusioned at the prevalent hypocrisy he became journalist with the New York Evening Post in 1871 and a year later book reviewer and editorial writer with the Springfield Daily Union. Written during a period of social disintegration brought about by the dissolution of the frontier, an equal distribution of increased wealth and urban frustration, Looking Backward incorporated many of the reform ideas of Bellamy's generation. The timeliness of the novel's appearance was critical in it becoming a bestseller, for the hatred of social injustice and modified socialism represented just what the social conscious majority wished to read. Through his novel, Bellamy offers new perceptions and solutions to the dislocation in the social structure and the distortion in value systems brought about by the acceleration of urban growth and industrialization.

The young hero, Julian West, falls asleep in Boston in 1887 and awakens in the year 2000 finding himself in a Commonwealth, socialist state. Through his conversation with "My genial host and mentor" Dr. Leete, West learns more of society at the onset of the twenty-first century. Through this and his other utopian novel Equality, Bellamy prophesied the existence of the radio, the television or "electroscope", rapid transit through the air, the equality of women and envisaged a permanent umbrella over the streets to keep off the rain. The government was organised as the general staff of an army. It owned all the means of production and exchange, and ran the economy through an industrial army organised on a hierarchical basis. However, it is Bellamy's perception of health and sport in the ideal state that prove most interesting to this study. In regard to physical degeneracy and health, Dr. Leete claimed:

> ...at forty-five we are physically and mentally younger, I fancy, than you were at thirty-five. It is a strange reflection that at forty-five, when we are just entering upon the most enjoyable period of life, you already began to think of growing old and to look backward. With you it was the forenoon, with us it is the afternoon, which is the brighter half of life. 54

Forty-five was the age that citizens left the army of industrial production and looked forward to a life of "early" retirement. The novel goes on to provide an interesting comparison of the differences contemplated in sport occurring over the one hundred and twenty-two years:

> "In one respect," said Dr. Leete, "there is a marked difference. The professional sportsmen, which were such a curious feature of your day, we have nothing answering to, nor are the prizes for which our athletes contend money prizes as with you. Our contests are always for glory only. The generous rivalry existing between the various guilds, and the loyalty of each worker to his own, afford a constant stimulation to all sorts of games and matches by sea and land, in which the young men take scarcely more interest than the honorary guildsmen who have served their time. The guild yacht races off Marblehead take place next week, and you will be able to judge for yourself of the popular enthusiasm which such events nowadays call out as compared with your day. The demand for "panem et circenses" preferred by the Roman populace is recognized nowadays as a wholly reasonable one. If bread is the first necessity of life, recreation is a close second, and the nation caters for both. Americans of the nineteenth century were as unfortunate in lacking an adequate provision for the one sort of need as for the other. Even if people of that period had enjoyed longer leisure, they would, I fancy, have often been at a loss how to pass it agreeably. We are never in that predicament." 55

Again, while recognizing the need for increased hours away from work during the nineteenth century, Bellamy echoes that ever-growing doubt at the ability of the people to enjoy their leisure time. Yet to Bellamy, his novel was a dream, it had provided a stimulus to, rather than a blueprint for social reform, as the author expressed it:

> I had but dreamed of that enlightened and care-free race of men and their ingeniously simple institutions, of the glorious new Boston with its domes and pinnacles, its gardens and fountains, and its universal reign of comfort. 56

It was a combination of intellectuals belonging to "the Boston

Circle," clergymen, and other social reformers that, in tackling the problem of the nation's health and physical fitness, together with the Body-Mind relationship, created a value foundation conducive to supporting social action and change with regard to the role of sport in society during the years 1870 to 1900. However, the Work-Play dichotomy represented an ongoing problem, one which needs to be considered further.

The greatest impact of the Protestant work ethic had been to polarize the behavioural categories of Work and Play. The pre-eminence of sobriety and labor in the mid-nineteenth century value system ensured that pleasure seeking was restricted "to the playgrounds of the leisure classes and [placed] sports in the hands of amateurs who would perform conspicuously and graciously to gain the esteem and deference of exclusive status-linked audiences." As industrialization became the fundamental social frame, so the polarization was eroded, for as Daniel Rodgers has noted, "The cult of strenuousity and the recreation movement grew together, minimizing the distinctions between usefulness and sport, toil and recreation, the work ethic and the spirit of play." Neverthless, such radical social change must be viewed in terms of a gradual process, and one which brought with it many contests, tensions, ambivalences and anomalies. One such conflict was the relationship of sport to play and work which culminated in the emergence of the professional, a distinction drawn by Gregory Stone thus:

> ...sports that were once work are never played, but these engage the "players" - the amateurs. Sports that were never work are always played, and these engage the "workers" - the professionals. 57

The central importance of economic determinants in the rise of sport highlighted here will be discussed further in Chapters Xl and Xll.

As the millions of city dwellers became actively involved in pleasure seeking so "they began to substitute a leisure ethic for the older work ethic; [and] the gospel of work soon yielded to the gospel of play." Yet the process was slow, and doubts still remained at Man's ability to amuse himself in a wholesome manner. As late as 1894, Caspar Whitney reminded his readers that sport had yet to reach its summit of significance in society, "It must be admitted unhesitatingly," he stated, "that we are only just learning how to play; we have not been, nor are we yet, a nation of pleasure-seekers."[58]

A comparison of the ideological and intellectual thought permeating the two cities during the nineteenth century is somewhat hampered by Bristol's apparent position on the periphery of English thought, while Boston was the heart of American intellectual ferment. The preeminence of Puritan spiritual monism in Britain faded as urbanization and industrialization took a hold on the nation. Prompted by advances in physiology and psychology, health became viewed as the harmonious development of Mind and Body. Although not without its critics, sport flourished in an intellectual environment conducive to its growth, and received support and frequent impulses from intellectuals, clergymen and authors alike. The Puritan ideal was more deeply rooted in Boston. Work and spiritual worship were of central concern as the Colonists fought for survival in a land where their very existence was threatened. Their attempts to build a new nation found little value in purposeless amusement. Nevertheless, as urban and industrial reality reached Boston, sometime after Bristol, the process of erosion of the Puritan work ethic commenced. Supported by various intellectuals, clergymen and authors, change was promoted further by the arrival of immigrants unfamiliar with the disciplined restraint of the Puritan idea.

This process of ideological change which started in Bristol during the eighteenth century and Boston during the nineteenth century, had by 1870 elevated the status of the Body in contributing to a dualistic perception of Man, and had recognized the need of providing for the increasing hours of non-work facing the population of both cities. While the orthodox beliefs of the Puritan church declined in importance, the influence of religion remained important in both cities and the church's perception of, and relation with, sport became modified during the second half of the nineteenth cenury, in accord with the prevailing thoughts and ideas of the time.

Footnotes

1. Leslie Stephen, "Rowing," in Anthony Trollope, ed., *British Sports and Pastimes* (London : Longmans, 1868), p. 236.

2. For an excellent treatment of this subject see Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1978).

3. Southwood Smith, *The Philosophy of Health; or, An Exposition of the Physiological and Sanitary Conditions Conducive to Longevity and Happiness* (London, 1865), p. xi, quoted in Haley, pp. 17-18.

4. Thomas Laycock, *Mind and Brain* (London, 1869), Vol. I. pp. 18-19, quoted in Haley, p.38.

5. Leslie Stephen, "The Moral Element in Literature," *Cornhill Magazine* 43 (1881), p. 42.

6. James Hinton, "Health," *Cornhill Magazine* 3 (1861), p. 333; "Editorial," *The Times* (October 24th 1857), quoted in Haley, p. 23.

7. "Mind and Muscle," *The Saturday Review* (April 21st 1860), p. 494; "Physical Strength," *The Saturday Review* (December 10th 1859), p. 701; Mathew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy; an essay in political and social criticism* (Indianapolis : Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), p. 153.

8. See Gerald Redmond, "Alarm, Amusement and Contempt : Early English Critics of Muscular Christianity." Paper presented at the Ninth Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History, Hamilton, May 22nd-26th 1981.

9. "Physical Strength," pp. 701-702.

10. "Amusements," *Bow Bells* n.s. 4 (February 21st 1866), p. 83.

11. Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (New York : A.L. Burt, 1866), p. 19.

12. "The Philosophy of Amusement," *Meliora : Quarterly Review of the Social Sciences* 6 : 23 (1864), p. 200.

13. Sir James Paget quoted in Dudley Allen Sargent, "The Physical State of the American People," In N.S. Shaler, ed., *The United States of America* Vol. III. (New York : D. Appleton and Co., 1894), p. 1128.

14. Cited in J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday : A Social History* (London : Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 157; Reverend Harry Jones, "Recreation," *Good Words* 22 (1881), pp. 43-49, quoted in Peter

Bailey, "'A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures' : The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure," Victorian Studies 21 : 1 (Autumn 1977), p. 20.

15. "The Philosophy of Amusement," p. 195.

16. John Ruskin, The Crown of Wild Olive pp. 405-406, quoted in Haley, p. 257.

17. W. Robert Dale, "Amusements," Good Words 8 (May 1st 1867), p. 332.

18. "Holiday Plans," The Saturday Review (June 16th 1866), pp. 714-715. This article was later plagiarised by the author of "Happy Holidays," The Saturday Review (April 7th 1877), pp. 411-412.

19. "Pleasure Taking," The Saturday Review 29 : 762 (June 4th 1870), p. 730.

20. The first statutory provision for paid holidays in Britain accompanied the Shops (Hours of Closing) Act of 1928, but it was not until the Holidays with Pay Act of 1938 that such provision became generally accepted.

21. "Leisure," The Saturday Review 23 : 595 (March 23rd 1867), p. 360.

22. Frederick Gale, Modern English Sports (London : Macmillan, 1885), p. xxiii.

23. George B. Bartlett, "The Recreations of the People," Journal of Social Science XII (1880), p. 135.

24. William Bradford, "History of Plymouth Plantation," In J.F. Jameson, ed., Original Narratives of Early American History (New York, 1908), p. 238; Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1853), Vol. I., p. 527, quoted in Foster Rhea Dulles, America Learns to Play : A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940 (Englewood Cliffs : Prentice Hall, 1965), p. 5.

25. "The Morality of Amusements," Boston Morning Journal (April 23rd 1870), p. 1; John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, Saga of American Sport (Philadelphia : Lea and Febiger, 1978), p. 24; Gustavus Myers, Ye Olden Blue Laws (New York, 1921), p. 211, quoted in Dulles, p. 6; Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay Vol. III., (Boston, 1853), p. 224, cited in Dulles, p. 6.

26. For a useful discussion of "Religious Sport" and "Trespass Sport" as practiced during the Colonial Era see Robert Knight Barney, "Physical Education and Sport in North America," In Earle F. Zeigler, ed., History of Physical Education and Sport (Englewood Cliffs : Prentice Hall, 1979), pp. 172-174.

27. John Adams, *Works* Vol. II., p. 59, quoted in Dulles, p. 44; L.H. Butterfield, ed., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* (Cambridge : Belknap Press, 1961), p. 100; Page Smith, *John Adams* Vol. I., (1735-1784), (New York, 1962), p. 200.

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33. Dale, p. 329.

34. "Amusements," *New Englander* (1867), pp. 419-422.

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37. John Boyle O'Reilly, *The Ethics of Boxing and Manly Sport* (Boston : Ticknor, 1886), p. xi.

38. Sargent, p. 1128.

39. *Boston Morning Journal* (April 23rd 1870, March 21st 1871, and March 28th 1871).

40. Sargent, pp. 1138-1139, 1144.

41. John Jeffries, "Physical Culture, the Result of Moral Obligation," The American Quarterly Observer I (October 1833), p. 252.

42. Edward Everett, Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions (New York : Arno Press, 1972); Edward Everett Hale, Public Amusement for Poor and Rich. A Discourse (Boston : Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1857), p. 9.

43. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

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45. Ralph Waldo Emerson in Van Wych Brooks, The Flowering of New England 1815-1865 (New York : Dutton, 1952), p. 253.

46. Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Conduct of Life, Nature and other essays (Boston : Ticknor and Fields, 1860), p. 125.

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50. Howard N. Meyer, Colonel of the Black Regiment -- The Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson (New York, 1967), p. 112, quoted in John A. Lucas, "Early Apostle of Health and Fitness : Thomas Wentworth Higginson," Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation 42 : 2 (February 1971), p. 32.

51. Arthur C. Cole, "Our Sporting Grandfathers," Atlantic Monthly CL (July 1932), p. 91; Henry Ward Beecher, "Rational Amusements," Boston Daily Advertiser (January 16th 1869).

52. Erich Geldbach, "James Freeman Clarke's View on Physical Culture," Paper presented at the Eighth Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History, Banff, May 1980; James Freeman Clarke, Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence

(Boston, 1871), p. 43, quoted in Geldbach, p. 4.

53. James Freeman Clarke, Self-Culture : Physical, Intellectual, Moral and Spiritual (Boston, 1880), p. 54, quoted in Geldbach, p. 6.

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55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p. 252.

57. Gregory Stone, "American Sports : Play and Dis-play," Chicago Review 9 (Fall 1955), p. 84.

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CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL AND SPORT

Christianity represents a substantial portion of the foundation of thought and action in Western society. As such it is impossible to comprehend the role of sport in Bristol and Boston without affording recognition to the pervasive religious ideals and the role of the church within nineteenth century society.

Throughout Britain, during much of the nineteenth century, the most generally accepted and practiced form of Christianity was Evangelism. Transcending denominational barriers, it reflected a nonconformist conscience in which moral conduct was the test of a good Christian. Prayer meetings, preaching and a strict observance of the Sabbath represented the foremost characteristic of these Evangelicals.

Bristol, the home of John and Charles Wesley, had been the cradle of Methodism during the eighteenth century. Although the data in Table VI must be treated with care, one or two important observations may be made. Unlike the larger industrial cities of the North, Bristol experienced a negligible influx of Irish immigrants during the first half of the nineteenth century. This is reflected in the proportion of Roman Catholics in the city, for unlike Liverpool (35.4%) and Manchester (27.1%), a mere 6.6 percent of Bristol's church-going population was Catholic. It is also seen that the Protestants, particularly those members of the Anglican church, formed a substantial majority even when the orthodox, heterodox and isolated congregations are combined to represent a group of Protestant dissenters. However, as the century progressed so the various non-conformist churches flourished in the city. Many of the non-conformists were wealthy individuals, and

Table VI

The Religious Affiliation of Bristolians in 1851[1]

(By Church Attendance)

Group Classification	Denomination	Percentage of Total
	Church of England	45.5
	Roman Catholic	6.6
	Wesleyans	5.8
	Total	57.9
Orthodox	Other Methodists	11.4
	Congregationalists	16.3
	Baptists	8.6
	Presbyterians	-
	Total	36.3
Heterodox	Unitarians	1.5
	Quakers	1.0
	Total	2.5
	Isolated Congregations	3.3

although resistant and slow at first in coping with urban and industrial ills, it was the non-conformist and Anglican churches that were foremost in formulating a social gospel. The church played a more significant part in the life of Bristol than in other large industrial towns, perhaps due in part to the above average proportion of middle class citizens in the city, a religious census of the 1880s showed that Bristol witnessed a higher than average proportion of its population attending public worship.[2]

The churches' social gospel found its roots in the city with the founding of the Bristol City Mission in 1826 by Congregationalists and Baptists. Two years later, the Inner City Visiting Mission, run by Wesleyans, was followed by the Diocesan Visiting Society sponsored by the Anglican church, and the Unitarian's Domestic Mission in 1839. These nineteenth century missions sought to offer something more than salvation in after life. In the most poverty stricken areas of Bristol the missions functioned to foster community spirit through providing the facilities and organization necessary in the process of social cohesion. Although Bible classes and Mutual Improvement Societies had been organized earlier, the First Day School for Men was opened by Quakers in 1857. Working Men's Clubs found limited acceptance in Bristol for early attempts to establish them frequently resulted in their closure due to poverty and a lack of buildings. Yet the church's role in social uplift continued whether through the preaching of Frederick Dennison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, Edward Vansittart Neal, John M. Ludlow and other Christian Socialists, or the result of other varied contributions by church affiliated individuals and groups. Only the Sunday schools remained "determinedly and dogmatically religious," while all other religious institutions turned to the social gospel whether in search of a congregation or a more genuine concern for the spiritual and physical state of the people.[3] The part that the church began to play in the social lives of its parishioners might best be reflected in the words of the Reverend T. W. Harvey:

> It was part of our ideal that the Church should provide and be a centre of social life for all the parish, not for its congregation only; that all that is innocent and refresh-

> ing - in reading rooms and games, in music and drama, in gymnastics and drill, in clubs and other associations - should find its headquarters in (church) buildings. The Church of England has something more to do than call men to repentance, essential as that work is. She has to teach, to edify, to build up the Christian character. She has a message to the intellect as well as the heart, to the body as well as to the soul, for both have been redeemed by Christ. 4

Puritan ideology dominated religious thought and society in Boston during the seventeenth, eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century. So pervasive was its early impact that until 1691 only members of the church were permitted to vote in Massachusetts. During the second half of the nineteenth century Protestantism, essentially a product of agrarian, middle-class society, found itself faced by the problems of increasing urbanization and industrialization. The War of 1812 had ruined the Federalist's economic power, the result being a switch of emphasis in Boston's economy from shipping and commerce to manufacturing. The relationship with religious thought is important in that the fall of the colonial merchants sounded a decline in orthodox Calvinism leaving a void that was filled by the Unitarians. An indication of the speed with which Unitarianism took hold lies in the fact that by the early nineteenth century nearly all the Congregational pulpits in and around Boston were filled by Unitarian preachers. As the population of the city increased so did church membership. The construction of places of worship lagged behind this demographic upsurge, for example in the decade 1878 to 1888, the twenty-two thousand residents of Boston's thirteenth ward were without a single Protestant church. On the other hand, as wealthy residential districts shifted location, so once prosperous churches stood stranded and neglected among the urban waste of industrial sprawl and squalor. To the working classes and immigrants the Protestant church represented "a sort of capitalistic soothing-syrup", one which they rejected.[5]

Nor was Protestantism the only and dominant church in Boston during the years 1870 to 1900. Table VII reflects the wide variety of Boston's churches in 1870. Of a total number of 145,800 sittings, the Roman Catholic Church provided nearly one quarter, showing the impact of the European immigrants on Boston religion. In 1871, there were nine hundred thousand Catholics in New England and one hundred Catholic priests in Boston alone.[7] The first Roman Catholic weekly in Boston, The Pilot, was established in 1838, and was for many years edited and in part owned by John Boyle O'Reilly. The Catholic immigrants had found themselves

Table VII

The Religious Affiliation of Bostonians in 1870
(By the number of churches and sittings).[6]

Denomination	Number of Churches	Percentage of Total Sittings
Episcopal	24	8.2
Roman Catholic	28	23.7
Methodists	28	10.9
Coloured Methodists	3	1.4
Congregational	30	15.9
Baptists	25	14.7
Presbyterian	7	2.4
Unitarian	28	14.1
Universalist	11	3.8
German Reformed	1	0.4
Jewish	6	1.2
Lutheran	2	0.3
German Lutheran	2	0.4
Swedish Lutheran	1	0.3
Christian	1	0.3
Others	10	1.9

channelled into the once fashionable districts of Boston, the abandoned churches were adopted as houses of Catholic (or other immigrant) worship or refashioned to become charitable institutions. The other immigrant groups brought with them the religious beliefs of their homeland, their diversity leading Arthur Schlesinger to state, "With over one hundred and fifty denominations from which to choose, no country in the world so well exemplified Frederick the Great's principle that everyone should be allowed to go to heaven in his own way."[8]

The rise of a social gospel among the churches of Boston occurred during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Although charitable organizations had concerned themselves with the increasing social ills of the city, they tended to bypass the causes of poverty and social disintegration, preferring to treat the outcome. The drawn out depression years of 1873 to 1879 and 1893 to 1897 served to promote the role of the church in social concerns. The nineteenth century church expressed a discontent at the restricted ascetic program of the churches, at their persistent campaigns in the cause of temperance, sabbatarianism and Comstockian morality. Eventually a Boston school of Christian Socialists emerged, a group that might better be described in terms of two camps. On the one hand were the moderates, among them the Reverends Joseph Cook, Minot J. Savage and Nicholas Paine Gilman. In their quest to Christianize capitalism, they demonstrated a morbid fear of Marxism, Nationalism, Spencerian sociology and Sumnerian economics. Their recipe for change ignored any drastic proposals but rather tended toward meliorative reform. They preached their message from the pulpit and through four Christian Socialist organs, the Unitarian (1886), New World (1892), Our Day (1888) and Church Social Union (1891). The radicals on the other hand sought to socialize Christianity, following a belief that the higher the socialism the freer the individual. Unlike the moderates, they saw themselves as more than mere educators and facilitators, and were willing to cross religious boundaries in order to achieve their aims. Jesse H. Jones was the first socialist minister in Boston, although in 1890 his Congregational parishioners refused to renew his contract. The Boston Society of Christian Socialists was established in 1889 by William Dwight Porter Bliss, a Broad Churchman who, like the majority of Boston's Christian Socialists, had been inspired by the work of the Christian Socialist Movement in Britain. The Boston Society was devoted to the furtherance of three ideals, co-operation, the gradual achievement of equal compensation and an economic order based upon the public ownership of productive wealth. Its members worked toward these ends until the Society disbanded in 1896, after Bliss had left Boston. Through their work, they helped to modify the middle class atheistic perception of socialism and endeavoured to rationalize its value. An exception was Herbert Newton Carson who arrived in Boston in 1893. A year later he established the first Labour Church in America for the industrial workers of Lynn. With a membership restricted to the working class, his aim was to crush Capitalism, and Christianity the perceived ally of Capitalism. These men, representing a wide range of Christian Socialists, addressed what became known in both nations as the process of moral civilization. Sport was utilized as a tool in this process during the second half of the nineteenth century.[9]

It was in a search for moral development that muscular Christianity evolved. Although its sole promotion has frequently been incorrectly attributed to Dr. Thomas Arnold, the seeds of its growth were tended in the great English public schools during the first half of the nineteenth century.[10] It was only a short while before its attendant beliefs, attitudes and values reached out and across the Atlantic ocean. Related closely to the polity of the day through the growing interest in Christian Socialism, the philosophy of muscular Christianity was frequently observed in the emergence of various philanthropic and temperance movements and was no better exemplified than in socio-religious organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association.

However, the church was faced with a more practical problem than contributing to a civilizing mission in the city. Presented with declining congregations, particularly in working class districts, the church looked to utilizing sport in coaxing the sheep back into the fold. This realization is most clearly stated by the Reverend H. R. Haweis who recommended that:

> The Church should win men and women, body, soul, and spirit; it should set up its counter-attractions, its counter-excitements.
>
> When you have got hold of the people and taught them to trust you, you can do what you like with them, in or out of church or chapel; but you can do nothing with them if you don't get hold of them at all. 11

While the lack of genuine Christian sentiment embodied in the second paragraph might have concerned philanthropists it is true to say that "the curate, and often the vicar...set out to claim souls with a Bible in one hand and a football in the other."[12] Although Bristol is unable to claim the same degree of religious involvement with football as witnessed in other cities, the church developed an increased role with regard to sport in the city during the period 1870 to 1900.

On February 8th 1884, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the condition of Bristol's poor. Reporting back to the Bishop of Bristol the Committee concluded, with regard to the recreation of and benevolent work amongst the poor, that the lowest classes spent their leisure hours either at home, in pubs, or lounging in the streets and parks. The study, promoted by the Diocesan Senate of Bristol, recommended that additional missions be built, for although the existing ones attracted the working classes they were too few in number. The committee also suggested the need for improved playgrounds, parks, and organization, the latter because in Bristol "there is not amongst all its benevolent associations, any which has in view the Recreation of the People, except a branch of the Kyle Society, which appears to be very slightly supported."[13]

Mission halls and reading rooms had been established in various districts of Bristol earlier in the century. Often the gifts of wealthy philanthropists, they provided for the spiritual and recreational well-being of the community. One such club was the Vaughan Club, Belgrave Hill (formerly known as the Redland Reading Rooms), established in 1873 by P. H. Vaughan. While Mondays were always set aside for Bible reading, for the two shillings a year membership fee, the club's three hundred and fifty members were provided with equipment for chess, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes and later, when a billiards table was added, the club joined the city's Temperance Billiards League. Earlier, J. Hiram Bell was appointed by the Bristol City Mission Society to work in the St. Phillip's district of the city, a working class area in which "it was scarcely safe for policemen to go on their beats single handed. Public houses were on nearly every corner, and drink, squalor, and evil of every description stalked the streets and alleys naked and unashamed." Bell was determined to provide for the men and women of the district a place for relaxation and sport, away from the evils of alcohol. To this end, the Cumberland Street Mission Hall was built in 1872. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Wesleyan church adopted outdoor pursuits, exercise and sport in their search for "civilization" because such activities were "popular and non-political... and fed an idealism about life and rural values to counteract the 'evils' of urban life." While the churches' margin of tolerating sport increased during the nineteenth century, it had to struggle with an on-going ambivalence expressed by some of Bristol's religious leaders.[14]

The role of Boston's churches with regard to the social gospel is best described in the words of Washington Gladden, one of the city's leading preachers of the "faith":

> The duty of the Church with respect to popular amusement is not done when it has lifted up its warning against the abuses that grow out of them, and laid down its laws of temperance and moderation in their use. It has a positive function to fulfill in furnishing diversions that shall be attractive, and, at the same time, pure and wholesome. 15

By 1870 Boston's churches reflected a remarkable tolerance for amusement when one considers the all-powerful Protestant work ethic that had dominated the city's thought since birth. Prompted by the work of individuals, a realization of the needs of a before unknown urban, industrial environment, together with "the implicit survival instinct of an institution which was rapidly losing its predominant position in society," the church emerged from its confines of ascetic Puritanism to actively encourage the growth of sport. Churches planned excursion trips for their congregations which frequently included the practice of sport. The annual picnic of the School Street Sabbath School and Church was reported in the Boston Morning Journal for June 22nd, 1871. The group travelled by train to Walton Pond Grove near Concord and returned by special train. The day's festivities included dancing, bathing, plus sack and wheelbarrow races for which prizes were awarded. The rise of sport promoted religion in a latent manner. In 1880, the Bicycling World and Archery Field published in Boston, editorialized that "the wheel has already carried many a good man to church." A year earlier, The Boston Herald published a leader article on Boston's clergyman bicyclists. One minister wrote that men of faith should view the invention of the bicycle as yet further evidence of "the progress of discovery in the applied sciences, as a mighty confirmation of the immanence and providence of God."[16] While the churches' promotion of sport flourished in both cities during the years 1870 to 1900, a major problem facing the church and sport alike was that of the Sabbath, traditionally a day of rest and devout worship.

Sabbatarianism and Sport

A relic of seventeenth century Puritanism, its early existence in British thought is evidenced by an inscription found on a churchyard stile in Wales that read:

Ye what come here on Sunday
 To practice playing ball,
Take care that before Monday 17
 The devil won't have you all.

Likewise, recognition of the Sabbath accompanied Puritan beliefs in Boston. As late as 1851, a New England journal reminded its readership:

> ...the law of God requires that we remember the Sabbath day, and keep it holy; and this cuts off at a stroke all Sabbath recreations, except such as are found in the delightful duties and services of religion.
> ...we were sent into this world, not for sport and amusement, but for labour; not to enjoy and please ourselves, but to serve and glorify God, and be useful to our fellow men. 18

Although it has been seen that the ideas of labour and usefulness steadily became eroded, the pressure upon the masses to direct their one free day to the cause of religious worship continued in both cities.

In England, the Anglican sponsored Lord's Day Observance Society was founded in London in 1831. By mid-century the Bristol Church of England Lord's Day Society had been established and began to speak out on sports infringing upon the Sabbath. In 1850 E. Young and Robert A. Taylor, honorary secretaries to the Bristol Society, wrote a letter to the directors of the Great Western Railway, expressing deep concern at the "heathenistic" provision of Sunday excursion trains. A reply dated October 22nd 1850, reflected an incongruence inherent between the value systems of the church and those concerned with the betterment of mid-nineteenth century society:

> ...the consent of this Company to provide occasional trains of that description was only given, after experience had shown that there was, on the part of persons employed incessantly in shops and factories, during every other day in the week, a growing requirement for relaxation during the Sunday, by passing it either at the seaside or in the country,

> instead of remaining to spend both their time and their money at some suburban tavern.

While affording time to arguments for and against the issue of Sabbatarianism, a Bristol author writing in 1850 came down heavily on the side of the Lord's Day Observance Society in concluding that:

> Familiarized with the turning of Sunday into a day of physical escape from monotony - demoralized in their sense of what really makes it the best of days; they will at length, like our profligate neighbours, come to regard it as a day consecrated to pleasure, in the poorest sense of the word. 19

The question flared up again in 1885, when during the evening of the first Sunday in June, a band of forty musicians engaged by "a number of gentlemen interested in the welfare of the working classes" assembled on Durdham Down. Similar entertainment followed on subsequent Sunday evenings drawing audiences of twenty thousand people and more. The popularity of these Sunday concerts caused some indignation among the ranks of the Sabbatarians, and precipitated an ongoing dialogue between Francis Tagart, a supporter of the concerts, and James Inskip, the foremost critic. In highlighting the advantages of the Sunday Band, Tagart pleaded:

> ...let us think no evil of the tens of thousands wending their way to the Downs on a fine summer evening, - it may be that the music is only a small part of their enjoyment in the pure air and magnificent scenery, - let us not turn them aside from their ways of pleasantness so that we ourselves lose not the paths of peace. 20

The distinct differences in value of the concerts perceived by the established Puritanical middle classes, and the young industrial working classes were reflected in an anonymous author's The Battle of the Bunday Sand: A Chronicle of 1990, or Thereabout, a futuristic if not cynical story of the fate of the Sunday Band:

> "Next week," said Angelina, "the Bunday Sand comes off at six thirty, on the plains of Durdham."
>
> The plains of Durdham bound the gorge of the Avon on the north west of the ancient city of Bristowe.
>
> Miss Timbrel's arm fell paralyzed at her side. In doing so the Oriental treasures on the tray before her went smash. There was a heavy failure in China.
>
> "What! Miss Angelina, have I lived to see this?" Miss Timbrel did not quite realize what the Bunday Sand was, but she knew it was something very wicked.
>
> "No, not to see it, to hear it," shrieked the lady assistant "My cousin, in the Guards, is going to take me out to enjoy it; so, of course, you will not be at home that evening." 21

Although the Lord's Day Observance Society was successful in closing libraries and museums in Bristol by 1893, the success of the excursion trains, the Sunday concerts on Durdham Down and the formation of the Bristol Sunday Society (based on Socialist principles and dedicated to provide Sunday entertainment) by the end of the nineteenth century, had opened a door to the practice of sport in the city.

In Boston, the stronger Puritan beliefs during the nineteenth century made the nature and expectations of the Sabbath more resistant to change initially. The city's newspapers reflected the social consciousness that Sunday was for rest and worship. Accounts of arrests for "playing cards on Lord's Day," and such reports as "Fined ten dollars plus costs for playing dice on Sunday" filled the newspaper columns particularly during the winter months.[22] As late as 1879, five members of the Brockton, Massachusetts Bicycle Club appeared in court accused of violating the law by riding on Sunday. Although the judge eventually quashed the case and declared that the cyclists might ride on Sunday as on any other day, the remnants of the Sabbatarian lobby is to be noted.

However, the following year saw an advertisement for the Bicycle Emporium Riding School on Northampton Street in Boston, proudly boast its hours of business as 8.00 a.m. to 9.00 p.m., "Sundays included."[23] As Sunday sport became more popular so did the Sabbatarians strengthen their front of attack. The Minutes of the Board of Commissioners, Park Department for May 20th 1884, included the resolution that "baseball and other games are prohibited on Sunday and will be restricted on other days of the week to such grounds as are from time to time designated, under penalty of a fine not exceeding $20."[24] Nevertheless, Massachusetts relaxed its Sabbath Blue Laws in 1887, and to the masses of working men, Sunday became "a day for labor meetings, for excursions, for saloons, beer gardens, base-ball games and carousals." The perceived fall of moral standards prompted the Sabbatarians to mount a nationwide petition for a Federal Sunday Rest Law in 1889. Although their effort eventually failed, the nation's ears were opened to impressing, albeit antiquated, tenets of Puritan belief. The change in Massachusetts' Blue Laws was the result of realizing the need for maintaining public services in the city. A closure of food distribution, medical and transport services, would have meant that the city could not function as a social productive unit. Yet the provision of Sunday transport meant more to Boston's population as Sam Bass Warner explained:

> ...the special nineteenth century habit of Sunday rides to the parks and cemeteries outside the city made many of the most distant runs profitable. Until 1890 the suburban terminals at Grove Hall, Dorchester, and Forest Hills, West Roxbury, were situated on the edge of sparsely settled land.

> Their biggest day was Sunday, when thousands of Bostonians journeyed out from town to spend the day at the Castle Garden Amusement Park and nearby Franklin Park, or the Forest Hills Cemetary and Arnold Arboretum. With the establishment of metropolitan parks around the whole of greater Boston in the 1890's, the farthest lines were pushed out to those new parks to take advantage of the Sunday traffic. 25

The battle for Sunday sport had seemingly been won in Boston by 1890. Although the practice of "Organized Sport" on Sunday was not legalized until 1920, no longer did Bostonians "have to walk down Washington Street carrying a Bible in [their] hand and not speak to anybody on the street." The call now went out for the provision of additional facilities in districts less accessible to the existing parks and playgrounds. While Alderman Martin Lomasney asked for the city's parks to be kept open on Sundays because:

> Certain people in the North End and in South Boston can reach these parks on Sundays who cannot reach them any other day, and I don't believe they should be deprived of going on the flying horses if they wish to do so. 26

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed marked changes in the Sunday activities of both cities. By the end of the century, the Sabbath was well established as a day for the enjoyment of sport, whether a bicycle ride in the country, a ramble in the park or bathing at the seashore. Sabbatarian sentiment did remain, in 1900 the Reverend George E. Hawes explained to the United Presbyterian Ministers' Association that the injuries incurred by Pittsburgh players was the work of the Lord in punishing the team for playing on Sunday. However, this failed to explain the below par performances of Boston and Philadelphia in the pennant race, for they did not transgress the Sabbath.[27] Yet the church had a more fundamental enemy than those seemingly intent on destroying its one day of worship. During the second half of the nineteenth century educated individuals began to question the underlying premise of Christianity, that Man was created by God. A counter belief emerged, based on the theory of evolution, becoming recognized in both Britain and America as Social Darwinism.

Social Darwinism and Sport

In 1836, Charles Darwin sailed to South America as a naturalist aboard the"Beagle". His findings on that voyage, coupled with the influence in reading Thomas Malthus' Essay on Population two years later, prompted the initial thirty-five page draft of a theory of evolution by natural selection in 1842, which was expanded two years later to a two hundred and thirty page paper outlining his theory. Considered by Jacob Bronowski to represent "certainly the most important single scientific innovation in the nineteenth century," Darwin's theory, which was later expounded in The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life, cast a doubt on the very reliability of religious thought.[28] His fundamental doctrine was that there existed more individuals of every species than could survive, the ensuing fierce struggle led to evolutionary changes in the species.

The British sociologist, Herbert Spencer, applied Darwin's theory to society and developed a notion of Social Darwinism that was based on the belief of struggle, destruction and the survival of the fittest. Social change and social advancement was brought about through a process of natural selection, and in this regard the less that Man interfered with social action, the greater his assurance that the fittest would climb to the top of the social ladder. This was "laissez faire" at its most extreme, a philosophy that drew strong support from the business world, for it challenged the traditional moral and religious bases of Victorian society while appearing to legitimize its uncaring attitude toward the social unfortunates, for the weak were seen to obstruct the pathway to progress and deserved to perish. In this manner, Social Darwinism also served to justify economic warfare, poverty and exploration.

The leading American exponent of Social Darwinism was William Graham Sumner. Although the Gospel of Wealth was frequently interpreted as a product of God's Law, Spencer's theory, which was readily accepted by many of the nation's most prominent businessmen, at times appeared to run counter to the fundamental Christian principles upon which American democratic tradition rested. Sumner viewed an inherent struggle between Man to win, he argued that:

> Every man who stands on the earth's surface excludes some one else from so much of it as he covers; every one who eats a loaf of bread appropriates to himself for the time being the exclusive use and enjoyment of as many square feet of the earth's surface as were required to raise the wheat. 29

Further, Sumner saw virtues emerging from the competition such as perseverence and industry, while winning was for the superior Man and losing for the weak.

The relationship between sport and Social Darwinism has been debated by many scholars, and it would be fair to assume that physical training with the intent of building up the fittest nation, and the rise of "Organised Sport" with an emphasis on competition and value on winning, would seem to reflect the basic philosophical tenets set down by

Darwin, Spencer and Sumner. The words of Harvard philosopher, George Santayana, serve to explain this relationship:

> There is an athletic aristocracy for the same reason that there is one of intelligence and one of fashion, because men have different endowments, and only a few can do each thing as well as it is capable of being done. Equality in these respects would mean total absence of excellence. 30

While permeating the middle and upper strata of British and American society during the second half of the nineteenth century, its philosophic foundation did not find the acceptance that the church did among the working classes. Religion was the universal yardstick for all that was good in the nineteenth century and so often the medicine with which to soothe the ills of urban and industrial society.

The Temperance Movement and Sport

Having solved the problem of securing time for non-work activity, the working classes in particular, faced with increased affluence, greater secularism in society and a feeling of anomie, turned to the pubs of Bristol and the saloons of Boston in search of amusement and a sense of community belonging.

Bristol's pubs performed four major roles in city life, providing a meeting house for political groups, a venue for the practice of sport, a terminus for the ever complex transport network building in and around the city, together with a shelter where the labourer might join his like in conversation over a glass of beer. Provided with few, if any alternatives, the working man turned to the pub to fulfill his leisure time needs. "Games for Working Men" written in 1876 reflects the situation whilst comparing the long hours of labour and the problem of intemperance encountered by the granary workers of Wait and James' Corn Stores and Proctor Baker's Flour Mills on Bristol Quay, with the popular cry of "Panem et Circenses" echoing in the streets of the degenerating days of the Roman Empire:

> Two Giant temples to the god of corn
> On either side the teeming river rise;
> Here, the gold bushels fill the granaries,
> There, into silver dust the gold is worn!
> "Bread, and the Games!" - All ye, who laugh to scorn
> The voice that ruled Rome's harsh communities,
> Is this at all a health fuller of cries,
> When "Beer and Labour" from our streets is borne?
> Hark! smoky mill and manufactory cry -
> "We know not God, if such be Heaven's plan!
> "Drink deep, and drown our cares, until we die!
> "We have no hope beyond the drinking-can!
> "Tell us no more that happiness in Heaven's,
> "When this sad joy alone our hard day's toiling leavens!"[31]

The problem of intemperance became ever more serious in Bristol during the nineteenth century. The pubs, inns, gin-palaces, beer-shops and even the home were regarded as little more than pernicious "alcoholic wells" by opponents of the habit. In 1870, the American Eclectic Medical Review published figures pertaining to the consumption of beer in Europe. While Britain more than quadrupled the volume of beer drunk in France, it nearly doubled that of Germany. Alcoholic consumption reached a peak in Britain during the mid-1870s when in 1874 an average of thirty-four gallons of beer and in 1875, one and one-half gallons of spirit per person were consumed.[32] It was the increased prosperity of Victorians which accounted in large part for this upsurge although soon even an increase in real wages was unable to keep up with the rise in the price of beer, and the popularity of the pub underwent a gradual decline. Even still, Bristol did not fare well in the return to teetotalism as the figures in Table VIII indicate. The city had more pubs per population than all other cities (excepting Portsmouth), yet the number of convictions for drunkeness on the Sabbath (although such figures can be misleading) represented the mode for cities of equal size.[33]

Nevertheless, concern at the apparent growth of intemperate lifestyles in Bristol during the nineteenth century is reflected by the founding of opposition groups in the city. The year 1836 saw the formation of the Bristol Temperance Society which later merged with the Gospel Temperance Union to form the Bristol Gospel Temperance Society. Branches of national societies sprang up in the city during the 1880s, the British Women's Temperance Society, the Total Abstinence Society and the Church of England Temperance Society among them.

Table VIII

Intemperance. The Status of Bristol and Other Leading British Cities 34

City	Population (1881)	No. of People per Licenced House (1883)	No. of Convictions for Drunkeness on Sunday (1884)
Portsmouth	127,989	149	44
Bristol	206,374	152	111
Manchester	341,414	163	1,494
Brighton	107,546	181	40
Newcastle	145,359	215	360
Devonport and Plymouth	122,733	217	29
Blackburn	104,014	224	153
Sheffield	284,508	227	40
Birmingham	400,774	232	249
Liverpool	552,508	239	2,256

Supported by the work of the Women's Total Abstinence Society, the National Commercial Traveller's League, Temperance Friendly Societies, the Independent Order of Good Templars (1871), the Independent Order of Rechabites (1881) and local organizations including the Bedminister White Ribbon Temperance Army (1878), the Great Western Railway Temperance Friendly Society (1884) and the Shaftesbury Crusade (1888), these temperance societies fought an on-going battle with the pubs,for while their beliefs were so different, their roles were quite similar. Frequently pioneered by the Quakers, these societies soon drew support from the Evangelical church. Perhaps the most active group, the Band of Hope Union, was introduced into Bristol in the 1850s. By 1871, thirty-one district Bands had been established, the number multiplying to forty-three in 1881 and fifty-five by 1891. The Bands directed much of their preaching at children, setting up Sunday Schools and Junior Bands of Hope. Their determination and deep-seated belief in the evil of alcohol led to the closure of pubs and their replacement by Temperance Coffee Houses. The British Workman Coffee House was opened in 1874 by Bristol Quakers.[35] While the smaller and particularly the evangelical groups maintained the traditional activities of prayer meetings and preaching the word of temperance, others intent on providing counter attractions to the pubs formed clubs, arranged lectures, and furnished billiard tables and other facilities for the practice of sport. Nevertheless, the Temperance Coffee Houses generally failed as effective distractions to the pubs, even if they did succeed, along with the churches, as havens for women and children.

In response to having lost their coaching inn traffic to the railways during the nineteenth century and viewing the attraction of sport provided by temperance societies, business-minded publicans in Bristol turned to sport, introducing indoor games such as skittles, quoits and billiards onto their premises in an attempt to attract more customers and offset the threat to their existence.[36]

During the eighteenth century, the practice of most sport in Britain was generally accompanied by ample alcoholic refreshment. This, added to "fears for the working classes' ability to apply the necessary controls in leisure," a concern that deepened as "observers noted that gains in free time and spending power seemed generally to promote increased drunkeness rather than self-improvement," led to additional criticism levelled at the pub, above and beyond that of their harbouring revolutionaries. Licensing legislation was extended and led to the closure of various sports events. However, others maintained that sport promoted rather than negated the cause of temperance, as Montague Shearman suggested:

> There can be no doubt that owing to the popularity of the game, public houses have been largely denuded and have surrendered their habitues to the more healthy enjoyment of the football fields. 37

A rather amusing article appeared in the Bristol journal Amateur Sport for September 11th 1889. Proclaiming the rules of a newly-formed "Mutual Improvement Society and Anti-Nipping Society," it stated that "no member thereof shall, under any pretence whatsoever, imbibe or partake of any wine, beer, spirits, or liquor of an alcoholic or intoxicating nature." Nevertheless, exceptions were provided in abundance. The rule did not apply during athletic sports at the County Ground; tennis tournaments; while learning to ride the bicycle; after losing at cards or racing; and while W. G. Grace was scoring a century! The penalty being that "any member breaking any of these rules shall forfeit the sum of one shilling of current coin of the realm to each of the other members, the same to be expended in drinks."[38]

While the majority of alternatives provided by Bristol's temperance societies failed, one in particular flourished. Urijah Rees Thomas was the first ordained rector of Redland Park Church. A Congregational minister, he was a proponent of national education, and a member of the Bristol School Board of which he was elected Chairman in 1898. The Redland Park Young People's Guild under the guidance of Thomas, started as a conventional institution for Bible reading classes during the 1890s. Later, the Guild took the home of the Shaftesbury Crusade as its centre, a building which in 1885 had been intended as a Temperance Coffee House. By 1888, expansion had necessitated the building of The Shaftesbury Workmen's Institute and Public Hall which included a billiard room with two full size tables. In 1900 the building could boast a new wing which included two large club rooms for boys and two more for girls, a hall that seated six hundred people, a large gymnasium and a skittle alley. The new hall became the home of a number of organizations, among them the 25th Company of the Boy's Brigade (an institution that first appeared in Bristol in 1883), and the Ding's Club for boys and young men founded in 1896, which sponsored a variety of sports teams. The Crusade was also the venue for children's services, Bible classes and meetings of the Total Abstinence Association. While the Shaftesbury Crusade provided the facilities and organizational structure for the practice of sport, it was the philosophical support of Urijah Thomas that represented the greatest influence in the Crusade's role with regard to sport. In one of his addresses to "Young People and Their Guilds," Thomas expressed a dualistic belief in the Body-Mind relationship in proposing that:

> ... the intellect, and the heart, and body be counted as equally God's gifts, and trained and strengthened for God's use. The recreation of music, of tennis, of cricket, of rambles, of boating, and I know not of what other health-giving, nerve-renewing amusements, may well come under the purview of our guilds in city and in country alike. Let one watchword of every guild be, "A sound mind in a sound body."

In selecting, and justifying from a physical standpoint, those sports that should be practiced by the very young, Thomas drew from the work of Dr. Andrew Combe, philosopher and physician, who, in his Principles of Physiology, stated that "the most perfect of all exercises are those sports which combine free play of all the muscles of the body, mental excitement, and the unrestrained use of the voice..."[39]

In Bristol the battle for temperance had been waged by various socio-religious groups. By the end of the century the incidence of alcoholism and drunkenness had declined and a new location for the spending of leisure hours had appeared. In America, the mainspring of the temperance movement was romantic, agrarian sentiment. With this in mind, it was the churches most deeply-rooted in the farming regions of America that provided the strongest support for temperance societies. The Massachusetts Temperance Society was founded in 1833 and was supported by other local and national societies such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (founded in 1874), in its work towards weaning Bostonians from the bottle. The popularity of the saloon among the city's labouring classes increased as real wages and leisure hours improved. The rise of alcohol consumption became a real problem and is reflected in the following report of prisoners in The Tombs, the city's jail, furnished by a Boston newspaper in 1870:

> The number of prisoners in the Tombs at 11 o'clock last night for examination in the Municipal Court today was 62, of whom 43 were for drunkenness, 3 each for malicious mischief and larceny, 4 for assault and battery, 2 each for illegal sale of liquor, night walking and common drunkenness, and 1 each for perjury, vagrancy and violation of city ordinances. 40

While beer gardens and saloons were frowned upon in Boston, it was a peculiarity of the inconsistency of American value systems that such "dens of iniquity" represented a popular and socially acceptable place of repose in other parts of the country.

As in Britain, the practice of American sport during the eighteenth century was frequently accompanied by drinking. This tradition continued into the nineteenth century and led Boston's sport administrators to take measures in controlling the habit. Upon the re-election of I. W. Adams at the Annual General Meeting of the Boston professional baseball club in 1871, the President addressed the relation of temperance and sport in stating that:

> We have not allowed the sale of intoxicating drinks upon our grounds and that other attendant evil, betting, has been strictly prohibited. These provisions, we believe, have assisted in drawing the better class of people to within the many exciting contests... 41

Nor was it solely the existence of alcohol at sporting events that prompted attempts at greater control. In 1885 the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice (founded in 1879), embarked upon a campaign against commercial skating rinks. The Society's attitude was reflected in the Annual Report of that year:

> The skating rink, which at first received the approval of many of our best citizens, and which it was hoped might prove

> both innocent and beneficial as a place of amusement for the young, seems to have very rapidly degenerated. Deserted generally by those who alone could give it character, it has become more and more the resort of the most disreputable. And even with the best efforts of the proprietors, we feel it our duty to warn parents of the dangers which now surround their children at the rink. 42

Eventually, this lobby led to the revocation of the licence of one rink. While reports such as these suggested that sport actually promoted intemperance, the societies themselves in searching for an alternative attraction to the pub and saloon stumbled upon a need previously unfulfilled, a need that drove another prominent nineteenth century socio-religious institution, The Young Men's Christian Association, to provide the opportunity for participation in sport.

The Young Men's Christian Association and Sport

The Young Men's Christian Association was started in 1841 by George Williams who arranged Bible reading classes as an alternative to the social evil that impinged upon the leisure hours of clerks and shop assistants in London. The vision travelled to the other end of the newly-completed Great Western Railway when in 1848, Williams came to Bristol. However, after meeting for three years in rooms above No. 1 Broad Street, its activity ceased except for a small Bible study group located in the home of George Comer. Therefore, it would be more accurate to suggest that the light of the Bristol Y.M.C.A. flickered rather than died out, for on January 17th, 1853, through an amalgamation of Bible study groups and Mutual Improvement Societies, and promoted by the nonconformist church at Broadmead Chapel, "more than 200 young men sang a hymn of faith that was to echo ever more clearly for a century - and longer!" William Day Wills, who occupied the chair, was elected the first president of the new association which became known as the Bristol Y.M.C.A. and Institute, and was housed at No. 4, St. James' Square, The Barton. Throughout its early life the Y.M.C.A. was indebted, as was the Y.W.C.A. (founded in 1855), to the support of two prominent local business families, the Wills and the Frys, the latter family of which J. Storrs Fry, President of the Association from 1877 to 1913, was a member. To qualify as members of the Association, men had to be professed Christians, while the Literary and Scientific Institute was, upon payment of a subscription, open to all young men of upstanding moral character. During the first year of its existence, the Bristol Y.M.C.A. enrolled six hundred members, and by 1861 necessitated the employment of its first salaried officer, George Oatley. As membership expanded so was an appreciation of the value of sport added to its former preoccupation with spiritual, intellectual and social matters. A cricket team had been founded in 1862 but its existence was rather short lived. It was with the construction of the first gymnasium in 1879 that the importance of sport to its overall program began to be realized. Built and equipped for 478 pounds and measuring fifty-nine feet by twenty-nine feet, it was opened on December 11th by Mark Whitwill. Earlier that year the swimming club had been formed together with a reorganized cricket club which was destined to become the most prominent sports club of the Association. Promoted by these physical activities, membership increased by 385 of which 236 had subscribed solely to the privileges of the gymnasium. Subscription for membership of the Bristol Y.M.C.A. amounted to five shillings a year for those under twenty years of age and ten shillings and sixpence a year for those twenty years of age and above. Only members were permitted to use the gymnasium for which they paid an additional seven shillings and sixpence a year, a fee which was maintained at a stable rate until the end of the century. An advertisement for the gymnasium in Amateur Sport for October 16th 1889 announced gymnastic instruction on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays from eight until ten in the evening. An 1892 advertisement proudly exclaimed "the wise for health and exercise depend," and that "the beneficial results arising from the continuous practice of well-regulated movements cannot be over-estimated, and as a means of improving health and physique are invaluable."[43] In that year Sergeant Sheppard, drill master at Clifton College as well as gymnastic teacher at the Y.M.C.A. gymnasium, offered instruction on three nights per week to senior and junior classes in the use of dumb bells, parallel bars, Indian clubs, the vaulting horse, rings, trapezes, ladders, horizontal bars, wands, together with instruction in fencing. Gymnastics was practiced with great enthusiasm during the 1890s and is reflected in the Y.M.C.A. gymnastics team winning the Bristol and District Gymnastic Association Challenge Cup for the fifth successive year in 1898. After the Annual Gymnastic display of March 20th 1898, the city's High Sheriff, F. Richardson Cross, presented the prizes and addressed the assembled group, emphasizing the value of gymnastic exercise and referring to what had made the English nation great, said:

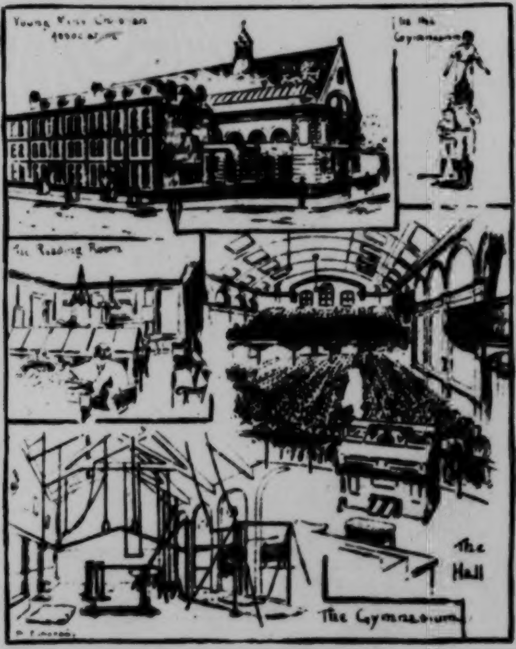
> We must not forget that man, as well as being social, moral, and intellectual, was an animal; that he possessed shape and muscle and sinews; and that one of his greatest

> pleasures was the feeling of life and power. Even in school work and education it must not be lost sight of that in the later competition of life bodily strength and physical health were of immense importance.

Young ladies had been admitted to the gymnasium for classes in the novel art of calisthenics, as early as October 1881. However, the Y.M.C.A. and more particularly the gymnasiums remained the reserve of young men, while their sister association, the Y.W.C.A. promoted moral, intellectual and physical instruction for the "gentle sex."[44]

By 1900 the membership of the Bristol Y.M.C.A. had increased to one thousand and eighty-three of which six hundred and thirty three were full members. In 1884 a new hall which seated twelve hundred and fifty people had been opened which allowed the Bristol Association to host the British Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association for the first time in September, 1886. Expansion also led to the opening of district branches in Kingswood (1886), Fishponds, Totterdown (1891), Hotwells, Bedminster and Easton by the end of the nineteenth century. Not all of these branches could boast a gymnasium but all had representative teams in football, field hockey, harriers (cross-country running), cycling, swimming and cricket.

The Cricket Club of the Bristol Y.M.C.A. was well established by the end of the 1870s. In 1891 the club won the local Challenge Cup playing most of its games on the Downs. By April of 1898 the club's secretary, F. C. Poole, was able to claim a full fixture list in that "Every date between April 30th and September 17th is filled up." That season the Association fielded three elevens and a youth team, playing the leading local cricket clubs and others that included the Totterdown Y.M.C.A. and Bishopston Wesley Guild Elevens. The same year saw a sub-


Young Men's Christian Association
In the Gymnasium
The Reading Room
The Hall
The Gymnasium

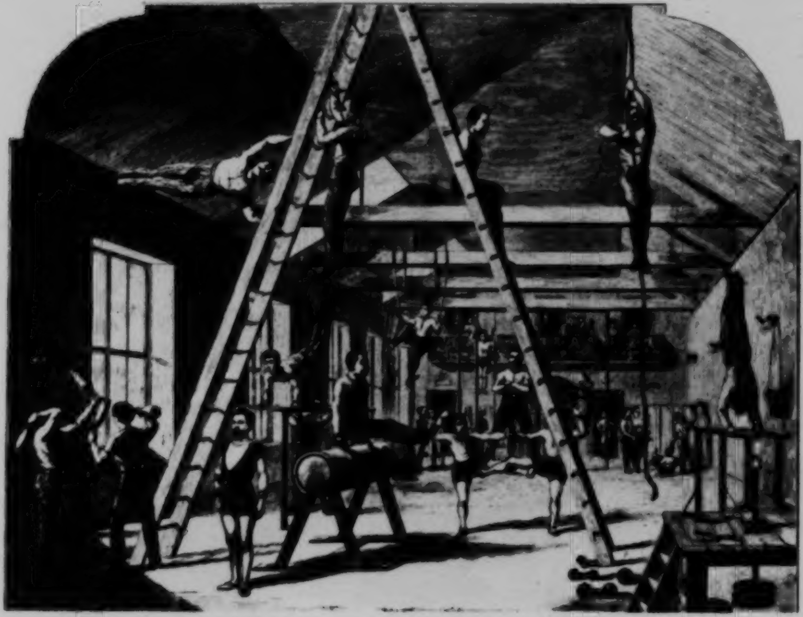


PLATE III

The Young Men's Christian Association
(Above) The Bristol Y.M.C.A., St James' Square, in 1893.
(Below) The Boston Y.M.C.A., Tremont Street Gymnasium, 1872-1883.

scription of five shillings levied on members of the Association's football team who hoped "to uphold the honour of the Y.M., not only by winning matches, but by true Christian manliness when engaged in what our Captain argues is 'the sport which most helps to make a man.'" Through negotiations in March 1899, the Swimming Club secured Popham's Baths, in Kingsdown for the sole use of their members from eight to nine o'clock on Tuesday evenings, and at reduced rates during all other times. The Association's Cycling Club was very popular and arranged excursion rides out of the city to such destinations as Bath, Weston-Super-Mare, Clevedon and Longleat. In 1898 the Club ventured to invite lady cyclists to join them but the idea was not a success. In addition to touring, the Club also organized race fixtures. Such affairs were included in the Club's Annual Picnic, and Annual Sports which were held at the County Ground.[45] By the close of the nineteenth century the Bristol Association's desire to encourage the idea of muscular Christianity had manifested itself in the organization of various clubs and the provision of facilities necessary for its promotion. Although it was the gymnasium that seemed to boost Association membership, its leaders at no time lost sight of their fundamental objective of social improvement through profitable employment. Soon after its advent, the Y.M.C.A. movement spread not only to all corners of the British Isles but also crossed oceans, so that by 1870 a similar Association was well established in Boston.

The Young Men's Christian Association grew in North America from three independent roots, notably Montreal, Boston and New York, although it was the Boston constitution that was adopted by most other early

North American Associations. Three compelling forces led to the establishment of the Boston Y.M.C.A., the religious convictions of a city that had been the very seed bed of American Puritan thought, the problems facing young men in an ever-expanding urban industrial centre, together with the established idea of "associationalism" within Boston.

Thomas Valentine Sullivan, the grandson of an Irish immigrant, was born in Boston in the year 1800. When in 1831, the three ships that he owned were lost at sea, the retired sea captain and Baptist devoted much of his time to religious work. The self-appointed marine missionary for Boston harbour (1847) was attracted by a letter published in the Christian Watchman and Reflector (a Baptist weekly published in Boston), for October 30th 1851. Written by George M. Van Derlip, a student at the University of the City of New York who was at the time studying in Edinburgh, described the work he observed while visiting the Y.M.C.A. in London. In December of 1851, largely through the enterprise and zeal of Sullivan, the United States' first Y.M.C.A. was founded in Boston. Although both Cincinnati and Baltimore can lay claim to earlier organizations, theirs did not become known as Y.M.C.A.'s until 1855.[46] The Boston Y.M.C.A.'s first rooms were rented in March of 1855 on the fourth floor of a building on the corner of Washington and Summer Streets. At the first meeting in its new home, the members sang its hymn:

> Oh God of goodness! - bless the band
> Who, moved by Christian love,
> Take the young stranger's friendless hand,
> And lead his thoughts above.[47]

The words echo a need for philanthropic endeavour, for spiritual improvement and in particular a concern for the alienation of young men wandering the dark, squalid streets of the city. It attracted a primarily middle-class membership which by 1854 had reached one thousand. During its early years the Association followed the path of Puritanical asceticism in search of spiritually uplifting its charges. After the Civil War the evangelical work continued but it failed to fulfill the pressing needs of Boston's young men. Nevertheless, by 1872 the Association's membership had increased to one thousand one hundred and fifty-one active church members and four hundred and sixty-five associate non-church members. The membership represented all denominations in an Association where "Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles, believers and atheists rubbed shoulders in an intimacy foreign to rural society."[48] By 1880 a Y.M.C.A. German Branch had been formed and was followed by the Union Chinese Y.M.C.A. which was organized at the Berkely Temple during the 1890s. Yet it was the founding of district branches and others in the suburbs which reflected the growth of the Y.M.C.A. in Boston during the years following the Civil War. Branches were established in East Boston (1867), South Boston (1869), Tremont Row (1884-1888), Charlestown (1890-1904) together with the Boston Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. (1887). Chelsea and Lynn formed branch associations during the 1860s and in the following decade Newton and Woburn were added. New associations sprang up in Cambridge, Everett, Malden, Hyde Park, Somerville, Watertown and Melrose during the 1880s with Quincy and Winchester able to boast their own Y.M.C.A.s by the end of the century. In an attempt to maintain and even enhance membership, the Boston Y.M.C.A. initiated a variety of evening classes during the 1870s which was to form the Working Men's College or Evening Institute of the Boston

Y.M.C.A. (1896), and ultimately became Northeastern University (1916), completely divorced from the Association. By the year 1885, seven hundred students had contributed to nearly twelve hundred enrolments in eighteen subjects, yet even greater changes in the Association's program were soon to be realized.

The Boston Biblical Literature Society had been founded by Unitarians in 1851. Reflecting the bifurcation of Boston's Protestant community, it was renamed the Boston Young Men's Christian Union in 1852. While the Association and Union were rival organizations competing for membership and for public financial support, a peculiar mutual respect between members of both was observed, while some leading Bostonians even enrolled as life members in both the Union and the Association.

After William Henry Baldwin was elected President of the Union in 1868 (a position which he held until 1907), the Boston Y.M.C.U. reached beyond its former sole emphasis on spiritual improvement and began to launch educational and sport programs. By 1871 its membership amounted to thirteen hundred when the Reverend Dr. Peabody of Harvard preached the sermon "Be Strong," in which he considered physical health as Man's first duty while he thought that gymnastics was one of the means of grace. Projecting a dualistic view of Man, Peabody suggested that:

> Much of the efficiency of the Apostles, their ability for self denial and to endure hardships, was due to their hardy training as fishermen. It was almost impossible that a sound mind and soul should exist in a sickly body.

Three days later Dr. George Derby presented a lecture entitled "The Preservation of Health" to the Boston Y.M.C.U. The status of the Body had seemingly been elevated beyond earlier recognition by this organization. Soon after its post Civil War regeneration of 1868, the Union acquired premises on Washington Street that included a gymnasium. An advertisement in a local newspaper for 1872 noted the membership fees as one dollar subscription for the Union, and ten dollars annually for the privilege of using the gymnasium.[49] In 1885 Edward Mussey Hartwell included a description of the Boston Y.M.C.U. gymnasium in a circular on "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities." Under the medical direction of Dr. Dudley Sargent of Harvard, the building appeared rather elegant. Measuring one hundred and thirty-six feet by forty-five feet and six inches, it included a running track and was equipped by Sargent's machines. In addition, the spacious dressing rooms allowed for nine hundred lockers while the bathing facilities included thirteen sponge-bath rooms, eight bowls, three tubs, and one shower room. A special attraction and service was offered in the nature of free consultation and examination by Dr. Sargent who:

> ...will examine those who desire it, and make out a book with specific directions for exercise, diet, sleep, bathing, etc., based upon the data ascertained from the examination. Each book is furnished with a blank form; and those who wish may have their measurements entered, and their condition compared with the average man of the same age, weight, etc.[50]

Nor was this increased interest in the Body and sport isolated to the Boston Y.M.C.U.

As early as 1854 George W. Blagden, the pastor of the Old South Church, presented a lecture to the members of the Boston Y.M.C.A. in which he identified four components of Man, "the physical, the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual; corresponding to the spirit, soul, and body of man."[51] In the same year Henry Ward Beecher asked the Association "Where are your arrangements for putting muscle on a man?" while proposing that it institutes a sport program. Yet development was slow. The authors of the Association's first publication, The Necessity for Moral and Christian Effort Among Young Men in 1867, deplored the city's fifty-nine billiard halls and other "sporting establishments," and criticized its theatres, and houses of ill-repute.[52] Such criticism emanating from a Puritan stronghold, coupled with inadequate leadership and financial resources meant that the Boston Y.M.C.A. lagged behind the Brooklyn and Washington Associations in providing the resources and opportunities for sport. Not until 1888 did the Boston Association finally accept the fourfold objective of "the spiritual, intellectual, physical, and social improvement of young men," first proclaimed by the New York Y.M.C.A. in 1866.[53]

It was with the acquisition of a gymnasium soon after the conclusion of the Civil War that sport emerged as an integral part of the Boston Y.M.C.A.'s program. A series of lectures reflecting the changing perceptions of the Body-Mind relationship were presented at the Association's anniversary celebrations in the Music Hall during May, 1872. The Reverend R. H. Neal, D.D., spoke on the topic of "Moral Courage," while the Reverend H. W. Bellows, D.D., discussed "The Importance of Personal Purity." The third address was given by the Reverend W. H. Cudworth of East Boston who presented "The Importance of Recreation to the Body, Mind and Soul." He commenced with reference to the sports and games of all nations in which the most inhibited would relax and play as children once more. Sport was viewed as a necessity, and he could see no harm in billiards, card-playing and dancing providing that the consumption of alcohol was avoided at all times. He praised the parents who erected billiard tables in their homes and established private theatrical amusements, concluding that the church and the Y.M.C.A. would have to provide something of the same kind.

When the city's gymnasium, on the corner of Tremont and Eliot Streets came onto the market in 1872, the Association made no hesitation in raising the $125,000 for its purchase in September of that year. The Tremont Gymnasium Building became the Association's first "owned" headquarters. Appearing somewhat later than the Y.M.C.U.'s first gymnasium, it was no less well equipped and was described in the Boston Morning Journal for September 3rd 1872 thus:

> Above the Hall there is a gymnasium of the same size (40' x 80'), a beautiful room ceiled with light woods and lighted by large windows. This is fitted up with all the paraphernalia and appurtenances for the most approved system of physical culture, such as parallel and vaulting bars, Indian clubs of all sizes and dumb-bells of all weights within the capability of the most muscular. The furnishings are complete in every particular, and there is a large room for clothing immediately adjoining. 54

The subscription set at one dollar for membership of the Association and ten dollars annually for the privilege of the gymnasium were advertized as "one-half the price, which has been demanded under private management." Nevertheless, despite this apparent underselling, subscription was slow and by November, 1872, a three-month membership of the gymnasium was offered at five dollars. By the spring of 1873, three hundred and fifty-four members had joined the gymnasium, and later that year the Association reported that the gymnasium had been a source of income and had functioned effectively in attracting more young men to its membership.[55]

In 1872, the Committee on Library and Rooms was put in charge of the gymnasium, a decision that prompted criticism of the nature of the activities practiced therein. While admitting that "none of us had any experience in the gymnasium business," Chairman French of the Committee insisted that the gymnasium be moved from the fourth floor to the basement because "the puffing and pounding of feet could not be confined to the upper stories of the structure, and interfered with gatherings in the auditorium." The realization of the need for leadership had led to the employment of an obscure circus performer by the name of DuCrowe in 1873, to fill a newly-constituted position of gymnastics instructor. Formerly, the Committee on Library and Rooms had hired only a janitor to keep the rooms clean and tidy. The establishment of the new position precipitated an interest in gymnastics, particularly in circus-like tumbling activities intended for performance. An inventory for the Association's gymnasium appeared in the Annual Report for 1873 and mentions dumb-bells varying in weight from one and one-half to one hundred and five pounds, Indian clubs from one to forty pounds, together with cannonballs weighing between eighteen and fifty pounds. In addition, horizontal, parallel, and upright bars, rings, trapezes, wands and a spirometer were among some of the other equipment in the gymnasium.[56]

When, in 1876 Robert J. Roberts was appointed Superintendent of the Boston Y.M.C.A.'s gymnasium, its activity took on a new complexion and status within the overall program. He was born in Boston's working class district on June 29th 1849. Educated in the city's public school system, he was a wood turner by trade and a devout Baptist. It had been his acquaintance with the Association's Sunday School Superintendent, Joseph Storey, and his expertise as a gymnast, that led the Board of Managers, which was looking for a young organizer, gymnast and Christian, to hire Roberts for a salary of less than seven hundred and fifty dollars a year.

As a gymnast Roberts had worked under Dio Lewis on Essex Street, and had been a member of the old Tremont gymnasium where John Doldt and the Hanlan brothers were of particular influence, and had joined the gymnasiums of Dr. George B. Winship and the Boston Y.M.C.U. Roberts excelled as a swimmer, athlete and gymnast. His devotion to care of the body and exercise resulted in a well developed physique. For a man five feet and five inches tall, weighing one hundred and forty-three pounds, his forty-three inch chest, thirty-two inch waist and fifteen inch biceps facilitated remarkable achievements in weight lifting for a nineteenth century performer:

> His herculean lift of 2,200 pounds and his one handed hoist of 1200 pounds were notable accomplishments for a man of his stature. His digital strength he displayed by raising 550 pounds from the floor with his little finger. He not only chinned himself thirty-five times with both hands but could also raise himself three times with either hand. 57

To Roberts, swimming performed the dual function of cleansing and exercising his body. Although perhaps failing to impress when placed alongside modern standards, Roberts' record one hundred and sixty feet underwater swim was no mean achievement for the time. His sporting ability had been noted by professional teams who urged him to join their ranks, but

Roberts, who identified professional athletes with "betting, booze and brothels," turned down their offers.

Roberts' experience in working alongside Lewis and Winship had served to highlight the advantages and disadvantages of each system, the latter which Roberts discussed in The Home Dumb Bell Drill in considering that Lewis':

> ...was too easy and too light to suit me, while I felt in my heart, even at the time, but did not dare express it, being so young, that Dr. Winship's...was too hard, for I noticed that all his most powerful members, while they had large, powerful muscles and fine-shaped bodies, had pale, white, sickly-looking faces, and I felt that the two should not go together. 58

Throughout the evolution of Roberts' system of gymnastics a progressive development from heavy to light work is observed. Rather than his critical evaluation of Lewis' and Winship's systems, it appears that an incident which occurred in the Y.M.C.A. gymnasium in 1877 proved to be the turning point in Roberts' mode of thought. The incident was later recalled by a witness, one L. C. Havener, who stated:

> I used to tramp...while he was doing the giant swing upon the horizontal bar...something happened and the professor suddenly shot through a door in line with the horizontal bar.

After this accident Roberts was incapacitated for several weeks, during which time he formulated a distinctive schema within which was contained the belief that exercise should be "safe, short, easy, beneficial and pleasing." His principles contained no dramatic innovation, yet by avoiding the sensationalism inherent in the work of Lewis, Winship and the circus gymnasts, he opened the gymnasium to the needs of all men, maintaining that its value lay in his aphorism, "the ounce of prevention is cheaper than the pound of cure."[59]

PLATE IV

The Physical Deparment of the Boston Y.M.C.A., in 1900

(Above) The Boston Y.M.C.A., Gymnasium.
(Below) The Physical Director and Instructors of the Boston Y.M.C.A.

Roberts' system and influence spread beyond the walls of his Boston "Hall of Health." In 1877 Dr. V. Y. Bowditch invited Roberts to give an address on "Body Building" before a meeting of physicians in Boston. However, it was at the 1881 National Y.M.C.A. Convention in Cleveland at which Roberts appeared on the platform to present his ideas and lead a group in drill, that he came to influence the national movement. In the next few years, twenty-five men who had worked under Roberts in the Boston gymnasium, were appointed instructors across the nation. The year 1885 saw the founding of the School for Christian Workers at Springfield, Massachusetts, an institution intended to train future secretaries and physical directors for the Y.M.C.A.s. By 1887 Roberts had resigned from his position in the Boston Association, to join Luther Gulick at Springfield. Followed by a year as Director of the Association gymnasium at Utica, New York, Roberts was recalled to the Boston gymnasium as Physical Director on December 1st 1890. In addition to the organized program for Y.M.C.A.s which he presented in The Home Dumb Bell Drill published in 1894, Roberts' innovations included the introduction of hair matting, a felt covered running track, intercostal and paddle machines, the giant pulley, the ring shower and the medicine ball which was fashioned in the home of Robert Miller's father on State Street, Boston. Roberts had been viewed by Gulick as a "rough block of granite, which, standing firmly at a critical point in the stream, directed it so that thereafter it flowed in a new and permanent bed." In bringing a Christian and scientific approach to physical activity in the Y.M.C.A. Roberts paved the way for further expansion.

The Y.M.C.A.'s first outdoor gymnasium in America was opened at South Boston Point in 1876. The parent Association moved to a new building on the corner of Boylston and Berkely Streets in November 1883, which was two and one-half times the size of the old gymnasium building. The new gymnasium was slightly longer, measuring forty feet by ninety feet and included an elevated running track and generous provision for bathing and dressing room accommodation. In 1887 Dr. G. A. Leland was appointed Medical Director of the Boston Association. Earlier, Leland, the Captain of the Class of 1874, was designated by President Seelye of Amherst to introduce the College's system of gymnastics into the Government Schools of Japan, at the request of the Vice-Minister of Education, Tanaka Fujimaro, who had visited Amherst in 1876. Dr. Leland's duties in the Boston gymnasium included conducting physical examinations of its members, prescribing individual exercise regimens and to advise the Association on matters pertaining to bathing, diet and medical treatment. That same year, the Secretary was able to include the following statement in his Annual Report:

> ...the whole gymnasium work has been elevated more than ever to its true place and dignity as a regular department of physical culture. The gymnasium has reached the highest medical endorsement for its thoroughness and value.

The membership of the gymnasium continued to grow. By 1888 the number of members was eight hundred and fifty-four, this figure increasing to eleven hundred in 1890 and eighteen hundred and seventy-two at the end of the century. By this time it had been realized that the gymnasium offered more than an instrument to boost membership of the Association, rather it was seen "as a means of self-development with higher aims."

The enthusiastic work continued, and in his Annual Report for 1889, Secretary Douglas noted that Professor Edward Hitchcock of Amherst "knows nowhere in the world of such scientific, health-giving work as is being done in the physical department of this Association."[60] Literary support for the department's work was also forthcoming during these years. In 1887 the Boston Association's monthly magazine Leisure Hours appeared, and by the end of the century a library of books on physical training had been established. The popularity of the gymnasium led to an extension of the Association's physical program, outside of its "Hall of Health."

The year 1896 saw the institution of competition between representatives of state Associations in fencing, boxing, wrestling, athletics, football, relay-team work, cross-country runs and indoor meets. However, the birth of sport in the Y.M.C.A. had come very much sooner. One sport which owes its existence to the Y.M.C.A. is basketball. Developed in 1891 by Dr. James Naismith, a former Canadian theological student who had been appointed Athletic Instructor at the Y.M.C.A. Training School at Springfield, Massachusetts, its rules first appeared in the Triangle for January 1892. Designed initially as an indoor activity for the Y.M.C.A.'s winter program, it evolved and spread rapidly. The backboard was introduced in 1893, and in 1897, the same year that the game was introduced into the Boston gymnasium, the five-man team was made mandatory. The following year, the continuous dribble was introduced and basketball came to resemble the modern game. In 1900 Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton and Yale combined to form a basketball league in the East, and it was not to be long before the game took on the attributes of other highly structured and competitive sports. J. P. Paret describes the 'rise and fall' of the game in an article that appeared in a Boston journal in 1897:

> It was a happy invention, this basket ball. It was intended originally to lend some interest to the routine gymnasium work of physical development, and it succeeded far beyond expectation...
>
> But the untamed spirit of competition was too strong to permit so good a game to remain long as a simple form of physical exercise, and teams were formed, and interbranch matches became one of the regular features of the winter...
>
> It was but a short step from this point to utter demoralization, and abuses crept in very quickly... 61

A second game, volleyball, was devised in 1895 by William G. Morgan, Physical Director at the Holyoke, Massachusetts Y.M.C.A., and also utilized the national Association network in its growth. The sport's activity of the Boston Y.M.C.A. was not restricted to these two indoor sports. Much earlier in 1870, the Boston Morning Journal reported a boat race on the Charles River between the Y.M.C.A. and South End crews. Later, an account was furnished of a boat race in which "the members of both crews are understood to be connected with the Young Men's Christian Union." By 1888 the Association had its own fleet of boats anchored on the Charles River.[62]

With regard to outdoor athletic sports, the Association had to overcome two major problems. Opposition was levelled at the inclusion of athletic sports in the Y.M.C.A. program. Most vocal in their criticism were the gymnasts, and notably Robert J. Roberts, who fought against "competitive exercises [for they] are sure to injure the health and deform the body [and they make] enemies out of friends where differences of opinion arise." The problem of open spaces became all the more critical as Boston was swallowed up by industrial and urban sprawl. In 1879 sports fields were leased in South Boston, but due to a combination of distance and opposition they were forfeited after one year. It was not until 1888 that a sports ground was leased again on Dartmouth Street, and included a grandstand which seated three thousand, a running track, baseball diamond, cricket square and ten tennis courts. The Annual Report for that year also alludes to the formation of an Open Air Athletic Society. The athletic meet of the New England and Nova Scotia Y.M.C.A.s was held in Boston in 1889, and January of 1900 saw the first annual members' athletic meet held in the Boston Y.M.C.A. gymnasium.[63] The sport movement flourished in the Association during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The fresh air also encouraged the establishment of another program in the Association by the end of the century. The first private summer camp for boys had been established in 1881, and was followed four years later by the first Y.M.C.A. camp for boys organized by the Newburgh, New York Association. However, it was not until 1898 that the Boston Association first demonstrated an interest. In that year Dr. George L. Meylan, the Medical Director, took a group of twenty-one members on a two week trip to Lake Sebago, Maine, which cost each member twelve dollars including travel. This new interest was reflected in the Annual Report for 1898:

> We believe the Association has a duty to perform in the matter of providing young men and boys suitable facilities for open-air exercise and vacation outings, both at the mountain and at the shore, but it lacks the means for its fulfillment. 64

The following year an Outing Department was formed and a campsite on Sandy Island in Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire was leased for five years and buildings were erected. In 1900, the site was purchased by the Boston Y.M.C.A. for two thousand dollars. During its first summer, Camp Buena Vista as it became known, played host to one hundred and fifty members of the Association. Other branches in and around Boston adopted camping programs, typified by the Southbridge, Massachusetts Y.M.C.A. which in 1900, identified the following activities in their camping program, "boating, fishing, swimming, basketball, baseball, hare and hound races, excursions, field days, camp fires, stereopticon views, gospel meetings, games, story books, songs, photography, and military drill."[65]

During the years 1870 to 1900 the Y.M.C.A. developed to become an institution of great significance to Boston and Bristol. While the physical department appears to have been more greatly developed, and more readily accepted the role of innovator in Boston than in Bristol, the gymnasiums and team sports offered by both Associations served to increase membership and to facilitate a blending of Body and Mind in their search for social improvement and their development of young men who reflected stable Christian character. However, the Y.M.C.A. was not the only organization that preached the word of muscular Christianity, others possessing no apparent church ties utilized a philanthropic approach in their quest for eradicating society's ills.

Non-Church Affiliated Groups and Muscular Christianity

While the work of church organizations toward social improvement has been considered, one must not neglect the many independent agencies that contributed to the social reform movement, although most were tied, albeit by tenuous strands, to Christian ideals. An early example in Bristol resulted from the endeavour shown by Mary Carpenter, a nineteenth century social worker who, prompted by the Bristol Riots in reaction to the rejection of the Reform Bill, opened a Ragged School at Lewin's Mead in 1846. Throughout the remainder of the century this early illustration of philanthropic effort evolved through reform school and workmen's hall until it became a boys' home, which closed in 1894. However, it was soon reopened by F. P. Jenkins and G. H. Leonard who founded the Broad Plain Lads' Club which "distinguished itself in gymnastics, lifesaving and cricket and both kinds of football (for in Bristol, unlike London, rugby football is a possible game for working-class boys and men)."[66] In 1870 Dr. T. J. Barnardo opened his first home for orphans and eight years later the Reverend William Booth established the Salvation Army which was to represent a prime force in the movement toward social uplift. Yet it was an earlier innovation that had a marked impact upon Bristol's social conscience. In 1864 Edward Thring, Headmaster at Uppingham School, opened a Mission first in Regent's Park and later in the East End of London. Later, Canon Samuel Augustus Barnett, who was born in Bristol in 1844, founded Toynbee Hall in 1883. After his mission work in the Whitechapel district of London, he returned to his birthplace as Canon of Bristol Cathedral, leaving behind much distress at his departure and a poem written on his behalf, entitled "Barnett of Bristol City."[67]

It was the work of Thring in London that prompted the headmaster of Clifton College to undertake some definite object with regard to social work in Bristol. In 1869 Dr. Percival and a committee of masters selected work among neglected boys and established a Ragged school at Sidney Alley in the Dings. This institution existed until the School Board opened the Kingsland Road School. With the initial project well underway it was then suggested that the College should adopt a particular district or parish within the city and supply a Mission Curate to work among the people. A part of the Parish of St. Barnabas was selected, a district "then in process of being overrun by dreadful little brick houses, liable to flooding from the River Frome and till then used largely for market gardens, with a scatter of squatters." The first curate, the Reverend H. D. Rawnsley, arrived in 1875. In a letter that he wrote in 1886, Rawnsley recalled his earliest impressions of the locale:

> Muck heaps and farm-refuse, on which jerry-builders had set up rows of houses which...sucked up fever...No lamps. Streets only wadeable through. A few public-houses of the worst sort surrounded a bit of open ground which was called "the gardens," in which were tumble-down low huts of squatters in old time. These dwellers were the pick of the neighborhood.

It was not an easy assignment for a young curate. He reached out to the boys with whom he played football on Saturdays and led walks on Sundays, but as he later admitted, "it was a forlorn hope," in which he was constantly opposed by intemperance and squalid surroundings. So also did a respect for the Sabbath leave much to be desired, Rawnsley described a typical scene as Sunday services were held in a room over a stable:

> On arriving there was a fight going on outside..just as prayer began a fusillade of stones from outside would rattle all along the wooden walls of our conventicle ..In the midst of prayer the door would be knocked at, and the porter would

> often be overpowered by a strong rush, and fighting would go on below stairs till I appeared...Often a man, disguising the fact that he was in liquor, would be in the midst of the mission congregation... 68

Rawnsley soon resigned, as did his successor, the Reverend R. G. Murchison, one year later. Headmaster Percival handed over the Mission to Clifton College's second headmaster James M. Wilson, an unsolved problem. The position lay vacant for month after month until in December, 1880, the Reverend Thomas William Harvey arrived in Bristol.

Harvey was born into a poor home in 1849. Educated at Grantham Grammar School and later attending Cambridge University, his identification with the working classes was strengthened by theological study under Westcott and an adoption of Christian Socialist principles. Although he was remembered at Cambridge as a serious student who showed no interest in sport, he was to realize its importance as an alternative to the evil amusements offered by society. In an address given to the Manchester Church Congress, Harvey emphasized this need:

> ...it is useless for us to close the public-houses unless we open some other place as a substitute for them, and the substitute which we open must not be the Church. It must be some place of recreation and amusement; it must be a club, an institute, a gymnasium, or a concert hall. We must diligently set ourselves to consider the recreation and amusements of the people...We must not regard this work as something we can do or leave undone, but we must do this social work as work for God, and work for Christ, and not merely as philanthropists and social reformers. We must erect these clubs or institutes or gymnasiums as part of the machinery of our parochial system. Hitherto we have considered our Schools and our Churches as the only essential plant. Henceforth we must realize that the parish room and the institute, the club and the gymnasium, are equally necessary in all large artisan parishes.

Despite his youthful disinterest in sport, where it served a purpose of spiritual and moral uplift, Harvey took a particular interest in the organized games of the young men. Nevertheless, his heart and soul were in the fight for curing industrial strife and exploitation. Dubbed the "Socialist Parson" by his parishioners, an extract from a paper read before the Diocesan Conference in 1892 focused upon his central concern:

> To take advantage of the necessity of the worker to sell his labour, in order to reduce the price paid for it to the minimum which will enable him to keep body and soul together, may be legally right, but it is morally a crime. It is murdering men's souls as well as starving their bodies. No Christian can invest in such industries, they ought to be discontinued. 69

After Harvey was elected Guardian for the St. Paul's Ward in 1894, his socio-religious lobby centred on the removal of children from workhouses, establishing proper hospital accommodations, ensuring a more humane treatment of the outdoor poor and providing relief to the flood victims of his parish.

The year of Harvey's arrival at the Clifton College Mission saw an extension of the district to form the Parish of St. Agnes. This geographical and demographic expansion necessitated the construction of a new Mission Room which was opened on May 10th, 1882. In February of the following year a Workmen's Club, which had been built by a local builder at a cost of four hundred and sixty pounds, was opened. The Club Room was divided into two by a screen, part being used as a library, reading and recreation room and supplied with daily newspapers, a billiard table, and a bagatelle board while the remaining space was devoted to club meetings. There were no political or religious requirements for membership, although the four shillings annual subscription, good character and a strict observance of the rules were insisted upon. The Reverend James M. Wilson freely gave of his time and money to the Mission. Like his predecessor at Clifton College, John Percival, Wilson (whose sister married Thomas Harvey in 1883), believed that the visits of his pupils to the St. Agnes district would prove of mutual benefit. Wilson maintained this theme in a lecture given at Redland Park Congregational Chapel in explaining the role that the rich could play in helping the poor:

> ...the range of interest is very wide. It is not only in direct religious teaching but in the not less necessary work of preparing the soil for the seed to grow; in work for educational, temperance and recreation,...in all that makes home and family life more attractive and safe. 70

Wilson considered the Mission to represent a strictly dichotomized institution, "Our Men's Club, library, recreation-room, and billiard-table, etc., had no relation to our Church organization or Sunday School, etc."[71]

The idea that the boys of the Parish of St. Agnes might learn something of the esprit de corps, so important in the life of the nineteenth century English public schoolboy, and that the boys of Clifton College might be afforded a view and greater understanding of another side of life, was promoted through sport for Wilson believed that:

> Practically games and boys' clubs and summer camps are the only elements of life really in common between Public School boys and a town parish; and it is to these, therefore, that the mutual intercourse has rightly gravitated.

The headmaster was in part referring to the annual Rugby football match between the School and Mission, whose boys were taught to play the game of Rugby especially for the occasion. The relation between the Mission and sport reached beyond this event. In 1885 Wilson persuaded the town council to purchase the remaining portion of the Old Newfoundland Gardens, on the condition that he laid it out as a public park. The following year witnessed the establishment of a temporary gymnasium in the large Mission Room, set up on two evenings each week. In addition, the club members used the Clifton College Gymnasium for their gymnastics competition. No further provision was made until 1893 when a Boys' Club and gymnasium were built. The gymnasium was of considerable proportions being fully equipped for all types of gymnastics and military drill. In the basement showers and washing facilities were provided. The Club formed football and cricket teams, and an arrangement was made for members to attend the public swimming bath in summer. A final contribution made by the School was the organization of summer camps (initiated in 1890) for the boys of the Parish, an activity that was later extended to the girls of the Parish through the endeavour of Mrs. R. T. Carter.[72] While individuals played an important role in Bristol's social improvement, the Clifton College Mission represents a fine example of the philanthropic efforts of institutions. The importance of mission work was not restricted to Bristol, for it provided a similar contribution in Boston.

The City Missionary Society of Boston is the second oldest voluntary family welfare agency in America. It was founded on October 9th 1816 as the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, and before the needs of the inner city were discovered its work centred upon the welfare of sailors and immigrants. By Act of the General Court of Massachusetts on February 27th 1841 the Society changed its name to the City Mission. It was the work of one man, Andrew Cushing (Executive from 1850 to 1892) that directed the Mission's activities throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Concerned more with spiritual improvement than the material condition of the poor, the Society's missionaries organized sewing classes, mother's meetings and mission schools as well as Sunday schools and other church-related activities. As the number of charitable agencies multiplied in Boston during the nineteenth century, so concern was directed at ensuring their most profitable utilization. The Massachusetts State Board of Charities was set up in 1864, but it was the establishment of the Associated Charities of Boston in 1879 that served to reduce the duplication of effort among its members. Picnics, boat trips, sleigh rides and free train excursions were furnished for the City's less fortunate, while the year 1880 saw the founding of the Fresh Air Fund through the generous contribution of R. L. Day, a broker on State Street. Within a decade the "Fund" owned a cottage in Maine and provided an annual two week holiday for two hundred and sixty-three persons, costing on average less than seven dollars each. Similar provision was made by the North End Mission which, starting about 1870, took sixty people on a day trip to Nahant by steamer. As the nineteenth century progressed so did this enterprise grow until in 1880 over twenty-thousand Boston children experienced the fresh air beyond the City walls. George B. Bartlett described the organization and program thus:

> In order to give every child a chance to enjoy the excursion, the city is divided into nine districts, and 1,400 tickets are given out in each of these...On arrival at the

> [Walden] grove the children are marched out in couples, and treated to two buns and a glass of lemonade, after which they are let loose to amuse themselves at the swings, the boats and the baths...[After dinner] they are then again let loose to play at foot ball...
>
> The expense for the day's pleasure for each child is 33 1/3 cents, - 14 for transportation, 16 for rations and the rest for the music and incidental expenses. The money is raised without effort; a simple announcement in the papers brings in private contributions which increase annually in amount and promptness. 73

While these institutions made an invaluable contribution, the private endowment of both time and money, alluded to by Bartlett, enhanced philanthropic effort in Boston. Between the City's Social Anarchists and the staid subscribers to the Atlantic Monthly stood Benjamin Orange Flower and Edwin D. Mead. Although contrasting in character both represented an eclectic breed of philanthropists who, while supporting a wide range of progressive measures, adopted an entrepreneurial approach to social reform typified by the maxim "Philanthropy and five per cent." In 1861 Elizabeth Palmer Peabody of Salem, Massachusetts, founded the first kindergarten in America. Started on Pinckney Street in Boston, her objective was to set young children on the path to righteousness.

The prevailing thoughts and ideas of the day had an important impact upon nineteenth century philanthropy. Social Darwinism contributed to conflicting interpretations, for while the philanthropists maintained that society's fittest should channel their surplus energy toward the greatest good of all, others viewed this coddling of the poor as disrupting and even reversing the evolution of Man. Such thought and debate was centred in the nation's halls of academe, of which Boston had more than its fair share. Early criticism of scholars remaining in their ivory towers was negated during the period 1870 to 1900. While turning their backs on the great social problems such as intemperance, poverty, and the emancipation of slaves and women, during the earlier years, a growing feeling of liberalism permeated the Colleges during the 1870s. Prompted by the tentative work of Francis A. Walker, the economist and President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Francis Greenwood Peabody, professor at Harvard; and George Hodges of the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School, programs of social work were initiated, for as Peabody expressed it, "One cannot justify education today except in terms of social welfare."[74] During the final two decades, with objectives not unlike those set down by the leaders of the Clifton College Mission in Bristol students were introduced to the cause of social work. Visits were arranged to reform schools, prisons and factories and the resultant interest was manifested in the development of the College Settlement Movement. First the Prospect Union founded by Harvard in 1891, and then the Andover Home Association founded by Robert A. Woods, who had been sent to study Barnett's Toynbee Hall in London by Professor William Jewett Tucker of Andover, also founded in 1891, endeavoured to establish interaction between the colleges and the poor neighbourhoods. These settlement houses became laboratories of social work. Among its technicians (who comprised both students and professors) was Frank Parsons, a lecturer in the Law School of Boston University. A major critic of Social Darwinism and chief proponent of progress through experimenting in social work, his radical nature was rejected by many of Boston's foremost academicians. However, despite recognizing the achievements of these individuals and institutions in the cause of philanthropy, the greatest contribution with particular relevance to sport still lies uncovered.

Joseph Lee, the "Father of American Playgrounds", was born at Brookline, Massachusetts in 1862. A member of a leading family of bankers in Boston, a graduate of Harvard, married into the Cabot family, and educated for the bar, Lee might have pursued a career in business, law or finance. In contrast, his life followed two seemingly conflicting pathways. Although his extensive labor on behalf of the Immigration Restriction League might appear to run counter to the elevation of social conditions, Lee felt that the continued influx of immigrants would create a deeper gulf between classes. To Lee the only way to prevent the rich getting richer and the poor growing poorer was to restrict the flow and improve the quality of immigrants. However, it is in his promotion of playgrounds that Lee is best remembered. During his boyhood days in Boston, sport was an integral part of his life, and one which he maintained throughout the years, as Lee recalls:

> I was always a leader in games though not a good player. I did most of the legislating in hi-spy and prisoner's base and other juvenile sports and was captain of two football teams, both of them marvelously unsuccessful.
>
> In college I played on the freshman eleven, rowed on the sophomore crew, won a middleweight championship in boxing in my junior year and lost it in my senior year.
>
> I have been fond of camping, paddling, riding, skating on the river, in fact, of about everything young men and boys do, only I have not lost my fondness. I still keep up my skating and canoeing acquaintance with the rivers. I suppose dancing has been my steadiest passion in the athletic line. 75

It appears that his affinity for sport, combined with a variety of other factors, inspired Lee's interest in playgrounds. A strict romanticist, Lee lamented the loss of a pre-industrial life where men and boys had been free to hunt, fish and play. The city failed to provide the opportunity for such pursuits and indeed, in some instances, legally restricted the boys' amusement. Lee was not impressed as he recalled:

> ...the particular thing that first made me decide to do something was reading of boys arrested for playing in the streets, it was as if those boys had been arrested for living. 76

Attempts were made by the city to provide playgrounds, but at first they were not used. To Lee, "the thing that first got me interested in playgrounds was the disconcerting discovery that the new playgrounds provided by Josiah Quincy's legislation were not being used," and he soon set to work in securing leadership for them. Lee also looked at the applicability of muscular Christianity to the playground movement for he felt that urbanization and industrialization had destroyed the fundamental values that were exhibited on the English playing fields, values that might be restored, for one of Lee's favourite maxims was "the boy without a playground is the father of the man without a job." Although moral development represented a central objective, the physical benefits accrued in the playground were not forgotten. Yet through his work with regard to play and immigration shone the idea of civic pride so common among nineteenth century philanthropists, for as Lee reminded his readers:

> The idea is not that we, the rich, out of our great goodness and kindness of heart, should help you, the poor, but that we...insist on being proud...of the sort of citizen we produce; for the honor of the family we cannot have rags and drunkeness. 77

Gradually, throughout the nineteenth century, efforts directed at social improvement changed from a fascination with end products to an inquiry of process. By degrees, concern with urban ills progressed from philanthropic work centering upon spiritual and moral elevation of the individual, to a scientific pragmatism based upon social behavior. The years 1870-1900 witnessed a significant change in the social life of Bristol and Boston. Directed by religious thought, institutions and leaders who utilized sport as an essential cog of the wheel, moral, intellectual and physical components of Man were considerably improved. Perhaps the words of Canon James M. Wilson reflects the significance of the era which may as well be applied to either city:

> Possibly a future historian writing the history of the English people in this period will think much less of the legislative and even of the commercial and scientific progress of the period than of the remarkable social improvement by which there has been an effort made, by a thousand agencies, to bring about unity of feeling between different classes, and to wage war against conditions of life which earlier generations seem to have tolerated. The national importance of individual and, so to speak, local effort in this connection, the aggregate strength and value of all such agencies as Boys' Clubs, Children's Help Societies and the like, can hardly be overestimated. Squalor and neglect are far too general now in some districts of every great city, but there are few cities where the new ideas of what constitutes duty to a neighbour have not provided schools, clubs, reading rooms and libraries, swimming baths, parks and similar wholesome influences, which a generation ago were non-existent except for the rich. It is this social progress that encourages bright hopes for the future. 78

Christianity represented a focal influence upon nineteenth century life in both Bristol and Boston. Regardless of denomination, both the church and sport grew to accept the values portrayed by the other. While Bristol was dominated by the Church of England and an emerging nonconformist church during the years 1870 to 1900, Boston witnessed a decline of a formerly pre-eminent Puritan Church. As its members' hold on the economy slipped and as immigrants poured through the harbour gates Catholicism and Unitarianism took a grip on the city's religion. It was the nonconformist church in particular that promoted the idea of a social gospel in both cities. Aided by the mid-century development of the Broad Church and Christian Socialism in Britain (and later in America), together with the increasing realization of lost congregations in a new urban, industrialized environment, individuals and institutions stepped forward on a road to social improvement. Nearly always following Christian principles, they centred their efforts on solving the problems of increased non-work time, intemperance, poverty and illiteracy. Throughout this process of social amelioration the church developed an increased tolerance for sport, particularly with the emergence of muscular Christianity in nineteenth century Britain. Nevertheless, sport precipitated and added to the problems of the social gospel during these years. While the Sabbatarians fought for an increased recognition of Sunday as a day of rest and worship, the populace was reluctant to sacrifice the few hours of opportunity that they were afforded to enjoy sport and other amusements. Eventually, the changing economic base of urban industrial society necessitated the prolongation of public services over a seven day period. By the end of the century Sunday was recognized in both Bristol and Boston as a day for rest and worship, but moreover as a day for walks, bicycle rides and trips to the seashore. A temperance society appeared in Boston some years before one did in Bristol. As they soon recognized the value of sport as an alternative attraction to Bristol's pubs and Boston's saloons, their provision of facilities and organization for sport activities increased. Yet the relationship between temperance societies and sport represented a paradox to some, for sport was also viewed as an evil, promoting intemperate behavior. This perception led to greater restriction and licensing with regard to sport events.

Among the socio-religious agencies that contributed to the elevation of the Body during the second half of the nineteenth century, the most prominent was the Young Men's Christian Association. Although the earliest work related to the Association in Bristol appeared in 1848, it was not until 1853 that it became firmly established. In Boston both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.M.C.U. were founded in 1851. While their work (and the work of the Young Women's Christian Association founded later in both cities and discussed in Chapter IX) focused on spiritual improvement initially, by the 1860s (and after the Civil War, in Boston) they worked toward the harmonious development of Body, Mind and Spirit. In Bristol, club sports appear to have represented the bulk of the Association's physical program, while in Boston the gymnasium was of primary importance, both in tune with the national value system of the period previously discussed. The relative importance afforded gymnastics is reflected in the fact that both the Boston Association and Union had their own gymnasiums by 1872 while the Bristol Y.M.C.A. gymnasium was not built until 1879. These "halls of health" were contrasting in size for while the Union's gymnasium was almost twice the size of the Boston Association's, it was nearly four times the size of the Bristol gymnasium. By 1873 the Boston Association employed a full-time gymnastics instructor and three years later a superintendent of the gymnasium, while the Bristol Association continued the part-time instruction and employment of a school's drill instructor. If the Bristol Association fell behind in its gymnasium work, it forged an example for its Boston counterpart on the sports field, one which, due to continued opposition and unavailability of facilities, the Boston Y.M.C.A. was never quite able to follow. Expansion of the Y.M.C.A. in the cities was great, but the Bristol membership did not measure up to that of the Boston Association, nor did its five branches compare with the twenty-one branches that appeared in the larger American city by the end of the nineteenth century.

While the work of individuals and the emergence of missions and settlement homes in the two cities enhanced the work of the social gospel, and as religion overcame the threat of Social Darwinism and its accompanying legitimization of counter-Christian beliefs, so the church and sport became inextricably entwined within the milieu of nineteenth century Bristol and Boston. Yet while religion maintained its importance in the social structure through modifying its value orientation, nineteenth century society became increasingly secularized and power and influence slipped from the hands of religious leaders and into those of politicians.

Footnotes

1. From Horace Mann, ed., Religious Worship in England and Wales. Part of the Census of Great Britain for 1851 (London : Macmillan, 1851). It should be noted that 1851 was the only year during the nineteenth century in which sufficient returns were forthcoming.

2. B. Little, The City and County of Bristol (London : Werner Lawrie, 1954), p. 269.

3. Helen Elizabeth Meller, Leisure and the Changing City 1870-1914 (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 191.

4. H.C. Colville, Thomas William Harvey : Prophet and Priest. A Memoir (Bristol : J.W. Arrowsmith, 1918), p. 32.

5. Thomas H. O'Connor, Bibles, Brahmins and Bosses : A Short History of Boston (Boston : Trustees of the Public Library, 1976), p. 42; Arthur Meier Schlesinger, The Rise of the City, 1878-1898 (New York : Macmillan, 1933), p. 332.

6. Adapted from Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880 (Cambridge : Belknap Press, 1959), p. 263.

7. Boston Morning Journal (December 4th 1871), p. 4.

8. Schlesinger, p. 320.

9. Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age (Cambridge : Belknap Press, 1954), p. 86.

10. The extent of Arnold's contribution to the rise of games and muscular Christianity has, and continues to present a matter of contention in sport history. Among those who have questioned his sole influence are Peter C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800 (London : G. Bell and Sons, 1952), p. 28, and Brian T.P. Mutimer, "Arnold and Organised Games in the English Public Schools," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1971.

11. Reverend H.R. Haweis, "The Church's Attitude Towards Recreation," Outlook 66 (September 22nd 1900), p. 212.

12. Percy M. Young, A History of British Football (London : Arrow Books, 1973), p. 161.

13. Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Condition of the Bristol Poor (Bristol : W. Lewis, 1885), p. 137.

14. *Bristol Evening Post* (February 26th 1955); *The History of the Shaftesbury Crusade. 1885-1935* (Bristol : Partridge and Love, 1935). pp. 5-9; Meller, p. 202.

15. Washington Gladden, *Applied Christianity : Moral Aspects of Social Questions* (Boston : n.p., 1886), p. 270.

16. Alan Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* V : 1 (May 1974), p. 64; *Boston Morning Journal* (June 22nd 1871), p. 2; *The Bicycling World and Archery Field* II (1880), p. 19, I (1879), p. 237.

17. Quoted in Frederick W. Hackwood, *Old English Sports* (London : T. Fisher and Unwin, 1907), p. 8.

18. "Amusements," *New Englander and Yale Review* IX (August 1851), pp. 355, 358.

19. Edward Young, *Hear Both Sides! The Question of Cheap Sunday Excursion Trains, Demonstrated in a Series of Letters and Other Documents* (Bristol : J. Chilcott, 1850), pp. 44, 49.

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21. James Inskip, *The Sunday Band. Mr. Tagart's Test Tested* (Bristol : n.p., 1885); *The Battle of the Bunday Sand : A Chronicle of 1990, or Thereabout* (Bristol : Toleman, 1885), p. 1.

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30. George Santayana, "Philosophy on the Bleachers," Harvard Monthly (July 1894), p. 184.

31. "Games for Working Men. A Plea," In H.D. Rawnsley, A Book of Bristol Sonnets (London : Hamilton, Adams, 1877), p. 93.

32. Figures quoted in the Boston Morning Journal (July 4th 1870).

33. John Lowerson and John Myerscough, Time to Spare in Victorian England (Hassocks : Harvester, 1977), p. 69.

34. From, Report of the Committee to Inquire Into the Condition of the Bristol Poor, p. 81.

35. An attempt to coordinate the City's multitude of temperance societies was made with the establishment of the Bristol United Temperance Council in 1897; Meller, pp. 124, 164.

36. Before the arrival of the "iron horse" the coaching inn represented the most important centre of communication between cities. Here passengers and others would congregate whilst awaiting the arrival and departure of the horsedrawn stagecoaches.

37. Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England : Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885 (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 95; Montague Shearman, ed., Athletics and Football (London : Longmans, Green, 1894), p. 173.

38. "Rules and Regulations of the Mutual Improvement Society and Anti-Nipping Association," Amateur Sport I : 21 (September 11th 1889), p. 327.

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40. Boston Morning Journal (February 21st 1870), p. 2.

41. Boston Morning Journal (December 8th 1871), p. 1.

42. The Annual Report of the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice (1885-1886), p. 7, quoted in Hardy, p. 82.

43. Oscar Fisher and Eric Burton, Those Behind Cry "On!" : The Story of the Centenary of The Bristol Young Men's Christian Association (Inc.) (Bristol : John Wright, 1954), pp. 2-9; E.R. Norris Mathews, New Illustrated Guide to Bristol and Clifton with Map (Bristol : J. Wright, 1870), p. 36.

44. Bristol Y.M.C.A. Monthly Record IV : 2 (May 1898); IV : 7 (October 1898).

45. Bristol Y.M.C.A. Monthly Record IV : 1 (April 1898), p. 7; IV : 8 (November 1898), p. 13; IV : 12 (March 1899), p. 13.

46. There appears to be some conflict as to exactly when and where the Boston Y.M.C.A. was founded. Lawrence Locke Doggett, History of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association (Boston : Y.M.C.A., 1901), p. 10, states that it was formed on December 15th 1851 in the organ loft of the Central Congregational Church on Winter Street, at a meeting attended by thirty-two young men representing twenty churches. However, William B. Whiteside, The Boston Y.M.C.A. and Community Need. A Century's Evolution, 1851-1951 (New York : Association Press, 1951), p. 19, contends that the date was December 29th 1851, and the place, the Spring Lane Chapel of the Old South Church. While such conflicting evidence holds limited relevance for this study, it might prove important in identifying the pattern and sequence of diffusion of the Y.M.C.A. in North America.

47. Boston Daily Journal (March 12th 1852), quoted in Whiteside, p. 26.

48. Boston Morning Journal (May 28th 1872), p. 1; Whiteside, p. 148.

49. Boston Morning Journal (April 13th 1871), p. 2, (January 23rd 1871), p. 2, (January 26th 1871), p. 1, (October 2nd 1872), p. 1.

50. Edward Mussey Hartwell, "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," In Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education n. 5. (Washington, D.C. : Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 88.

51. George W. Blagden, Hope : A Lecture Delivered Before the Boston Young Men's Christian Association (Boston, 1854), cited in Whiteside, p. 38.

52. The Necessity for Moral and Christian Effort Among Young Men Made Evident by the Following Statements (Boston : Y.M.C.A., 1867), this was little more than a copy of a New York publication circulated one year earlier.

53. The Minutes of the Board of Managers of the Boston Y.M.C.A. (February 20th 1888).

54. Boston Morning Journal (September 2nd 1872), p. 3, (September 3rd 1872), p. 4, (November 21st 1872), p. 3.

55. Elmer Johnson, "A History of Physical Education in the Young Men's Christian Association," Ed.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1954, p. 65.

56. 22nd Annual Report of the Boston Y.M.C.A. (Boston : Y.M.C.A., 1873), pp. 26-28, cited in Whiteside, p. 75.

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66. W.McG. Eager, Making Men : the History of Boys' Clubs and related movements in Great Britain (London : University of London, 1953), pp. 289-291.

67. W. Francis Aitken, Canon Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall : His Mission and Its Relations to School Movements (London : S.W. Partridge, 1902), p. 23.

68. Eager, pp. 293-294; Letter from H.D. Rawnsley to J.M. Wilson (1886), quoted in The Clifton College Register (Bristol : J.W. Arrowsmith, 1898), p.cxxx.

69. Quoted in Colville, pp. 1-52, 103.

70. Reverend James M. Wilson, Lecture Given at the Redland Park Congregational Chapel, Bristol (Bristol, 1886), quoted in Meller, p. 152.

71. James M. Wilson, James M. Wilson : an Autobiography 1836-1931 (London : Sidgewick and Jackson, 1932), p. 139.

72. Colville, p. 24; The Cliftonian XI (March 1891), p. 1.

73. J. Leslie Dunstan, A Light to the City : 150 Years of the City Missionary Society of Boston 1816-1966 (Boston : Beacon Press, 1966); George B. Bartlett, "The Recreations of the People," Journal of Social Science XII (1880), p. 141.

74. Quoted in Arthur Mann, p. 113.

75. John F. Moors, "Joseph Lee," Recreation XXXI (1937), p. 535; "The Play Life of Joseph Lee," Recreation XXXI (1937), p. 516.

76. Joseph Lee, "Playgrounds, Beaches and Baths," In Elisabeth M. Herlihy, ed., Fifty Years of Boston. A Memorial Volume (Boston : Tercentenary Committee, 1932), p.680; Theodate Geoffrey, "Joseph Lee, Philosopher," Recreation XXXI (1937), p. 569.

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CHAPTER V

POLITICS, PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

While the church utilised sport in reaching its objectives of social and moral improvement and augmenting its congregation, it appears that politics may have been the groom that led sport by the rein into the twentieth century. Both nations, and indeed both cities, experienced marked political changes prior to and during the years 1870 to 1900. In Bristol and Boston a social revolution gathered strength and social equality became a vague reality, although both tended to hold on to their class biases more than other cities did during the period.

Europe's population doubled during the nineteenth century due in large part to the absence of major wars and scientific advances resulting in a lower mortality rate. After the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815, at which the framework and policy was set for interaction between European nation's over the next ninety-nine years), and until mid-century, European politics were typified by a polarization of Liberalism and Conservatism. Throughout the first half of the century an on-going conflict of political values between Conservatives supported by the nobility and clergy, and bourgeois Liberals advocating civil liberties, was evidenced across the continent. This conflict is most readily observed in Prince Metternich's (Austria's Conservative Minister of Foreign Affairs) purge on Liberalism that drove so many Germans to America during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In Britain, the Liberal party emerged out of a fusion of the Whigs and supporters of Peel's Tory party. It dominated British politics throughout much of the first half of the nineteenth century and until Benjamin Disraeli's second appointment to the office of Prime Minister in February 1874. The rise of Liberalism had been brought about by the party's increased sentiment with the lower working classes. While still maintaining remnants of Conservative ideas of social control, its basic tenets focussed upon individualism and social progress. The prevailing idea of laissez faire restricted the government's right to interfere with individual freedom and might well have slowed the cities' provision of sport facilities. The resultant idea of self-help necessitating long hours of labour, became the cornerstone of mid-Victorian society. However, as Conservative policy became modified to meet the changing demands of an urban industrial society, so the Liberals increased their affinity with the working classes, as David Thomson explains:

> The close connexion between labour and trade union movements, and Radical and Liberal political movements, which is then the most outstanding feature of the formative period of trade union organization between 1850 and 1880, laid the basis for that growth of Liberal Socialism. 1

Indeed, the most outstanding feature of British politics in the years 1870 to 1900 was the gradual shift to the left, toward the ideas of socialism and democracy. Reflected also in a neo-Conservatism directed toward Disraeli's goal of a "Tory Democracy," the balance of power fell into the hands of the Conservative party, which was in office for approximately nineteen of the thirty year period. During his second term (February 1874 to June 1880), Disraeli was instrumental in moving Britain away from laissez faire. Parliamentary recognition of freedom of contract and right of collective bargaining (1875), the Employers and Workmen Act

(1875), the Protection of Property Act (1875), and the consolidation of the Factory Acts (1878), serve to demonstrate the Conservative government's determination to recognize the working man. While drawing much support for his work, there were Tories who expressed some doubt at the Prime Minister's particular status with regard to the ideals of the Conservative Party, as one suggested "We know he does not belong to our Eleven, but we have him down as a professional bowler."[2] While the Conservatives marched steadily toward relative democracy, lead by Disraeli (and, after his death in 1881, Lord Salisbury during the latter years of the nineteenth century), the Liberal party found a most qualified leader in the person of William E. Gladstone. First elected to office in December, 1868 he spent a total of eleven years as British Prime Minister, spread over four terms. While serving under the distinct disadvantage of not being liked by Queen Victoria, he fought against social injustice and repression. His assurance of a secret ballot in 1872 was an important turnaround in the cause of democracy for it meant that anyone could vote without living in fear of reprisals. He followed this by the Reform Bills (1884 and 1885) which extended the vote to eighty percent of male adults and agricultural workers while redistributing parliamentary representation in favour of the larger industrial towns. Gladstone's fundamental tenets were clear, to destroy privilege and thus create social equality. This he achieved in part through increasing public assistance to schools, by abolishing the purchase of commissions in the army and through introducing a system of examinations for Civil Service candidates. However, it was the Bank Holiday Act of 1870 that had perhaps the most far-reaching impact, in creating opportunities for leisure through freeing men from work. Although rather ironically this legislation was not directed at the working class but rather bank employees, clerks, shop and office workers, the precedent that Sir John Lubbock set soon permeated the lower strata of society. However such would appear not to be the case when a Member of Parliament, H.A. Butler-Johnstone pointed out to the House of Commons in 1875 that "it is no answer to the complaint that large classes are deprived of the advantages of athletics and outdoor sports to say that other classes are devoted to these exercises."[3] The fact that Parliament intervened in securing free time for the nation is significant for while representing a brief repose it established a precedent for the responsibility of future governments.

Such a political trend to the left was offset in part by Disraeli's greatest achievement in the cause of Imperialism. Upon his death, Joseph Chamberlain continued to build onto the bricks of the Empire. After Britain had abolished slavery in its possession in 1834, Imperial holdings entered a period of dormancy. Yet this was relatively short-lived for in 1854 New Zealand was granted its own government, followed thirteen years later by the British North America Act which formulated a Constitution for the Dominion of Canada. Disraeli's action toward this end was typified by his borrowing of four million pounds from the Rothschild bank in order to buy forty-four percent of the Viceroy of Egypt's stock in the Suez Canal. Due to the perceived non-feasibility of the Suez project Britain had not participated in the canal's construction but Disraeli was determined to claim part of its bounty. By 1876 Queen Victoria was the

Empress of India and the British imperial march continued. After the nation had occupied Egypt and established a protectorate (1882), its extension southward ensured that by the end of the century most of North Africa was effectively under British control. The Boer War, which started in 1899, continued through the turn of the century with South Africa eventually becoming a British sovereignty in 1902. On the 'home front' politics were not all rosy as Thomson observed, "The parliamentary scene from 1875 until the end of Victoria's reign was dominated more by the Irish Question than by any other."[4] While Parliament remained supreme during these years, Queen Victoria (1837-1901) represented much more than a mere figurehead and at no time relinquished her rights as ruling monarch. Her son and heir apparent, Edward, the Prince of Wales, was not all that a future King was expected to be. His short, rotund and balding figure characterized by a jovial complacency, served him well in his pronounced love of sport. By the end of the century he was Patron of the Rugby Football Union, the Football Association, Surrey County Cricket Club and a leading racehorse owner. Neither was patronage of sport restricted to the Royal Family. The call for an elevation of the Body was heard throughout the chambers of the House of Commons during much of the second half of the nineteenth century and is well illustrated by Lord Elcho's motion brought before the House on July 8th 1862:

> That it is expedient for the increase of bodily as well as mental aptitudes of children for civil, industrial as well as for possible military service, that encouragement and aid should be given for the extension of the practice of systematized gymnastic training, and for the teaching of military and naval drill.[5]

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 set the foundation for localized, democratic government in Britain's larger towns. Through establishing a uniform government structure for corporate boroughs and reforming its role, the seeds were sown for increased municipal concern in social improvement. That same year saw the annexation of nearly four thousand outlying acres by the City of Bristol, the districts of Clifton, Westbury-on-Trym, Bedminster, St. Paul, St. James and St. Phillip and Jacob all being enveloped by the city's boundary.[6]

Throughout the nineteenth century Bristol's government was dominated by the Conservative party, as reflected in Table IX. However, by the end of the nineteenth century a new group of Liberal and Nonconformist Councillors and Aldermen emerged. The national trend toward the left eventually reached the former Conservative stronghold of Bristol, with representation being afforded the working classes through the efforts of the Liberals, Liberal Unionists and even the Labour and Socialist parties. Accompanying this apparent democratization of the city's polity came a redistribution of seats on the Council. While relatively small in number, the figures in Table X indicate a significant shift from the gross over-representation of the traditionally Conservative, affluent wards such as Clifton, to a recognition of the rights of the populace in both established and developing working class districts such as Easton.[7] Among the founding members of the new group of Nonconformist Liberals were four gentlemen who, after being elected councillors, fought the Tory majority and effectively instilled a new enthusiasm for social consciousness into the city's government. Lewis Fry (elected to the City Council in 1866), Joseph Dodge Weston (1868),

Table IX

The Political Composition of the Bristol Corporation, 1835 to 1897 [8]

Year	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal Unionist	Labour	Socialist
1835	39	24	0	0	0
1870	41	23	0	0	0
1880	43	21	0	0	0
1890	36	23	3	1	1
1897	43	32	5	3	1

Table X

The Distribution of Seats in the Bristol City Council, 1835 to 1897 [9]

Ward	1835-1880	1880-1897	1897
Bristol	9	6	6
Clifton	9	6	6
Redcliff	6	6	6
St. Augustine	6	3	3
St. Philip - North	3	3	3
St. Philip - South		3	3
Bedminster - East	3	3	3
Bedminister - West		3	3
St. Michael	3	3	3
St. James	3	3	3
St. Paul	3	3	3
District	3	3	3
Westbury	0	3	3
Horfield	0	0	3
Stapleton	0	0	3
Easton	0	0	3
St. George	0	0	3
Somerset	0	0	3
Total No. of Councillors	48	48	63

Mark Whitwill (1870) and Charles Townsend (1872) were supported in their essentially philanthropic endeavours by two of Bristol's most prominent business families. All four brothers of the Fry family, Quaker owners of the cocoa and confectionary company were central figures in the process of socio-religious reform in the city. The oldest brother, Joseph Storrs Fry, was born in 1826. The leading light in the family business interests, he was elected President of the Bristol Y.M.C.A. in 1877, Edward (born 1827), left Bristol while Albert (born 1830) became an engineer but it was the youngest, Lewis Fry (born 1832) who was elected town councillor, Member of Parliament, the first Chairman of the Bristol School Board and Governor of Clifton College, that showed particular importance with regard to sport, for he, together with his good friend and fellow Liberal councillor, Mark Whitwill, constantly supported the need for parks, baths and other sport facilities. The second leading business name in Bristol was the Wills family. Headed by Sir W. H. Wills, the leading philanthropist, this Congregational family and owner of the famous tobacco company, was of direct significance in the promotion of social work throughout the city. Its particular contribution with regard to the social care and sport provision of its employees will be discussed in Chapter XII.

In endeavouring to cure the social ills precipitated by increasing urbanization and industrialization, municipal governments found themselves faced with two options. On the one hand they would enact the word of law (so often the approach of the Conservatives), in providing minimum standards of drainage, housing and education, while on the other hand the Liberals sought to compensate for society's losses and adopted a broader interpretation of the laws in furnishing sport facilities and opportunities for educational choice. However, in general the Bristol City Council (and the British Parliament), avoided any direct involvement in legislation pertaining to the provision and organization of sport in the city, although such was not the case in Boston.

In America the years 1870 to 1900 saw seven gentlemen serve as President over eight terms. By the end of the nineteenth century the nation was broadly divided, characterized by an urban, industrial region to the east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River, the remainder supporting a rural lifestyle. Politically and economically the period was dominated by a steady shift from Popularism to Progressivism.

Throughout its early life and up to the end of the eighteenth century the American political beliefs were moulded by non-commercial agrarian values characterized by honest labour, independence, equality and man's ability to produce and enjoy a simple abundance. As urbanization strengthened its hold on American society so the agrarian values that neatly paralleled Puritanical belief became increasingly harder to hold onto. As migration to the city increased there evolved an "Agrarian Myth" as Richard Hofstadter has described it, whereby the city was viewed as a parasitical growth on the rural districts, and "symbolized as the home of loan sharks, dandies, fops, and aristocrats with European ideas who despised farmers as hayseeds."[10] However by mid-century the influence of the city on American agriculture was witnessed through a transformation to a commercialized agronomy based upon the needs of a growing urban and overseas market. The yeoman farmer virtually disappeared from the rural districts, for although he made attempts to counter this change through producing cash crops his efforts were frequently in vain. It was in the face of such exploitation, declining market conditions and a government displaying a complacent manner that protest and indignation eventually led to the rise of Popularism.

The ideas of Popularism grew out of the problems created by a new urban industrial society and a world wide over-production of staple goods. It reflected the tenets of Jacksonian democracy, "Equal Rights for All, Special Privileges for None," in recognizing the government's responsibility for the working classes. Portraying an essentially romantic view of society, popularists viewed no difference between the industrial workers of the cities and the farm labourers. Their adoption of a dichotomistic view of social struggle between Man and Corporations and of the conspiracy theory of change reflected in corruption by "interests" was seen as "the last phase of a long and perhaps a losing struggle - the struggle to save agricultural America from the devouring jaws of industrial America."[11] The growing preeminence of capital led to fears of British financiers monopolizing the market and sounded the rise of Nationalism. Promoted by the imperialist notions of a small eastern elite, Jingoism became a very real force in America, particularly during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Anglophobia prompted the dream of building an Empire in the Pacific leading to America's inevitable rise to World Power. Between 1885 and 1892 the nation's navy was doubled and forged the way toward the acquisition of additional territory. The year 1893 saw the annexation of Hawaii followed by the Treaty of Paris (1898), in which Spain ceded Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Phillipines to America. While efforts at imperialism slowed after these events, Nationalism was to receive a tremendous boost as Theodore Roosevelt entered the Presidential office in 1901 upon the assassination of William McKinley. Although Popularism and Jingoism triumphed during the early and final years, it was Progressivism that dominated political thought and ideology during the second half of the nineteenth century.

While the population of rural areas almost doubled during the years 1860 to 1910, the number of people living in the city multiplied almost seven times. Indeed, during the decade of the eighties, urban population (that is people living in towns of two and one-half thousand and up) increased from fourteen to twenty-two million. The cities provided a welcome home for business yet their rapid growth led to poor and corrupt city governments typified by Kipling's description of New York as being "a despotism of the alien, by the alien, for the alien, tempered with occasional insurrections of decent folk!"[12]

The Civil War reshaped the American economy. Heavy industry and manufacturing was expanded and capital investment in the city increased. As population grew, so emerged a consumer market eager for the goods produced by cheap immigrant labour. Railroad extension and standardization, invention and mechanization in industry and agriculture, the growth of huge corporations, the integration of industrial plants, the levying of tariffs on competing imports and the fluctuation of production costs leading to cutthroat competition, moulded a contrasting and new national economy whose maxim was "Conquer the Markets." In New England manufacturing industries continued to grow during the nineteenth century, but as the textile mills lost their business to the South, their workers switched to employment in the public sector. However, a greater problem to the nation's economy appeared in the nature of over-production.[13]

"The Age of Excess" resulted in lowering of prices and political rebellion, strikes and picketing by industrial and farm workers alike. In search of economic reform,the years 1870 to 1900 witnessed a series of measures directed at improving working conditions and ensuring fair profit margins and remuneration for labour. Reflected in the ongoing struggle for an eight hour day and increased legislation restricting the exploitation of children and women in industry, conditions slowly improved. Nevertheless progress was slow and the workers' efforts through strikes (such as the Steelworkers at Homestead, Pennsylvania and the Idaho silver miners), led to recurrent violence which culminated in Chicago's Haymarket bombing in 1886. Such activities frequently had retroactive results for the workers in general were accused of being Communists. Yet the feelings of corporate domination and corruption remained, idealized improvements were not realized and it was left to progressive leaders to initiate change. These men pictured capitalists, workingmen, politicians and citizens alike as demonstrating little if any respect for the law. This progressive view of reality led to an appeal for individual responsibility and censure of individual guilt and opened the door for philanthropic endeavour. Whether through philosophers, educators, or industrialists, this idea of humanism was manifested in a variety of ways, and is well illustrated by the following description of improved living conditions provided for the workers of Pullman, an industrial new town built to the south of Chicago in 1880:

> The little community was a beautiful place, especially when compared to the filthy industrial giant just to its north. One tenth of the area of Pullman was taken by its parks. A miniature lake was created for boating and swimming. An island in the lake was used for many types of athletics. 14

The initiation of progressive ideas was the result of Protestant labour, yet after Pope Leo XIII presented his encyclical of 1891, Catholics became increasingly involved in social work, so that by the end of the century the leaders of the Progressive Movement transcended boundaries of class, occupation and religious denomination.

By 1899 the nation's economy recognized a turnaround as, for the first time, America exported more manufactured goods than it imported. This economic metamorphosis was attended by a political transformation that mirrored Britain's earlier shift away from laissez faire individualism and toward greater bureaucratic control, a transmutation that was instituted in the arena of the city.

Political concern for the less fortunate classes and municipal reform appeared in Boston as early as 1823 with the election of Josiah Quincy as mayor. Together with his fellow New Federalist and subsequent mayor of Boston, Harrison Gray Otis, they demonstrated a sense of social and moral responsibility of the city in promoting the causes of temperance, penal reform, urban renewal and improved sanitation. However, by the mid-1830s this "sort of moral stewardship," gave way to the efforts of young, educated, upper class, Puritan radicals who, through the adoption of "emotional crusades", sought to promote women's rights and the abolition movement. By 1840 there were over two hundred anti-slavery societies in Massachusetts claiming among their membership many of Boston's elite Brahmin group including Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Dr. Henry Bowditch, James Russell Lowell and Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose emerging idea of transcendentalism which "combined the strict religious conscience of the old New England Puritan, the revivalist spirit of the frontiersman, and the social consciousness of the professional reformer"[15], lent support to the Brahmin idea of "moral stewardship." The growing feeling that the efforts of the Abolition Movement promised the North's intended destruction of the Southern social structure, coupled with Abraham Lincoln's election as President without a single electoral vote from the slave states, erupted in Civil War as the Confederates opened fire on Fort Sumter in April, 1861. The resultant economic, social and cultural changes in American society sounded the death knell on the Boston Brahmin dominance of social and political prescription.

Soon after the Civil War, the City increased its holdings through the annexation of Roxbury (1867), Dorchester (1869), Charlestown (1873), Brighton (1873), and West Roxbury (1873). Yet this expansion, coupled with the post-bellum acceleration of corporate industry, presented problems of capitalistic corruption and monopolization with which the inexperienced municipal governments were unable to cope. In 1884 the Massachusetts Legislature recognized the need for reforms in the election of city officers, but it was not until "The Conferences for Good City Government" in 1895 that many of the problems were solved. However, Boston did not have to wait that long, for there emerged in the city a steady stream of progressives intent on social reform and, where necessary, social reconstruction. The idea of laissez faire was denounced as un-American for it had precipitated aggressive tactics in business, and the City government was intent on reclaiming the ownership of schools and communication networks for the people. Central to this process was Wendell Phillips, the Socialist son of Boston's first mayor. In 1871 he ran as Governor on a combined labour and temperance ticket, his romantic yearning for a return to agrarian values being reflected in his perception of an ideal civilization:

> ...a New England town of some two thousand inhabitants, with no rich man and no poor man in it, all mingling in the same society, every child at the same school, no poor house, no beggar, opportunities equal, nobody too proud to stand aloof, nobody too humble to be shut out. 16

The Progressive era is epitomized by the aggregation of traditional Yankee democrats, emerging Irish democrats, rising young Yankee lawyers, and those Independent Mugwumps that had disagreed with James G. Blaine, to form the Democrat party led by Grover Cleveland. His defeat of Blaine in 1884 paved the way for two terms in the White House from 1885 to 1889, and 1893 to 1897. Although ousted by Benjamin Harrison in 1889, the path for democracy had been laid in Massachusetts and by the early 1890s the Boston Mayor, Governor, and majority of Congress, were Cleveland democrats. Despite the loss of confidence in the party's policy, which accompanied the depression of 1893 (and which led to a Republican federal government), Irish Democrats tightened their never-loosening grip on Boston's government, affording greater recognition to the welfare of the City's working man.[17]

Unlike Bristol, the municipal government included sport under its aegis. As early as 1854 the July 4th regatta was inaugurated under the auspices of the City, but the most significant interaction between sport and local government resulted from the ploughing up of Boston Common in the spring of 1869, meaning that baseball practice and games had to cease. Fearful of losing their favourite playground forever, the city's baseball fraternity was determined to elect a mayor and alderman who would be sympathetic to their needs. The political platform of the "Red Ballers" was presented in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of December 13th, 1869:

> The design is to foster not the game of baseball and its interests alone, but out-door sports in general, as an important means of promoting the physical training of our youth and consequently the public health. The common has been taken and nothing left in its place as a playground, and the main object is to elect men who will grant our youth some spot for recreation. Beyond this it has no object or aim, political or otherwise. [18]

With this last statement in mind, a careful selection of candidates for alderman was made from both Republican and Democrats, their names appearing at the top of the ticket which was distinguished by a large red ball. The Red Ball ticket was a success, Mayor Shurtleff was re-elected and eight of the twelve aldermen chosen were on the ticket. Although in the spring of 1870 the Mayor directed the lower end of the Boston Common as a playground for boys, by 1873 the Beacon Base Ball Club again petitioned the City's aldermen for additional space on the Common upon which to play baseball. Their request was denied on the basis of baseball's threat to safety, yet the *Council Minutes* put it down as an apparent feeling of class resentment:

> The Committee has given...more heed to objections of a few wealthy citizens, most of whom pass the summer months when the playground is in requisition, away from the city, than to the interests of the young men who are unable to afford expensive recreation, nor have the time to go to the outskirts of the city to obtain exercise. 19

While it is true to say that the Bristol City Council avoided any direct involvement in sport in comparison to the Boston City Council, it was through the provision of parks, playgrounds and baths contributing to the process of social improvement, that the greatest interaction between sport and government was seen.

Sanitation, Space and Sport in Bristol

The nineteenth century represented an era of extreme social consciousness in both Britain and the United States. Disease, slums and poverty, which had been precipitated out of the supposed social advance of the Industrial Revolution and the accompanying trend toward urbanization, began to reach into the conscience of politicians.

In Britain, after several attempts, the Reform Bill was finally passed by the Whigs in 1832. This furnished the starting post for municipal governments to proceed with social reform measures. However, opposition stemming from the middle class governing elite was strong, and it was some time before the effect of the Reform Bill was to be seen in Britain's industrial cities. As mid-nineteenth century thought elevated the Body to a dualistic relation with Mind, and the condition of the expanding cities was seen to have far-reaching ramifications for the moral and spiritual structure of the city, so improvement within society became a priority. In a lecture delivered at Bristol in October, 1857, Charles Kingsley reinforced the need in saying that:

> ...the moral state of a city depends--how far I know not, but frightfully, to an extent as yet uncalculated, and perhaps incalculable--on the physical state of that city; on the food, water, air and lodging of its inhabitants.[20]

Public health represented a major concern to the city of Bristol yet it was to be several years before the City Council accepted and instituted the legislation of 1832. This delay is well reflected in the fact that it was 1836 before the Bristol General Cemetery Company was established and began to plan and landscape a municipal cemetary in the south of the city. Edwin Chadwick's report on The Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain in 1842, prompted the establishment of a Royal Commission in 1844, to enquire into the state of public health in the nation's towns. Its findings published one year later painted a rather unflattering picture of Bristol but concluded:

> As the climate is salubrious, and poverty not peculiarly severe, we can only look for the cause of the unhealthy state of the city in the neglect of sanitary conditions. We have seen there to be, bad drainage and sewerage, deficient supplies of water, bad structural arrangements of streets and dwellings, and overcrowded state of population. These are, in a great measure, removable causes, and most of them are within the recognized province of legislation.[21]

The death rate of thirty-one per thousand was only exceeded by Manchester and Liverpool and the worst conditions were to be found in the overcrowded districts of Temple, Bedminster, Redcliff and St. Thomas, while even parts of Clifton were without sewerage. Drainage in the city was poor and where it existed the effluent ended up in the rivers Frome and Avon. Water supply was poor with most districts dependent upon frequently contaminated wells for their "fresh" water. Nevertheless as the Commissioners noted, with industrial areas confined to the east the prevailing winds carried all manner of pollution away from the city, and the outlook for improved health was optimistic. Acting upon the legislation of the 1848 Public Health Act, Bristol appointed its first Medical Officer of Health and established a Sanitary Authority in 1851 which truly revolutionized the state of public health in the city. By 1869 The Times observed that Bristol had been transformed "from nearly the most unhealthy to be nearly the most healthy town in Great Britain." The city's rate of mortality had decreased significantly from twenty-eight in one thousand during 1850 to twenty-two in one thousand by 1869. As a port, Bristol represented a potential gateway to exotic diseases as well as promoter to the furtherance of endemic disease. The city experienced its fair share of epidemics, a scarlet fever outbreak in 1870 left seven hundred and forty people dead while two years later smallpox was the cause of two hundred and nine deaths. However, the Public Health Act of 1872 established Port Sanitary Authorities which effectively controlled the spread of communicable disease and established isolation hospitals, so much so that after 1890 Bristol was able to report not one case of typhus in the city.[22] An important event in Bristol's recognition of its role in public health was the establishment of a Commission to look into the conditions of life among the poorest classes of people in the city. At the request of the clergy, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol appointed a committee which included F. J. Fry, the Reverends Canon Mather, Urijah Thomas and James M. Wilson, Mark Whitwill, G. Wills and S. Day Wills. The inquiry focused on nine aspects of life among the Bristol poor, their dwellings, education, recreation and the existence and impact of intemperance, immorality, work among the poor, almsgiving, endowed charities and Poor Law relief. While their findings called for universal improvement, public health was seen to have improved considerably. The figures in Table XI substantiate Bristol's status as the nations most healthy town. When compared with statistics for Liverpool (26.7 and 185) and Manchester (27.6), the effect of earlier measures is all the more impressive. Also, when it is considered that the rate of mortality decreased from thirty in one thousand in 1844 to less than eighteen in one thousand in 1883, contributing factors must be forthcoming.[23] The Infectious Diseases Notification Act of 1889 was one of the main reasons for improved health. Added to this was the construction of forty-three miles of main sewers between 1855 and 1874 (and one hundred and fifty miles by 1900), and an increased attendance to housing. As the city's population increased so overcrowding in the unsanitary slums worsened but it was not until after the 1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act that the Bristol City Council appointed an Artisan's Dwelling Committee which subsequently became the Housing of the Working Classes Committee. The real problem was found to be poverty, for while unoccupied houses appeared in the suburbs, the only dwellings that the workman could afford were the low cost abodes such as those included in the eighty tenement buildings erected in Jacob Wells. While poor drainage, inadequate water supplies, disease and overcrowding represented a very real threat to survival, the congestion of the city offered little space for the children and adults to participate in sport or even to enjoy any of the fresh air that was so readily available in the countryside.

For the child who managed to survive the scandalously high rate of mortality in the British city, and who endured the later exploitation by

Table XI

The Mortality Rate of Britain's Most Healthy Towns, 1883[24]

Town	Mortality Rate Per 1000	Infant Mortality Rate Per 1000
Bristol	17.9	133
Derby	18.1	143
Bradford	18.3	147
Portsmouth	18.6	138
Brighton	19.2	146
Leicester	19.4	160
Norwich	19.7	150
Birkenhead	19.9	146
Halifax	20.0	147
Cardiff	20.2	164
London	20.4	146
Plymouth	20.9	150

industry, facilities for play were all too often non-existent. In Bristol, the Town Clerk, speaking on behalf of the Improvement Committee in 1845, noted that:

> In regard to the number and areas of places for public recreation...Queen Square had an area of over 6 3/4 acres, College Green about 4 ¼ acres, Brunswick Square 1¼ acres , Portland Square 2¼ acres, and King Square nearly 1¼ acres. Brandon Hill was 19½ acres in extent, and 800 pounds had been recently collected by private subscription for the purpose of forming walks there. [25]

This exposure of the utter inadequacy of play areas for a city as large and socially compartmentalized as Bristol left few alternatives for the poor children. Unable to afford the private gardens and play areas of the wealthy they turned to the street which became "park, promenade, and playground: a grim park, a dusty promenade, a dangerous playground," for they shared it with the traffic. Yet despite the oppressive constraint of urbanization and poverty, the durability of children's games ensured that the streets were constantly filled with children playing informal games in which:

> They seldom need an umpire, they rarely trouble to keep scores, little significance is attached to who wins or loses, they do not require the stimulus of prizes, it does not seem to worry them if a game is not finished.

Bristol children developed games that were characteristic of their city and neighborhood. The game of "metal touch" in Bristol became "iron tag" in Boston, the seemingly universal game of "kick-the-can" was known in Bristol during the nineteenth century as "Rin Tin Tin", while "Wall Touch" assumed the name of "Den to Den" or "Lockit". With regard to counting out games, the Bristol variations spoken in a characteristic broque included:

Ibble obble,
Black bobble.
Ibble obble out.

Or perhaps:

Onery, oo-ry, ick-ry, an
Bibsy, Bopsy, little Sir Jan,
Queeny, quaury
Virgin Mary,
Nick, tick, toloman tick,
O-U-T, out,
Rotten, totten, dish-clout,
Out jumps - He.[26]

It appears that the earliest conscious attempt at organized provision of facilities for sport in the city followed the founding of the Bristol Pleasure Grounds Company in 1860. Within a year the directors purchased eight acres of agricultural land at Hatfield from the Reverend

H. Richards for two thousand pounds which were converted into a garden for public recreation. Although this endeavour proved unprofitable and was later sold, it had established a recognition of the need for open spaces. By 1885, the Committee inquiring into the condition of Bristol's poor identified the need to consider the nature and intended use of areas in their planning in stating:

> As regards the character of Recreation Grounds, all the evidence shows they should be of two sorts, one for adults and for children accompanied by adults, and one for children's playgrounds. The essentials for the first are trees, and grass, and flowers, seats and shelter; to which if possible should be added water, whether as pond or fountain, a stand for music and open space for play; there must be a freedom also from excessive restrictions. The essentials for the second are dry and asphalted ground, shelter, walls, open air, gymnastic apparatus--such as swings--also trees, shade and water, and if possible, flowers, with kindly but not disciplinary supervision. 27

Unfortunately, by the time the need had been fully recognized, such space could only be acquired at a colossal outlay of capital, and while branch libraries could be stocked and opened for comparatively limited expenditure so they became the Council's sole contribution to the amusement of people. However, Bristol relied upon the munificent benefactions of the landed gentry in providing "breathing spaces" for the city, the value of which was expressed by Miss Octavia Hill who felt that:

> There are many kinds of gifts which have now a demoralizing effect on the poor, but such gifts as this of common land could do nothing but unmixed good. The space, the quiet, the sight of grass and trees and sky, which are a common inheritance of men in most circumstances, are accepted as so natural, are enjoyed so wholly in common, that however largely they were given, they could only be helpful. 28

In the same year that this article appeared, the City of Bristol accepted a gift of land from Sir Greville Smythe, an area which later became

Victoria Park.

An important issue was raised during the 1880s and 1890s concerning the utilization of existing open spaces in the city for sport. Since feudal times the Common was the private property of the Lord of the Manor and the Commoners, and it was they who decided upon its use. The Common had traditionally existed for the grazing of cattle and as a place of recreation, yet by the end of the nineteenth century, these apparent rights were being questioned in courts of law across the nation. In 1892 an attempt to assert the customary rights of recreation on Walton Common near Bristol, resulted in John Henry Virgo bringing a suit against William Henry Harford (the Lord of the Manor), on behalf of the former's parish of Walton-in-Gordano. The plaintiff, supported by the Bristol and District Footpath Preservation Society, appeared at Bristol Assizes on August 10 and 11, 1892. The defendant, having enclosed the land with barbed wire, was accused of restricting the practice of village sport which had been played on the Common according to ancient custom. After hearing the evidence, the jury deliberated for a brief minute and awarded the case to the plaintiff. In giving judgement, Mr. Justice Wills declared that:

> ...all the other inhabitants resident in the parish of Walton-in-Gordano are entitled to use the land claimed by the plaintiff as a village green for recreation, and for the playing of football, rounders, cricket, and other lawful village sports, games and pastimes. 29

While this and Brandon Hill in Bristol were rescued as sports grounds, churchyards were utilized for a similar purpose in the poorer districts of the city such as St. James, St. Phillip and St. Jacob, Temple and St. Agnes Parishes. The municipal government of Bristol was indeed fortunate in bearing witness to such development for it was reluctant to purchase or even maintain open spaces for the benefit of its people. However, as other cities purchased land to sponsor parks, baths and playgrounds, so a feeling of civic pride permeated the city and was reflected in the words of a reporter for the Western Daily Press in 1895 who noted that:

> The larger provincial towns are...laying out parks and playgrounds using in fact, municipal funds to increase the pleasure and health of the community. It would be difficult to estimate the value of this development...town life was often neglected in the craving of what was understood as utility...the future of life in cities may be contemplated with the assurance that it will be brighter, sweeter and more rationally enjoyable...the municipal evolution which is taking place is rendering local authorities more appreciative of the necessities of modern life and more anxious to adopt improvements that will add to the happiness of the communities they represent. 30

Nevertheless, the development of parks in Bristol was slow and by 1897 only three parks existed to serve the needs of the majority of the city's close to four hundred thousand inhabitants.

Who will o'er the Downs so free,
Who will with me ride?

These words might easily be applied to Bristol for the city has possessed its own Common in the form of Durdham and Clifton Downs since medieval days. As has been suggested in Chapter II, the Downs was the venue for a variety of sports during the eighteenth century. Horse races and foot races were popular with the latter even providing for women, the fortunate winner of such a race in 1725 being awarded a laced holland smock. May-day festivities and pugilism appeared popular but it seems that the Ostrich Inn on Durdham Down was the major attraction to sport enthusiasts of the City. In 1756 "lovers of the noble and manly exercise of back-sword" were drawn to the tavern by an offer of five guineas to the "first best man who breaks the most heads, saving his own." Later in 1778, a cock fight was the occasion that packed the Ostrich to watch fifty-one birds fight for the three hundred and fifty guineas that were awarded in prizes. Little if any attempt was made to secure or improve the Downs until, during the summer of 1849, a Committee of Clifton residents provided over one hundred seats, pathways, trees, shrubs and even a concert band for Clifton Down. When during the first half of the nineteenth century the Downs were threatened by encroaching quarries, mines and private enclosures, the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol purchased the land from the Lords of the Manor of Henbury and Westbury-on-Trym for fifteen thousand pounds.[31] Subsequently, the Clifton and Durdham Down Act received Royal assent on May 17th 1861 enabling the Corporation of the City of Bristol to secure the two hundred and thirty acres of Clifton Down and two hundred and twelve acres of Durdham Down as places of public recreation.[32] The preservation of this municipal playground was and remains of incalculable value to the citizens of Bristol. On its grassy acres have been played cricket, lacrosse, golf, hockey and football. The home of the Clifton Cricket Club before 1861, was the venue for the beginnings of county cricket in 1862 as the Gentlemen of Gloucestershire defeated those of Devon. In the following year a Gloucestershire twenty-two triumphed over an All England Eleven. During June 2nd, 3rd and 4th 1872 the newly-formed Gloucestershire County Cricket Club began its first class schedule beating Surrey on Durdham Down. Neither was sport on the Downs restricted to the elite teams, a local rugby player recalled the days of his youth when playing for a team called Cotham Swifts which had been formed by North Street schoolboys, he joined the rest of the team in picking up their goalposts in Stokes Croft, carrying them up to the Downs and back after the game. In addition to a location for sport, the Downs provided a ready site for large festive gatherings. On July 6th, 1893, the marriage of the future King George V and Queen Mary was celebrated in Bristol by the playing of music on Clifton Down and a pyrotechnics display on Durdham Down.[33]

At mid-century one of the most popular areas of middle class retreat was the Zoological Gardens. Formed in 1835, and based on the example set by the London and Liverpool Societies, the Bristol, Clifton and West of England Zoological Society boasted among its founder members Isambard Kingdom Brunel, H. O. Wills and W. D. Wills. Disappointed in Bristol's tardiness in following the early examples, the Society's first report expressed the hope that the venture would "be well supported by the public spirit of its citizens, and by the wealthy and enlightened inhabitants of its populous vicinity."[34] The gardens complete with shaded lawns and lakes remained very much a reserve of the middle classes until the Bank Holiday Act of 1871. This was a godsend not only to the workers but to those who catered for their amusement, and is reflected in the Society's income for 1872 which had climbed to two thousand, four hundred and fifty pounds. Private fêtes and functions accounted for nearly a third of the revenue. As early as July 23rd 1860 a Military Fête was held under the auspices of the National Volunteer Movement. Together with a "grand concert", a "scientific assault at arms", and the concluding "gorgeous display of fireworks", an advertisement for the day's proceedings included information on "athletic sports and exercises." The latter comprised the events of hurdling, sprinting, high jump and broad jump open to Volunteers only and for which prizes were awarded. During the 1880s Bristol's middle classes patronized the Gardens on Sunday afternoons enjoying a pleasant stroll across the lawn, through the trees and shrubberies or a boat trip on the lake. A map of the Gardens in 1886 found in A.H.N. Green-Armytage's History of the Zoo shows considerable lawn space afforded to tennis courts scattered among the various animal enclosures.[35] Pupils of Clifton College (adjoining the Zoological Gardens) recorded the days that they spent playing tennis on the lawns and skating on the lake in winter. Together with track and field and cycling meets held with increasing frequency toward the end of the century, an 1893 guide to the City advertised a roller skating rink at the Gardens.[36]

Despite the poor provision for outdoor areas suitable for the practice of sport during the first half of the nineteenth century, the years 1870 to 1900 witnessed a remarkable growth in the acreage of parkland. In 1870 Avonmouth established some public gardens in which was provided popular attractions of the day which included the following all for the price of four pence:

> ...vocalists, negro-delineators, comic singers, dancers, comedians, etc. hay making and rustic sports, brass band and string band for dancing, trapeze and rope walking acts, outdoor amusements, swings, whirl-abouts, quoits, croquet, American bowling alleys and a new skittle alley. 37

In June 1875 a recreation ground at Fishponds was donated to the city by Alderman Proctor. Refurbished and equipped for the sports of school children, it soon attracted "thousands of whom are taken there yearly on summer vacations." After 1875, when municipalities were afforded the power to provide and maintain parks, many British cities took up the challenge. However Bristol, with its City Council still reluctant to invest money in parks, awaited further gifts of land upon which to landscape, equip and maintain parks and playgrounds. At a meeting of the City Council on June 15th 1882 the Sanitary Committee reported that it had inspected and approved the purchase of twenty-one acres of land on Sir Greville Smythe's estate in Bedminster. Upon adoption of the report a letter was read stating that the owner of the land "would have great pleasure in presenting the ground to the city for the purpose of forming a pleasure ground," the letter going on to express the hope that an area of the land would be reserved for the Bedminster Cricket Club. By September of 1884 the land had become the legal property of the City and Council voted to provide a sum of three thousand pounds to secure the land from flooding to which it was prone, and to erect entrance gates. At the same meeting in 1884 fifteen hundred pounds was granted toward the asphalting of a children's playground and landscaping of a park on the land adjoining Newfoundland Road in St. James' park, already alluded to in Chapter IV. During the remaining years of the nineteenth century the number of parks and playgrounds (though not the total area), multiplied dramatically, the growth being illustrated in Table XII. In securing the capital necessary for the purchase and improvement of land, the Council in 1884 proposed to borrow more than twelve thousand pounds on mortgage of the rates, and four years later the purchase of Victoria and Eastville Parks was effected by means of a loan upwards of fifty thousand pounds. While the figures for the purchase and improvement of the city's parks and playgrounds vary considerably, the figures included in Table XII are taken from the Bristol City Council Minutes. However, the cost of continual upkeep and improvement led G. F. Stone in 1909 to estimate that the City had spent well over one hundred thousand pounds on the purchase and maintenance of its five major parks (excluding the Downs), and in that year there existed seven hundred and ninety two acres reserved for the amusement of Bristolians.[38]

While the problem of space for the practice of sport was in part solved by the end of the nineteenth century, there nevertheless remained legislative restrictions that prevented the full and uninhibited enjoyment of sport, particularly by the city's children. The park planners in their determination to revive civic pride and cater to the needs of the middle class ideas of peaceful walks among the flowering borders, tended to ignore the needs and wants of the working class and children. As Iona and Peter Opie have suggested "to a child there is more joy in a rubbish tip than a flowering rockery, in a fallen tree than a piece of statuary, in a muddy track than a gravel path," yet the planners continued "to trim, to pare, to smooth out, to clean-up, to prettify, to convert to economic advantage," the parks and play-grounds which reflected typically middle class values.[39] The By-laws and Regulations pertaining to Bedminster Park (Greville Smythe Park), St. Agnes' Gardens (Newfoundland Road) and Hunt's Pleasure Ground (Mina Road) published in 1886, show that the grounds were open from seven

Table XII

Parks and Playgrounds Owned by the Bristol City Corporation 1861 to 1900

Description	Date	Area (in acres)	Cost
Clifton Down Durdham Down	May 17 1861	212 230	Purchased for 15,000 pounds by the Society of Merchant Venturers and donated to the city through assent of Parliament.
Greville Smyth Park	Owned Sept., 1884	21	Gift of Sir Greville Smyth. 3,000 pounds granted toward its upkeep.
Land adjoining Newfoundland Road Park and Playground	Resolved Sept., 1884	?	Purchased for 2,358 pounds by the City for the Parish of St. James. 1,500 pounds voted for improvements.
Land adjoining Greville Smyth Park	Resolved April 1886	2	Purchased from the Parish of St. Mary Redcliff for 1,800 pounds.
Land adjoining Mina Road	Opened June 30 1886	?	Gift of William Hunt 1,480 pounds granted for improvements.
Land adjoining Broad Weir	Opened June 30 1886	?	?
St. Phillip's Marsh	Resolved Jan., 1887	0.25	Purchased for 450 pounds.
Gaunt's Ham. Barton Hill	Started Jan., 1889	2	Purchase, landscaping & enclosure cost 5,846 pounds.
Victoria Park Eastville Park	Resolved April 24 1888 Resolved April 24 1888	79 70	Purchased from Sir Greville Smyth and landscaped for a total of 46,154 pounds.
Land adjoining Lawford Gate Prison	Resolved July 13 1888	?	Landscaped for 1,000 pounds.
St. George's Park	Opened July 18 1894	38	Purchased from the Ecclesiastical Commission for 12,000 pounds.
St. Andrew's Park	Opened 1895	?	Purchased for 13,047 pounds.

in the morning to ten at night during the months of March to October. During the winter months the areas were opened at eight in the morning and closed by five-thirty in the evening. In addition to regulations protecting the city's property, citizens were restricted in the playing of "any game of football quoits bowls hockey cricket or any other game which...may necessitate...the exclusive use by the player or players of any space in the pleasure ground." For the practice of such sport hopeful participants had to rely on the following clause:

> ...the Sanitary Authority may from time to time set apart [areas] for the playing of any such game or games.[40]

Nevertheless, where the practice of sport was permitted it was limited to one game only and that not to extend beyond the duration of two hours. Any person who infringed upon these by-laws was liable to a penalty of five pounds. Five years later a further set of regulations was formulated applying particularly to Eastville and Victoria Parks. As before, bathing in the ponds was prohibited, and in echoing the restrictive measures with regard to the practice of sport, golf represented a distinct addition to the list.[41] The Downs remained the great playing field of the City. However, while football, cricket and the like continued to be freely practiced on the Downs the revised Rules and By-laws for 1892 required that:

> 13. No person shall break in or ride or drive in races any horse or other animal upon the Downs or upon the roads or footpaths traversing the same.
> 15. No person shall ride any bicycle, tricycle, velocipede or other machine of a like or similar description upon the turf of the Downs or upon any footpath traversing the same.[42]

The Merchant Venturers were successful in urging the City to maintain the Downs as a playground relatively free from legislative restriction. However, the parks continued (throughout the remaining decade of the nineteenth century), to control the activities practiced upon their prized lawns. The Saint George's Park Committee Minutes record with dissatisfaction the prevalence of gambling during "pitch and toss" competitions in 1895 and took measures to prevent the game from being played. Later in 1897, due to the damage to the turf resulting from football, it was decided that games only be allowed "in the western portion of the Park a line dividing this space being drawn from the N.E. corner of Higher Grade School and to the corner of the Park near the Powder Magazine."[43]

The Bristol City Council adopted a somewhat passive role in providing outdoor areas for the practice of sport during the nineteenth century. But for the munificent gifts of land owners, Bristol's claim to parks and playgrounds in 1900 would have been quite unimpressive. When finally, councillors such as Mark Whitwill urged the City to purchase and maintain "breathing spaces" for its citizens, the Council responded by strictly regulating the activities that were practiced upon their property. In Boston the reaction to poor health paralleled that of Bristol, yet meliorative measures taken by the American city's government presents an interesting comparison.

Public Health, Parks and Playgrounds in Boston

Boston shared many of the problems of public health that Bristol experienced as a port and rapidly growing urban centre. Typhoid, dysentery and scarlet fever prevailed in Massachusetts during the first half of the nineteenth century, but it was not until the epidemic of

Asiatic cholera killed about twelve hundred of the state's citizens in 1849 that a Sanitary Commission was established and eventually became known as the Massachusetts State Board of Health and Vital Statistics (1869). Although particularly instrumental in improving the purity of water and extending Boston's sewerage network, the problem of overcrowding, disease and insufficient open spaces remained. A report on the health of Massachusetts published in the Boston Morning Journal for March 23 1871 established the state's leading causes of mortality as consumption, cholera, pneumonia and typhoid. While the incidence of disease decreased as the end of the nineteenth century neared, and living conditions improved, a parallel fight to secure open spaces for the health and sporting needs of the citizens was underway.[44]

The earliest Puritans to arrive in Boston were used to having a town common and made efforts to secure such a piece of land in their new home. Boston Common is nearly as old as the city. In 1634 the land was purchased from the Reverend William Blackstone for thirty pounds, the money being raised through a tax of six shillings and upward being levied on every householder. The very fact that the Common belongs to the people rather than to the city has ensured its survival ever since the seventeenth century when it was set aside as a "place for a trayning field...and for the feeding of Cattell." The scene of public hangings, witchcraft trials, a burial ground and grazing pasture, the seventeenth century Common might also be considered America's first public park and playground for as early as 1698 "wicket" and "flinging of the bullit" was enjoyed by boys. However, by August 23rd 1723 the game of "throwing the long bullits" on the Common was forbidden because of its threat to the safety of pedestrians. Walking (and in winter, skating) on the Common were popular pursuits during the early eighteenth century and contributing to its role of playground, received improvements during 1746. The American War of Independence temporarily negated its importance to sport, as the common became a muster and training field and camp for the British troops.[45] Yet its relation with sport returned during the early nineteenth century as M. A. De Wolfe Howe suggests in his chronicle of the Common's life in 1813:

> At a time when there was little of Boston except "Boston Proper," when the present outlying parks, avenues, and waterfronts were unknown, inaccessible, or remote from population, the Common provided the inevitable outlet for the energies of the young. 46

The Frog Pond in the heart of the Common represented a year round attraction to the sporting fraternity of Boston, young and old. Edward Everett Hale recalls sailing boats on the pond as a boy, it also provided the water supply for firemen's contests while in winter it became a skating rink. Known by a variety of names, among them "Fountain Pond," and "Quincy Lake," the bottom of the Frog Pond was paved during August of 1848.[47]

Boston's climate is very much more extreme in comparison to the moderate nature of Bristol's weather. This fact is particularly borne out in the winter sporting pursuits of the two cities. While ice skating was practiced in Bristol, the extended cold of New England winters prompted enthusiasm for skating, coasting and snowballing. Again, the Common and Frog Pond provided the focus for such activity but where citizens could afford it, they would travel out of the city in search of improved conditions, as James D'Wolf Lovett recalls:

> Jamaica Pond was, far and away, the favourite and fashionable skating ground...Skating parties composed of Boston's elite were formed for visiting the pond...Here also was the boys' paradise for ice hockey; the boys frequently lined up fifty or more strong on a side, and the constant "mix-ups" that occurred, in which a hundred or more hockeys were flying about in reckless confusion, gave onlookers a decided impression that "something" was doing. 48

Ice-skating in Boston achieved unparalleled popularity by the early 1870s. In December 1872, a two-column article in the Boston Morning Journal entitled "The Skating of Boston," described its origins, notable local skaters and the best equipment and skating grounds. Two days earlier the same paper carried an editorial expressing concern at the City's failure to maintain the outdoor public skating areas:

> Hundreds of boys and girls would be delighted if the snow could be cleared off the ponds on the Public Gardens and Common after each snow fall. If the Superintendent of Public Squares has no authority to employ laborers for this purpose, we have no doubt, if he could provide the proper implements, there would be volunteers enough among the boys, who would gladly offer their services to clear the ponds for the sake of having a decent place in our city to enjoy skating. 49

However, alternatives were provided. Early sport entrepreneurs opened commercial ice rinks within the city . Refreshments, music and masquerade carnivals were used to attract customers and on occasion skating matches and exhibitions such as that by "The Skatorial King", John Engler, who, among his numerous achievements, skated on three feet high stilts. The first rink in the area was opened at Cambridge while others followed in Boston and the suburbs. The twenty-five cents for adults and fifteen cents entrance fee for children seemed to deter patrons of the Tremont Street Skating Rink during the winter of 1870. In November of that year Colonel C. E. Fuller stated his intention of transforming the rink into a market or riding school unless four hundred interested persons were to purchase stock in it to the amount of one hundred dollars each. This attempt failed, but thanks to a new strategy adopted in the selling of five hundred season tickets at ten dollars each, augmented by the support of a local newspaper, the rink was secured for that season's skating. In November 1870, a letter had appeared in the Boston Morning Journal calling for financial support of the rink in claiming that:

> There are many reasons why this institution should be sustained in Boston as it is in other cities. It is the best skating rink in the country, and this circumstance (as excellence has to be paid for), is the chief reason why the proprietors have not been able to get any returns for their investment. It is a perfectly safe field of exercise for skaters, who are not only safe from accidents, which occur every winter on the outlying ponds, but are protected from the severity of the weather, and made comfortable, whether skating or resting. Parents may send their children, girls as well as boys, to the Rink, in perfect confidence of their safety and good care, day or evening...

It appears that such advantages were not internalized by Boston's skaters for by the end of February 1871 the rink was purchased with the intention of transforming it into a market. Nevertheless, to the Neponset and South End Skating Rinks was added a new rink on the corner of Harrison Avenue and Dover Street for the following winter.[50]

While skating was enjoyed by all ages it necessitated some initial investment in skates and for this reason the sport appealed less to the working classes than the competing pursuits of snowballing and coasting. The search for group identification through sport has been witnessed in many different societies. In nineteenth century Boston, cultural, racial and economic boundaries divided geographical districts and the boys waged constant war between neighbourhoods. William Newell, writing in 1883, recalls that "any luckless lad obliged to go into the hostile district took care to keep his eyes open, to dodge cautiously about corners, and to be ready for instant flight in case of detection."[51] Fights between the "West Enders" and the "South Enders", "North Enders" and the boys from "Cambridgeport" frequently erupted after ball games on the Common, while in winter, rather than the weather subduing the "armies", battles would rage with snowballs replacing stones as ammunition. In 1872, one such encounter was waged on the Common between two hundred blacks (most likely from the West End) and two hundred whites (from the South End). A newspaper account of the following day described the outcome as "a victory for the whites, the 'amendments' being driven to the Frog Pond."[52]

The winter sport par excellence was coasting. As early as the winter of 1775 accounts exist of Boston boys, upon finding their snow slides destroyed by British soldiers, went directly to General Gage in complaint. The boys of the early nineteenth century fared little better, coasting down streets in Boston was seen as an infringement upon city ordinances and Caleb Heyward , the City police officer in 1820, took measures to outlaw the sport, which in turn prompted Dr. Jacob Bigelow to write the following poem in sympathy with Boston's young coasters:

> Mr. Heyward, Mr. Heyward, be a little kinder
> Can't you wink a little bit, or be a little blinder?
> Can't you let us coasting fellows have a little fun?
> Were you born old, or wasn't your way all childish sports
> to shun?

Did you ne'er know how slick it is to coast from top to
bottom?
And can't we use our ironers and planers, now we've got em?
Five dollars makes our pas look cross - that's proper bad,
you know;
Our youth will soon be gone, alas! and sooner still the snow.[53]

Again, the most popular coasting ground was the Common and its vicinity, Flagstaff Hill, Park Street Mall and the foot of Walnut Street being the most favoured. Although James D'Wolf Lovett maintains that the Civil War sounded the decline of coasting, local newspaper reports would suggest that its popularity continued well into the 1870s. As technology improved so did the size, performance and price of the sleds increase. The "double-runner" appeared in the seventies with "tiller" steering, decorated in an elegant manner and possessing such fanciful names as "Comet", "Cave Adsum", and "Dancing Feather", yet it was their elaborate structure that eventually led to the downfall of coasting as it became necessary to rope-off coasts and provide bridges over them for the safety of pedestrians. Nevertheless, despite these precautions, accidents became all too frequent. In February 1872, an eight year old boy named James Fitzgerald fell from a sled in Boston Street and broke a leg. However, not all accidents were as serious as they might have been. Lovett relates an amusing incident that occurred toward the end of the Joy Street coast during the 1870s:

> A coloured washerwoman, weighing some two hundred pounds, was ponderously and laboriously picking her way down the icy path, carrying upon her head a large bundle of laundered clothes. She was so absorbed in her efforts to maintain her footing that she failed to hear, or else did not understand the cry of "Lullah!" behind her. At all events, she kept stolidly upon her way, and the coaster, rattling down behind, kept upon his, perforce, being held to the coast by the ruts and going too fast to turn out. Of course the inevitable

> happened, and the coloured lady, first lifted with startling abruptness, was then, fortunately for her, seated astride the back of the frightened boy, who continued on down the coast faster than ever, owing to the added weight. When she collected her senses, and found herself neither killed nor wounded, she fell to berating the poor lad with a wonderful flow of language, at the same time pounding and whacking him about his ears and shoulders during the remainder of the trip. 54

Yet the occurrence of several serious accidents during the seventies eventually led to the removal of the bridges and to gravel being scattered over the runs as coasting was discouraged on the Common and throughout Boston by the following decade.

When the snow melted the Common became the arena for all types of games, from marbles to driving hoops and kite-flying, the latter of which claimed a most eminent exponent in the form of Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, City mayor and historian, who excelled in making Chinese kites. On festive occasions, the Common played a similar role to the Downs in Bristol, a central point where citizens gathered to participate in celebrations honouring important dates in the City's and nation's history. Balloon ascensions were popular on July 4th and on that day in 1878 "a flying machine was exhibited on the Common." Thanksgiving and Fast Day represented other holidays during which the practice of sport was popular. The latter, celebrated on the first Thursday in April, was traditionally devoted to ball games.[55]

Among the popular ball games (although not indigenous to) in Boston, were handball, stoolball, baseball, school ball (a game played by New England school girls and perhaps better known as "pepper pot"), and call-ball. The last known also as Callie-ball or Ballie Callie , was of Austrian origin and represented a type of squash in which the ball was thrown against a wall and at the same time a name called in designating the player that must strike the ball on its rebound. Football remained one of the most popular ball games played on the Common throughout the nineteenth century. Morton Prince, Harvard class of 1875, recalled his youth when "we boys of the upper classes of the Boston Latin School used to play football every day in the season during recess on Boston Common." The Common was also the scene of a great football achievement during the early 1860s as it played "home" to the Oneida Club which, while claiming to be the first organized football club in America, also holds the distinction of not having been scored against during its existence, 1862 to 1865. Football in those days was unlike the later game. The goal was a line across the entire field, the object being to get the ball across the opponents goal line whether by throwing, carrying or kicking it. The first team to score two goals won, there were no rest periods and games continued without interruption until an outcome was reached. Football in Boston at this time also possessed a characteristic vocabulary in which to "camp" the ball implied kicking the ball out of one's hands or otherwise punting it.[56] The game of hockey (apparently field hockey of sorts) was also popular on Boston Common. Each day teams were formed on the Parade Ground and contests commenced. Hockey sticks were not available in the shops and a sophisticated process of production was engaged in, described by Lovett thus:

> The sticks, usually hickory, were cut in the suburbs, steamed or soaked in boiling water until the end was pliable, and then bent to the required curve and tied with stout cord until perfectly dry. Some were then wound with copper wire at the point of contact with the ground, and no better hockey stick has ever been made since. 57

While the Common represented a sports ground to the city's children and athletically inclined citizens, to the majority it was perceived as a "breathing space," one through and around which they could walk and "take the air". As early as 1821 John G. Hales, surveyor and topographer, published his Survey of Boston and Its Vicinity which included a table of calculated speeds based on the time taken to pass the long Mall from the fence on Park Street to the fence on Boylston Street. A long way from the minds of these early pedestrians was the idea of walking races such as that held under a big tent on the Common on May 16th 1879.[58]

The value of the early Puritans' action in purchasing the Common (even if they had paid more than the cost of Manhattan!) is truly incalculable. In 1861, Henry Bellows felt that "forty acres were certainly never more fortunately situated for their predestined service, nor more providentially rescued for the higher uses of man." Earlier in 1847, Mayor Josiah Quincy's inaugural address to the Boston City Council recognized that:

> We have also an inestimable treasure in the Common, and the lands adjacent. In monarchies such pieces of ground are procured and ornamented at a great expense, for the benefit of the people; and why should we be behind them in a republic. 59

Although the face of the Common changed at the hands of Man, from the pasture purchased for thirty pounds in 1634, to the park it was on September 16th 1907 when George F. Parkman died leaving nearly five and one half million dollars for the improvement of the city's parks and Common, it nevertheless remained "what it always is...a beautiful playground for children, and a beautiful breathing place for young and old."[60]

Adjacent to the Common stands the Boston Public Garden, itself an open area displaying similarities to the Common yet separate and distinct in terms of ownership, history and character. The land upon which the Garden (fashioned in 1859) stands was a salt water marsh until the City reclaimed it in 1794. Owned by the City unlike the Common, citizens were prohibited from wading and sailing boats on the lake and playing games on the lawns, it representing a more sober and restrained environment. Nevertheless by the close of the seventies, owing to various changes on the Common, an effort was made on behalf of the city to provide amusements in the nature of sand boxes, swings and two "fandangoes", which were "long, wooden, open-framework structures that revolved perpendicularly, with a swinging seat at each end holding perhaps four or five persons." While the larger of these forerunners of the "ferris wheel" rose to a height of forty or fifty feet, the second was much smaller.[61] Although the development of planned parks and playgrounds came later in the nineteenth century, Boston's topography and particularly its proximity to water presented an abundance of natural play areas for children. While Benjamin Franklin spent his leisure hours fishing for minnows in the peripheral marshes of the city, Edward Everett Hale recalls making model boats and sailing them from wharf to wharf which was "much more satisfactory than the shorter voyages of the Frog Pond."[62] However, together with providing excitement, water could spell danger as a writer remembering his boyhood days in Boston reflects:

> The river haunts me...Not my own drowning haunts me, but that of an entire family; Scott was the name, and little Robby was my chum. Somebody had changed seats clumsily in midstream;...there was a cry for help, but help came too late...Next evening the river was as crowded as ever. 63

Yet the process of urbanization rapidly swallowed up the remaining open spaces in the city during the nineteenth century leaving only the Common, empty lots and the streets to play in. Joseph Lee recalled playing in "the lot on Boylston Street next to the New Old South," which he claimed rendered "a Puritan benediction on our sport."[64]

The principal playground in Boston during the nineteenth century was the street. This was not a new phenomenon for the writer of Wonder-working Providence in New England published in 1654 observed that:

> The hideous Thickets of this place were such that Wolfes and Beares nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders in those very places where the streets are full of Girls and Boys sporting up and downe, with a continued concourse of people. 65

While children and adults alike were forced onto the street in search of an arena suitable for the practice of sport, the resulting contests were seldom tolerated by a middle class government. In 1872 a newspaper reported the congregation of as many as two hundred men and boys playing with an iron bowl in Saratoga Street. Due to the congestion and their impeding travellers, eighteen were arrested and promised to abstain from bowling. The games played by children in the streets tended to be of a less structured and organized nature. Many of their games were of English origin although as the century progressed so the immigrants introduced new games and variations to Boston's streets. Lovett recalled the popular games of the boys of Chestnut and adjacent streets as being "I Spy," "The Red Lion," and "Punk." Like Bristol, so Boston possessed its indigenous games (at least by name if not type). "Iron Tag" has already been likened to a game played in Bristol. "Pickadill" was a kind of tag played in Boston during the winter months and described by William Newell in 1883, in the following manner, "A large circle is made in the snow, with quartering paths; if there are many players, two circles are made. There is one tagger, and the centre is the place of safety." Like Bristol, the children of Boston enjoyed songs and counting-out games. After the structure was completed in 1786, Boston children substituted Charlestown Bridge in the traditional English song echoing the words:

Charlestown Bridge is broken down,
    Dance o'er my lady Lee;
Charlestown Bridge is broken down,
    With a gay lady.

Similarly their counting rhymes reflected a characteristic immigrant nonsensical flavour including the following Boston favourite:

Onery, uery, ickory, Ann,
Filisy, folasy, Nicholas John,
Queery, quary, Irish Mary,
Stingalum, stangalum buck.

While children continued to play in the streets and on the Common, adults were finding it increasingly difficult to relieve the monotony of growing urban industrial life, for the spaces that they had once utilized for sport were rapidly disappearing. The plight of the urban child was highlighted by the Boston Morning Journal for September 17th 1870 and read:

> Children who are so unfortunate as to be born in cities must necessarily be deprived of much of the healthful amusement by which country boys and girls develop their little

> frames. They can have no broad fields to run and shout over, no brooks for trouting, no woods for nutting; and only when peculiarly favoured with the vicinage of back alleys and waste yards can they indulge in marbles and mud pies. 66

The Boston City government made an early attempt (and the first in America) at providing a public gymnasium in the city. After the first gymnasium, of any description, in the country was founded in the yard of the Latin School at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1821, an outdoor gymnasium appeared at Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts in 1825, followed in March, 1826 by the placing of gymnastic apparatus on the Delta, and the opening of an indoor gymnasium in one of the dining halls, both at Harvard College. On March 13th 1826 a petition was drawn up by William Sullivan and others requesting the use of a piece of land, not exceeding one acre, at the junction of Boylston, Pleasant and Charles Streets for two years starting May 1st 1826, for the purpose of establishing a school for gymnastic instruction and exercise. This request was granted by the Common Council and City Aldermen on April 17th 1826. However, it was June 15th 1826 before a meeting of the citizens of Boston was held at the Exchange Coffee House, at which time a committee comprising William Sullivan, Professor George Ticknor, Dr. John G. Coffin, John S. Foster and Dr. John Collins Warren (the foremost surgeon in Boston and Professor of Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery at Harvard Medical School), was elected with the purpose of planning and securing funds for a gymnasium. Supported by other leading citizens, among them Judge Prescott, Josiah Quincy and John A. Lowell, two hundred and fifty shares at twenty dollars each were offered for sale by the Committee. The belief in the need of a gymnasium was strongly supported by another of the city's principle citizens, in replying to the Committee on November 17th 1825, he wrote:

> I am highly pleased with the idea of a gymnasium. It is a subject which has often occupied my thoughts, and in relation to which it has appeared to me that the fashion of time needs to be changed. Those who have the charge of education seem sometimes to forget that the body is part of the man. The number of young men who leave our colleges, emulous indeed and learned, but with pale faces and narrow chests, is truly alarming. The common rustic amusements have been about our literary institutions for a long time; but they, at length, seem to have been entirely abandoned; and nothing useful, has succeeded them. If it be desirable that there should be cultivated intellect, it is equally so, so far as this world is concerned; that there be also a sound body to hold it in.
>
> I shall most gladly assist in your endeavours, thinking that I do some service when I aid any measure calculated to enforce on the rising generation a sense of the invaluable advantages of temperance and exercise.

Such dualistic sentiments were accorded universal support and as The Medical Intelligencer for October 3rd 1826 reported:

> The Boston Gymnasium was opened on Thursday last (i.e. September 28) at 6 o'clock in the morning, for exercise and instruction. The principal instructor is Charles Follen,LL.D., a pupil of the celebrated Jahn... 67

Although not standing on the original site selected, but rather on Washington Gardens at the corner of West and Tremont Street (then called Common Street), opposite the Common, the gymnasium from the start, was popular with men of all professions including physicians, lawyers and clergymen, young men from the stores and counting rooms, as well as boys from the public schools. Charles Follen was appointed interim superintendent of the gymnasium working three days a week, four or five hours a day for a salary amounting to eight hundred dollars a year. The former teacher of Jahn gymnastics at Harvard was assisted in the Boston gymnasium by George F. Turner of Virginia, who had distinguished himself in the Cambridge gymnasium. However, Follen's appointment was terminated in June 1827, when realizing that his position and the gymnasium's future popularity was not secure, he resigned and returned to Harvard as an instructor of German, Ethics and History, a position he held until 1835. Early plans for the gymnasium prompted Dr. Warren to address a letter to the distinguished "father" of German gymnastics, Frederick Ludwig Jahn, inviting him to come to Boston as superintendent of the gymnasium. A first refusal prompted Warren to write a second letter on June 17th 1826. This time his friend and intermediary in Germany, William Amory, recommended Francis Lieber, a pupil of Jahn's for the position. While Follen took over early responsibility for the gymnasium, Lieber was considering the offer. On June 20th 1827, Lieber arrived in New York travelling immediately to Boston to take up his duties.[68] But the life of the first Tremont gymnasium was short lived, attendance fell from four hundred during the first season to barely four by the second. In a lecture delivered before the American Institute of Instruction in Boston during August 1830, Dr. Warren alluded to the passing fad in stating that:

> The establishment of gymnastics through the country promised at one time the opening of a new era in physical education. The exercises were pursued with ardor, so long as their novelty lasted; but...owing to not understanding their importance, or some defects in the institutions which adopted them, they have gradually been neglected and forgotten, at least in our vicinity. 69

Perhaps Warren's explanation in part solves the question of why the novelty passed, yet it is probable that the return of political exiles to Germany and the outdoor location of the gymnasium contributed to its decline.

Nevertheless, interest had been sparked in Boston and in 1840, Dr. David Thayer opened an indoor gymnasium at Boylston Hall in Washington Street. The room measuring one hundred by forty-six feet was lavishly equipped with all nature of gymnastic and exercise apparatus, described by The Common School Journal in the following manner:

> Among his selection are parallel bars, horizontal and oblique; fixed and swinging climbing poles, wooden ladders; one set of weights for the flexor muscles, and another for the extensors; a boat, whose oars are drawn backwards by weights, where one can row all day, and during the severest squalls, without any danger of upsetting or drowning; a wrist-machine to strengthen the hand, wrist and fore-arm; spool-ropes, which in addition to exercising the chest and arms, show how much harder it is to get up in the world than to slide down; the slack-swing, the ring-swing, the bar-swing, movable and immovable vaulting horses; the flying course, etc., etc. 70

At the same time that this gymnasium was being patronized by the city's boys and men, Mrs. Hawley opened a gymnasium for young ladies but while a major innovation, it met with little success and had soon to close its doors. During the 1850s, Stewart's Gymnasium enjoyed popularity in Boston. The proprietor, a black boxer who had a crippled hand, promoted boxing. However, dissatisfied with the management of this institution, the Tremont Gymnasium was established by George H. Bacon in Eliot Hall. Opened in 1859, the Eliot Gymnasium was "the current habitat of merchants, lawyers, and doctors who mingled freely with clerks, mechanics and acrobats in the spirit of good fellowship to acquire a higher degree of 'health and body symmetry'." It was this institution, taken over by the Y.M.C.A. in 1872, together with Dr. Winship's Gymnasium that Thomas Wentworth Higginson was likely referring to, when in 1861 he wrote:

> It is good evidence of the increasing interest in these exercises that the American gymnasia built during the past year or two have far surpassed all their predecessors in size and completeness, and have no superiors in the world.[71]

Dr. George Barber Winship opened a gymnasium at No. 351 Washington Street in Boston prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. Known as the "Roxbury Hercules", Winship promoted heavy weight lifting. Exemplifying his idea of a "strength seeker" he lay claim to being the only man that could perform six chin-ups in succession, using only one little finger! A physician by profession, his severe system of yoke, harness and dumbbell lifting was the target of ongoing criticism. However, its popularity remained well into the seventies, and his ideas and apparatus found their way into other gymnasiums including, as a Boston newspaper advertisement in 1871 suggested, "Paul's Health-Lift Rooms," on Tremont Street.[72]

By the year 1870, a number of gymnasiums promoting various systems of physical training were well established in Boston. In providing a year round substitute for the sports arenas that had disappeared with urbanization, both public and private gymnasiums flourished between the years 1870 to 1900. To the gymnasiums belonging to the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.U., schools and colleges were added new gymnasiums in Tremont Street (1886), Bunker Hill, Charlestown (1886), and South Boston (1899). In addition to the values of the gymnasium discussed earlier, a primarily latent function was uncovered by the end of the century, as Raymond Calkins suggests in his search for alternatives to the Boston saloon:

> ...possibly the gymnasium is the most effective substitute; it offers a definite aim to its habitues, something to work for, and it satisfies, at the same time, the primary social desire and the purely physical demand. 73

Yet, while the gymnasium partially solved the problems of monotony and the decaying physical state of the nation, it failed to provide opportunities for all sections of society and ignored the provision of open air "breathing spaces" for the city. It was with the advent of parks during the years 1870 to 1900 that such needs were fulfilled.

> In beauty of location, in artistic design, in thoughtful adaptation to peculiarities of site, in development in a way to meet the widest possible requirements on the part of the public, as well as in variety and extent, the park system of Boston and its metropolitan vicinage, existing and projected, surpasses that of any other city in the world. 74

These words written by Sylvester Baxter in a guide to the City's fourteen thousand acres of parkland were well deserved by the time he wrote in 1896. Their emergence was the result of civilizing and beautifying crusades practiced during the years 1870 to 1900 by philanthropists and leading citizens bent on the elevation of civic pride. In February 1870, the Judiciary Committee of the State House heard the petition of the City Government of Boston, by the Mayor, for an act to authorize them to purchase or otherwise take land in the city and vicinity for the purpose of laying out a large park or several smaller ones for the benefit of Boston's citizenry. By March of that year a bill providing for a public park in the City was approved by the House of Representatives, being put to the public vote on November 8th 1870. Requiring a vote in favour of two-thirds the bill failed largely due to the fear of increased taxes and the feeling that the suburbs contributed sufficient "lungs" for the city. Nevertheless, defeat did not deter the park lobby and agitation continued in press and government circles. An editorial in the Boston Morning Journal for March 23rd 1871 stated that "We believe in all matters which tend to advance the interests of Boston;...Let's lay out our promenades and public grounds, where her residents may find healthy recreation and fresh air." On June 17th 1874 the Boston Post considered that "A public park is now a great necessity and not an expensive luxury. It is the property of the people, rich and poor together, and the only place where all classes can daily meet one another face to face in a spirit of fraternal recreation."[75] In local government, Oliver Wendell Holmes, while speaking at a public meeting, convened to consider the city's park development, echoed the plea for parks and playgrounds to "enlarge the lung capacity of the city." In the House, an emotional exhortation by a city alderman in 1881 warned:

> It is 37 years since I became a resident of Boston. There were then about 80,000 inhabitants, no annexation had taken place, and the extreme South End was Dover Street; the boys could go anywhere, the lands of all seemed to be public... now you will find a sign up, "No trespassing," "Keep of the Grass." We are growing fast. The time is coming when, I fear, if we do not take hold of this question that we shall be sorry. We are not now called upon to vote for the benefit of this generation, but it is to keep open and public grounds for the use of those that follow us, fifty or a hundred or perhaps a thousand years hence. 76

However, earlier in 1875 the approval of the Park Act opened the doors to the salvaging of a green belt which was rapidly disappearing under the bricks and mortar of urbanization. The city's first Superintendent of Common and Public Grounds was appointed, 1875 saw the appointment of the first Park Commission, and Frederick Law Olmsted was hired as a consultant until 1878 when he became Chief Landscape Architect.

Olmsted was influenced in his work by the gardening art of England. His principles based on the preservation and restoration of natural scenery included the central expanse of lawns, surrounded by native trees and shrubs, often with paths and roads winding in sweeping curves through the land. He discriminated between "exertive recreation" and "receptive recreation," the former comprising all organized sport while the latter he considered to be "passive enjoyment of a simple and natural character," the latter being more suited to his perception of a park. Accompanying Olmsted in his later endeavours was Charles Eliot, another landscape artist from Boston who, after an apprenticeship with the "father" of Boston's parks, subsequently became a partner in the firm Olmsted, Olmsted and Eliot.[77]

While legislation and the appointment of Park Commissions promised a revolution in park development, progress was slow. Nearly two years after the Park Act had been passed, one City councillor found it necessary to caution his colleagues in saying:

> I believe we are losing sight of one of the grandest ideas which have come down to us from our grandfathers, or whoever made Boston Common public: because sir, I think that a great many of us who have got up in life, who have grown up in boyhood and have got into business and the cares of life, have forgotten that we were ever boys, that we ever loved to play and run and jump and that we had a place to do these things. 78

The major reason for the relatively slow progress in the growth of parks in Boston was the ongoing debate over what purpose the parks should serve, the form that they should take and their location within the city. The determination of Olmsted and the Park Commission for systematic planning and general approval of their proposals represented in itself, a brake to development. With regard to the nature and role of parks, nineteenth century planners and politicians retained some early agrarian sentiments along with the value perception of sport for the purpose of re-creation. The cause of public health and the need for fresh air was a recurring theme which permeated discussions and during the same public meeting that Oliver Wendell Holmes had spoken out, Dr. Edward H. Clarke told the public:

> We are in danger of forgetting that the importance of ventilating a city is as great as that of ventilating all the houses in it...parks are the lungs of the city. They are more than this: they are reservoirs of oxygen and fresh air. They produce atmospheric currents which sweep through and purify the streets. 79

As well as providing an antidote to the evils of the city, and contributing to the process of social uplift, parks also functioned in regard to the maintenance of social order. Some considered that the improved health and lifestyle of citizens alone, was enough to diminish the incidence of crime in the city. However, as social unrest increased through the agitation of labor and immigrant groups in Boston, the parks, as Geoffrey Blodgett has recently suggested, "seemed to offer an attractive remedy for the dangerous problem of discontent among the urban masses...and in the narrow lives of city dwellers, they promised a measure of social tranquility."[80] While such a view was prominent among the conservative, paternalistic leaders of the City, foremost in their minds was the idea of civic pride. In 1877, a Committee of the City Council concluded that "if Boston cannot afford such expenditure to secure the priceless benefit of parks, it must be because she has entered the ranks of cities like Newburyport and Salem, which have ceased to grow."[81] By the early twentieth century, Frederick Howe felt that in the same way that ornate European cathedrals were a reflection of the ideals and aspirations of a culture in America, "democracy is coming to demand and appreciate fitting monuments for the realization of its life, and splendid parks and structures as the embodiment of its ideals."[82] With regard to the Boston park system of the nineteenth century, the reality of democracy might be questioned, for as land was laid out within but more often toward the perimeter of the city, the 'Proper Bostonians' maintained their former pilgrimage to the suburbs while the laborers of the inner city seldom possessed the means to reach the "distant" pockets of fresh air. The location of parks was the target of ongoing pointed debate throughout the years 1870 to 1900, such parochialism representing a major stumbling block to progress. While the Park Department took care to avoid landscaping in areas thought to be suited to private construction, it selected those on the margin of middle class development, generally marshes and uplands. The access of the working classes to parks was of particular concern, the situation being illustrated in the words of a city councillor in 1875:

> Just fancy a poor man upon the South Cove, after his work is done, taking his children forth on a summer evening, marching to Corey's Hill, when the thermometer is up to 90°; just imagine these people of South Boston and the North End going forth on a summer's evening to enjoy the benefits of the park which Boston, in its wisdom and philanthropy, has furnished for the laboring classes. It is all well, sir, to put it down upon paper; but you will find that the public parks established upon that ground plan will not be so much benefit to those whom you propose to benefit, as it will those who can ride in carriages.[83]

Nor was such early concern necessarily put at rest when the City commenced construction of its park system.

The Boston Park System may be broadly divided into two, the Municipal and the Metropolitan. By 1896, excluding the Common and Public Garden, the municipal system claimed over thirteen hundred acres of park land which had cost the city upwards of twelve million dollars. Started in 1879, Olmsted's five mile chain of individual parks became known as the "Emerald Necklace", extending from the heart of the City into the rural depths of the suburbs. Commencing on Commonwealth Avenue (1894), one might have ridden a horse or bicycle along the Parkway to Leverett Park where entrepreneurs attracted potential customers to rent rowboats and canoes with which to explore Leverett Pond. Onward to Jamaica Park (and its Pond) before arriving at the two hundred and sixty-five acres of botanical gardens owned in part by Harvard College and known as Arnold Arboretum. A favourite haunt for subdued strolls, the landscaping also provided for the practice of tennis, croquet and archery. Franklin Park represented the next link in the chain and while boasting forty tennis courts and Sunday donkey rides for children by the end of the century, its most prominent feature was the Playstead, a thirty acre playground in the northernmost section of the park catering to schoolboy sport. Nearby, though not adjoining, was the seventy acre Franklin Field which became an important sports field for men's baseball and football, while at the same time playing "home" to the Boston Cricket Club by 1896. In winter the field was flooded and became a large and popular rink for skating.

City Point in South Boston had evolved to become "the greatest rendezvous for yachting in the United States" during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, by the end of the century, and with the constructuion of Marine Park, it offered attractions to more than just sailors. Served by streetcars, landscaping and improvements provided for safe boating and bathing, available to all who came. "The oldest, most frequented and popular public bathing place in the United States," the beach bath at the end of L street continued to be devoted to nude bathing for men and boys throughout the turn of the century while an exquisite two-storied terraced building at the entrance to the pier furnished five hundred dressing rooms for bathers of both sexes using the adjacent public beach. All manner of conveyance was available to those preferring to remain on top of the water. From sailboats costing fifteen dollars per day for hire to the thirty cents charged for an hour in a canoe or row boat, patrons could also enjoy excursion trips, fishing expeditions, or if they so desired, could hire an oarsman for their row boat at an additional charge of twenty-five cents. The popularity of the park multiplied so that during the summer of 1888 Sunday visitors averaged between five and ten thousand with fifteen thousand attending on Labor Day of that year.[84]

Across the city, the Charlesbank Outdoor Gymnasium was opened on August 27th 1889. Combining the skills and experience of Dudley Allan Sargent and Frederick Law Olmsted, it occupied the shore of the Charles River for a stretch of half a mile between what were then the West Boston and Craigie Bridges. The first attempt at playground landscaping, it covered ten acres of land purchased and laid out for a total of nearly seven hundred thousand dollars and was:

> A narrow strip of unsightly river bank,...bordered on the land side by a slum section of the city containing two horse stables, a foundry, a factory, a saloon, a blacksmith shop, a

> restaurant, a lumber yard, the Suffolk jail, the Massachusetts General Hospital, and a few tenements and cheap rooming houses,... 85 .

With Sargent designing the gymnasiums and Olmsted responsible for landscaping the surround, the Charlesbank Playground emerged well in advance of its time. The men's gymnasium was situated in the northern extremity of the playground and separated from the women's gymnasium (opened in 1891) by an open, landscaped park. The gymnasium for boys and men measured four hundred and fifty by one hundred and fifty feet, surrounded by a high iron fence. Enclosed within a one-fifth of a mile cinder track which was used for running and bicycling, was an area covered by hard, rolled gravel. The only provision for games was that of quoits, likely reflecting Sargent's philosophy, for abundant provision was made for running, pole vault, high and broad jump, putting the shot and throwing the fifty-six pound weight. In addition, chest pulley weights of Sargent's design were provided, along with a selection of gymnastic equipment including parallel bars, rings and trapezes. 86 While this apparatus was a point of attraction for hordes of boys, fond memories did not always result as one "boy" recalls:

> I smile to think that I promised to be a fast runner in my younger days, and that I spent many hours in the Charesbank Gymnasium, on the running track, on the trapeze and the hard-bars (I had to climb up the posts), and on a contraption called the sailors' ladder. Here I met the Waterloo of my athletic career. It happened in this way: you climbed up a regular ladder, about two stories high, and then slid down two parallel bars on the other side of the angle. Halfway down on the bars one day I got dizzy, fell flat to the ground and came to about fifteen minutes later. Good-bye boys, I was through. 87

The gymnasium for girls and women was an interesting contrast. Somewhat smaller than the men's gymnasium, its one-tenth of a mile track was "surrounded by a dense growth of shrubbery to screen them from public gaze, and provide the seclusion desirable for the sex that uses it." Within the track a grassy playground provided for the younger children who accompanied their mothers (or who were left by working mothers) to play football, handball and hoop under the watchful eye of trained gymnastic instructors. A separate area was devoted to a "jungle gym" type structure comprising swings, ladders and beams, a sand lot and chest pulley weights. The playground was open between April and December, from six thirty in the morning to nine o'clock at night with arc lights illuminating the park at night. In winter the central area of the men's gymnasium was emptied of apparatus, flooded and used as a skating rink. Open to the public and free of charge, its significance to the working man of Boston is incalculable. With this in mind the Boston Journal for July 27th 1889, in reference to the impending opening of the Charlesbank Playground, stated:

> The hundreds of poor men and women in this busy city who are forced to work hard from morning until night almost every day in the year in order to obtain a respectable living who, when their work is done at the end of a hot summer day, drag their limbs to some wretched tenement house, whose poor drainage and close and often stifling atmosphere, lay the foundation for malarial and other complaints, who scarcely know the meaning of a summer vacation, with the envigorating mountains or seashore air - this class of Boston's citizens have reason to feel thankful that there is about to be opened to them another great playground, or "air space," which will fitly supplement the Public Garden, Franklin and other Parks which the City has provided for purposes of healthful recreation and which will in no slight measure compensate them for the inability to avail themselves of the beauties of nature which the stern necessities of poverty have caused. 88

As the citizens of Boston readily patronized the park, their numbers increased. In 1894 more than one hundred and forty-five thousand attended the women's gymnasium while a year later two hundred thousand passed through the gates of the men's gymnasium.

Nevertheless, as the city's "lungs" expanded, conflicting perceptions of the function of the parks led to restrictive legislation as it had in Bristol. Olmsted had found little or no place for his perception of "exertive" recreation in the "Emerald Necklace" and consequently few areas were put aside for the practice of team sports, although unlike Bristol, cycling was permitted across the park roads. In 1884, the Commissioners went so far as to order that "no entertainment, exercises, or athletic game or sport shall be held or performed within public parks except with the prior consent of the Park Commission." Despite such legislation, by the end of the nineteenth century interest groups such as sports teams and active neighborhood associations, coupled with the dislike of commercial enterprises, had forced the Park Commission to tolerate the practice of sport throughout the City's parks.[89]

The first Metropolitan Park Commission in America was established in Boston on June 2nd 1892. For the purpose of co-ordinating and administering to the park facilities of the thirty-eight municipalities of Greater Boston, its most prominent "parks" included Wood Island Park, Middlesex Fells, the Blue Hills, the Mystic Valley Parkway and Revere Beach. The role of the city in providing breathing spaces for its residents had, to coin Olmsted's terms, evolved from "passive" to "receptive" and thence to "exertive" between the years 1870 to 1900. Nevertheless problems remained and the city was faced with further dilemmas brought about by ongoing urbanization and highlighted by Charles W. Eliot in 1898:

> All about our large cities and towns the building up of neighborhoods once rival is going on with marvelous rapidity, and the city population is progressively excluded from private properties long unoccupied, but now converted into brick blocks and wooden villages, mostly offensive to the eye. Meantime the municipalities take no measures to provide either small squares or broad areas for the future use of the people...A notion has been spread abroad by assessors and frugal citizens who prefer industrial or commercial values to spiritual and aesthetic or joy-giving values, that any area exempt from taxation is an incubus on the community ...One would infer, from democratic practice, that in democratic theory public parks and gardens were made for the rich or the idle, whereas they are most needed by the laborious and the poor...The urban population in the United States have not yet grasped these principles. 90

The rural fringes of the city receded, the former playgrounds of the city were swallowed up by urban congestion and the citizens without the means to venture forth from their neighbourhoods to reap the benefits of the park system were forced to search elsewhere for their sports grounds. The streets early became an arena for play. The city in an attempt to cure their unclean and poorly surfaced condition began to asphalt them, but as the building and climate further impinged upon their uses, the streets gradually became less conducive to the practice of sport and the call went out for alternative areas to be set up within the immediate vicinity. Progress came but was slow during the second half of the nineteenth century and even as late as 1903, Joseph Lee contended that the streets of Boston were "and will be until our system of playgrounds includes places for mothers and children so frequent that every child shall live within a quarter-mile radius of one - the principal playground of the smaller city child." 91 City life necessitated a revolution in the traditional practice of sport. No longer did children and parents share common pursuits, except perhaps as spectators at a sport event or infrequent trips to the City's beaches or commercial amusement parks. While parents indulged in hard toil, the saloons and occasional sport in some parks, the children were offered little alternative in their non-school and non-work hours than to turn to delinquency and crime, as one City alderman reminded the Council in calling for more playgrounds:

> The settled portions of our city are so thickly built up that there is no playground left for the boys and young men, and the consequence is you find them on the corners insulting passers-by, and presently the police take them to the station houses for their first petty crime, and from there they go to something worse.[92]

The pressing need for playgrounds in these areas had been recognized twenty-five years earlier when in 1861 Henry Bellows, writing in the Atlantic Monthly, expressed the hope that "we shall live to know many residents of towns of ten thousand population who will be ashamed to subscribe for the building of new churches while no public playground is being prepared for their people!"[93]

Yet, change was slow and it was the summer of 1866 before the first vacation school in Boston (and the first in America), was organized and directed at the First Church in Chauncy Street. Initially its program comprised solely of singing and academic classes yet by 1868 it had established an outdoor children's playground in the yard of a public school near Copley Square. These early seeds of what later became the Playground Movement appear to have fallen on rocky ground for it was not until 1879 that Miss Mary E. Vasy, a public school teacher, was provided funds by the Women's Education Association to set up a second vacation school. After 1881, when the Associated Charities of Boston took over the running of vacation schools, their numbers increased significantly.[94]

At a town meeting in Brookline, Massachusetts on April 10th 1872, the citizens voted to purchase two tracts of land for the purpose of establishing playgrounds for its residents. Although this was the first municipal vote for such grounds in America, and a playground did eventually appear, a subsequent motion for the provision of apparatus made on December 15th 1874 was shelved indefinitely. The parks started to ease the problem of space in the city by the end of the 1870s yet they failed in some respects as one city councillor observed:

> Grass may be a beautiful thing to look at; but it seems to me it would be much more beautiful to see two or three hundred boys playing there who would otherwise be balkin the slums, or perhaps in saloons, and other places qualifying themselves to be criminals, and entailing expense upon the city in reforming them. 95

Despite the lobbies of neighbourhood pressure groups, the work of the Boston School Committee (which began in 1877), philanthropists and other progressives in providing for the leisure time of the city's residents, the playground movement appeared to go into hibernation after the earlier start and until the 1880s, in a similar manner to the gymnasium some fifty years before. During the early eighties, a city councillor once again called for the need to provide playgrounds for Boston's youth in observing the grave impact of urbanization:

> Twenty-five years ago, you could train almost anywhere in South Boston with a cavalry company; nobody objected; you could go across the land, and there was no trouble about the boys playing on the ground. Now that has all gone by. I don't believe there is a fit place in South Boston where the boys can go and play football without being ordered off the grass. 96

The findings of the child study movement during the eighties and the work of philanthropists prompted the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association to become involved in the provision of play areas.

Founded in 1884, the M.E.H.A. "represented Boston in its best tradition of civic-mindedness."[97] Although there appears to be some conflict regarding the year of the Association's earliest provision of play areas, it seems that the unloading of two heaps of sand in the yards of Parmenter Street Mission Chapel and the West End Nursery in the summer of 1885 represented its first attempt. This action was prompted by a letter written by one of America's pioneering women doctors, Dr. Marie Zakrzewska to Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, president of the M.E.H.A. in 1885. During a visit by Dr. Zakrzewska to Berlin in that year, she observed that in the German city's public parks there existed heaps of sand in which children, rich and poor, were permitted to play "as if on the seashore," and under the supervision of the police. The success of this early venture in Boston was mixed, for while in the West End Nursery "the children there were hardly two years old and cared little for it," the Parmenter Street Chapel sand pile attracted an average of fifteen children on each of the three days weekly that it was open in July and August. Here, and under the supervision of a lady living in the neighborhood, the children:

> ...dug in the sand with their little shovels and made countless sand pies, which were re-made the next day with undismayed alacrity. They sang their songs and marched in their small processions, and when weary, were gathered in the motherly arms of the matron. 98

The following year saw the formation of a Committee on Sand Gardens and three sand piles were placed in the yards of the Children's Mission, Parmenter Street Chapel and Warrenton Street Chapel, while matrons and assistants were employed to direct playground activities in the ten sand gardens provided in 1887. After the Committee on Sand Gardens changed its name to the Committee on Playgrounds in 1888, their number, organization, availability and daily attendance steadily increased until in 1900 an average of four thousand and three hundred children daily attended the twenty-one playgrounds under the auspices of the M.E.H.A. This relatively rapid growth, which is summarized in Table XIII, was grounded in two basic principles, the improvement of health and hygiene in the city's poorer districts and the moral uplift of children through providing for their sport needs. This value was reflected in the Association's Annual Report for 1889 in which was expressed the feeling that for the greater part of the summer vacation, children were "Kept away from the associations of the gutter and the wharves, were made happy, and taught something of honesty, unselfishness, and gentle manners," and that the "moral influence of the playground and the steady, kind treatment of the children are of large service in the formation of their character."[99] The problems of finance and space continued to confront the Association. In 1888 the School Committee finally agreed to the use of seven schoolyards as playgrounds, areas which had previously remained closed through fear of damage. In 1887 the cost of maintaining the playgrounds amounted to nine dollars, but with the employment of a Superintendent and professional assistants in 1893, expenditures through operating costs never again fell below thirteen hundred dollars a year. As patronage of these playgrounds was free, the Association relied upon private contributions, although in 1899, Josiah Quincy, the City mayor, persuaded the City Council to subsidize the playgrounds to the tune of three thousand dollars.

The sand lots of 1885 gradually evolved to become the well equipped and numerous playgrounds of 1900. Once the city had expressed an interest through the Park Department's appropriation of one thousand dollars in 1889 for the purpose of grading and grassing a vacant lot, the process was accelerated. A leading light in the establishment of the Boston Metropolitan Park Commission in 1892, Charles Eliot, spoke of the need for providing "numerous small squares, playgrounds, and parks in the midst of the dense populations" of the eleven cities and twenty-five towns falling under the Commission's jurisdiction. Later it was the Park Department that purchased the land upon which the following playgrounds were constructed, the North End Beach and Copp's Hill area (through the agitation of John F. Fitzgerald), Charlestown Heights, Franklin Field and Wood Island Park Playgrounds. As the number of playgrounds increased so concern was levelled at the lack of leadership and the increase in delinquent behavior observed in the areas. By 1899 the problem had been partially eased through Mayor Quincy's suggestion that the School Committee appropriate three thousand dollars which was subsequently channelled into the salaries of sixty-six supervisors for the city's twenty-one playgrounds. Within the space of fifteen years, provision was extended from pre-adolescent children to older youths, from an eighteen day to sixty day season, from volunteer and untrained matrons to professional trained supervisors and from an average daily attendance of fifteen to four thousand, three hundred.[100]

Boston's role as the leader in the Playground Movement is well recog-

Table XIII

The Development of Playgrounds by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association, 1885 to 1900[101]

Year	No.	Cost of Maintenance	Operation Per Week and Months	Location	Supervision	Average Daily Attendance
1885	2	Service donated	3 hours on 3 days July and August	Mission Yard and Nursery	Voluntary	15
1886	3	" "	" "	Mission Yard	"	?
1887	10	Toys $9.00+	" "		Employed Matrons	?
1888	10	?	3 hours on 4 days July and August	7 Schoolyards, 2 Courts & 1 lot	"	400
1889	11	$928.04		" + 1 lot	"	1000
1890	17	Expenses ?	" "	Mostly Schoolyards	"	?
1891	10	"	" "	" "	"	?
1892	10	"	" "	" "	"	1210
1893	10	$1407.71	3 hrs. Mon. to Sat. July and August	9 Schoolyards 1 lot	Superintendent with Kindergarten Assistants	1400
1894	10	$1395.00	" "	All on Schoolyards	"	1588
1895	10	$1526.38	3 hrs. Mon. to Sat. 10 weeks	"	Superintendent with 22 Assistants	1804

Table XIII (Cont'd.)

The Development of Playgrounds by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association, 1885 to 1900

Year	No.	Cost of Maintenance	Operation Per Week and Months	Location	Supervision	Average Daily Attendance
1896	10	$1688.00	3 hrs. Mon. to Sat. 10 weeks	All on Schoolyards	Superintendent with 22 Assistants	1802
1897	10	$1480.32	" "	"	"	1827
1898	12	$1849.00	" "	"	"	2080
1899	21	$4313.77	" "	"	Superintendent with 66 Assistants	4000
1900	21	$4200.00	" "	"	Superintendent with 64 Assistants	4300

nised. The planners of playgrounds in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago and even Manchester, England, all looked to the example set by the New England city. While the M.E.H.A. provided much of the energy for this development, it found strong support from Josiah Quincy of the aristocratic Yankee and Mugwump stable. Quincy's political ideas nonetheless found favour with the rising Irish Democrats. To him, the responsibilities of city government were broad, a belief reflected in his support for administrative reforms and settlement houses during his two year term as Boston's mayor. Likewise, he showed much interest in the role of parks and playgrounds and in his 1897 inaugural address stated:

> I know no direction in which the expenditure of a few hundred thousand dollars will do more for this community through the beautiful development of its children than by the judicious provision of properly located and equipped playgrounds. So much public attention has been given to the advantages of extensive park areas that the equally great need of comparatively small open spaces, particularly in the thickly settled districts, for use as playgrounds, has been overlooked. If one-twentieth of the sum expended for park systems could be devoted to playgrounds, in my opinion there would be a still larger percentage of return in healthful physical development and social well-being.[102]

In the following year's address, Quincy maintained that an adequate system of public playgrounds for the city would cost no less than one million dollars and proceeded to usher a bill through the House that provided for a loan of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the Park Commission for the purchase and improvement of twenty playgrounds over a two and one-half year period. Although shaved by one-third, with an annual expenditure limit of two hundred thousand dollars, the bill was approved by the Governor on May 11th 1898 and instituted on the last day of that year. Until the impact of that bill would be felt in 1899, Quincy, in consultation with the School Committee, arranged for twenty-one school yards to be opened as playgrounds for the summer of 1898 with the understanding that with the first evidence of damage they would be closed. So successful had Quincy's lobby been that by the end of 1898 he was able to write that, "I am glad to be able to state that the importance of providing playgrounds has now been quite fully recognized by the City of Boston."[103]

The relationship between the City and the M.E.H.A. during the years 1884 to 1900 was both interesting and productive, as reflected in Tables XIII and XIV. While the City maintained its primary role in providing and improving parks, an increasingly large area (twenty-five percent by 1900) was added to the Common and streets in representing the totality of Boston's playground system. The aim of the M.E.H.A. was by the end of the century, to ensure that the City fulfilled the needs of its citizens with regard to providing and maintaining playgrounds. The Association's pioneering efforts had revolutionized the city's playgrounds by the end of the century, yet its evaluation remained guarded but optimistic in stating:

> Until Boston does more for its children than at present, the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association must continue its efforts, but we look forward to the good time coming when some large scheme of the city shall absorb our smaller one, and we can truthfully say our task is ended. 104

Although such a "large scheme" was not forthcoming by the end of the century, the year 1897 saw the founding of the Massachusetts Civic League by Joseph Lee, a Brahmin and graduate of Harvard Law School. The labour of Lee in the cause of playgrounds has been considered earlier. The League's

TABLE XIV

Playgrounds Under the Jurisdiction of the Boston Park Department, 1883 to 1900 [105]

Name	Year of Appropriation	Total Area (in acres)	Playground Area (in acres)	Cost of Land (in dollars)	Cost of Construction (in dollars)
Charlesbank	1883	10	3	373,917	305,513
North End Beach and Copp's Hill Playground	1887	7	1.5	419,223	185,587
Charlestown Heights	1891	10	1	50,538	95,967
Charlestown Playground	1891	14	9	172,923	9,263
Franklin Field	1892	77	40	157,341	70,814
Wood Island Park	1892	211	9	132,800	216,530
North Brighton Playground	1894	14	3	21,862	3,096
Billings Field	1896	11	11	Not Paid for	19
Neponset Playground	1896	19	Unfilled	1,964	963
City Point Playground	1897	5	5	Transferred	9,554
Christopher Gibson Playground	1897	6	6	37,500	-
Fellows Street Playground	1897	0.75	0.75	14,505	496
Mystic Playground	1897	2.25	2.25	50,000	-
North End Playground	1897	0.25	0.25	99,229	-
TOTAL		387.25	91.75	1,531,802	897,802

contribution was precipitated out of an investigation by its Committee on the Prevention of Juvenile Law-Breaking in 1899 which found that the crime rate of ten to fifteen year olds increased by one hundred and nineteen percent during the month of August while the overall crime rate in Boston decreased by thirty percent. The Committee concluded that the juveniles turned to crime for want of space and opportunities in which to play sport. A Playground Committee was created by the Massachusetts Civic League and set to work in establishing a model playground which was opened in the North End Park in April 1900. The experiment comprised three sections, a "childrens' corner" containing sand boxes, swings, and material for kindergarten work; sewing, baseball and other active games for the older girls; and a gymnastics section comprising horizontal bars, teeter ladders, rings, trapezes and a slanting ladder and poles. Its community centred philosophy was also innovative; in addition to furnishing quoits and handball which were particularly popular with the longshoremen of the neighbourhood, it "organized inter-scholastic competition between teams representing the various grammar schools of the neighbourhood," and through this aspect of its progam "required certificates of good standing in deportment and scholarship of all competitors and awarded the prizes to the schools rather than to individuals." The experiment of this model playground was so successful in its first season that the following year its administration was taken over by the City Bath Department.[106]

Although the parks and open air spaces provided to some extent a release from the foul air and congestion of the inner city and working class environs of Bristol and Boston, they did not necessarily help solve the problem of cleanliness. It was left to the related improvement of facilities for bathing to initiate this change, and one which stimulated growth in swimming and other aquatic sports in the two cities.

Bathing and Swimming in Bristol and Boston

The fact that both cities were ravaged by disease epidemics throughout the first half and into the second half of the nineteenth century has been discussed earlier in this chapter. In Britain the work of Edwin Chadwick and others resulted in the Baths and Washhouses Act of 1846, as well as the Public Health Acts of 1848 and 1875. However, it was not until January 9th 1849 that the Bristol City Council met to decide on the building of a cheap bath and washhouse at Broad Weir, at a cost not to exceed seven thousand pounds which was to be paid off in twenty annual instalments. The baths were opened in the wake of the cholera epidemic of 1850 on August 12th and remained the only public bath in the City until 1873. In 1877 a swimming bath was added to the older buildings at a cost of two thousand four hundred pounds so extending its role in Bristol. Prior to the building of a bath at Broad Weir there existed the established watering place known as Rennison's Bath in Picton Street which was described in Chapter II. In 1853 the proprietor of the famous Hotwells bath at Clifton, well known for its claims to cure consumption, diabetes and gout, among other ailments, decided to construct a tepid mineral swimming bath which, measuring thirty-four feet by eighteen feet, was "elegantly and commodiously fitted up, with select dressing rooms at each end;" and was lit by a glass dome. The temperature of the spa's water was maintained by "steam pipes fixed in the angles round the bottom."[107] The inaccessibility of the Broad Weir to some districts of the City led the City Council in June 1871 to decide upon building another bath on the north bank of the River Avon at Mayor's Paddock, principally for use by the working class districts of Bedminster and Redcliff. Built for an initial outlay of fifteen thousand and five hundred pounds, it represented far from a financial success, for while in 1882 the cost had risen to seventeen thousand pounds, and the weekly wages for attendants amounted to ten pounds, the average weekly receipt was a mere ten pounds one shilling and two pence. Nevertheless, the great social benefit that the two baths had for the city was seen to outweigh any losses that may have been served on the ratepayers. As the City's health improved and there appeared less need to frequent the baths and washhouses, the City, faced with dwindling customers, was forced to make changes. Accompanied by the growing popularity of mixed bathing, nude bathing and bathing machines at the seaside, together with the exploits of Captain Webb in 1875, the City decided to increase its provision for swimming. At the Broad Weir Bath a swimming pool was built measuring sixty by forty feet, while the Mayor's Paddock Bath offered first and second class swimming in a pool measuring thirty-six by twenty-two feet and six inches, grading from six to four feet in depth, together with hot and cold baths. The inquiry into the Bristol poor of 1884 observed that both municipal baths were open from seven in the morning to eight thirty at night during the summer only. The washhouses charged one penny for two hours and one penny for each additional hour, one could take a hot bath for sixpence and a cold bath for threepence, both first class, while second class baths were half price. In a similar manner, first class swimming cost sixpence while second class swimming was only twopence. The Committee's findings provided some interesting data with regard to numbers attending the two municipal baths and are presented in Table XV. In each instance the largest representative group over the four year period is male bathers. While women accounted for twelve percent of all bathers at Broad Weir, their representation was limited to eight percent of bathers attending Mayor's Paddock. The larger number of swimmers at Broad Weir is expected, due to the larger swimming pool. The conclusions and recommendations of the Committee were summed up in the words of one member who said that there are "a lack of baths and washhouses in Bristol,...Swimming baths, free, are recommended - with prizes for swimming,...There are 200 baths...in Paris, why not as sufficient a number in Bristol?"[108]

In the same year as the above report was published, Mark Whitwill, a member of the Baths and Washhouses Committee and Sanitary Authority, was watching his efforts at persuading the City Council to take a new approach, being rewarded. Whitwill felt that the City government had an obligation not only to keep its citizens clean but also to provide facilities for physical exercise and sport, in this case through swimming. As early as August 1881 the City Council approved a plan for baths and washhouses at Jacob's Wells, although

Table XV

The Number of Swimmers, Bathers and Washers at Bristol's Municipal Baths and Washhouses, 1880 to 1883 [109]

	Year	Number of Swimmers	Number of Bathers		Number of Washers	Total
			Male	Female		
I. **BROAD WEIR**	1880	31,332	36,191	5,231	34,906	107,660
	1881	22,484	33,394	4,147	31,991	92,016
	1882	16,922	32,985	4,692	31,615	86,214
	1883	21,962	34,720	4,436	30,159	91,277
	TOTAL	92,700	137,290	18,506	128,671	377,167
	Average per Year	23,175	34,322	4,626	32,167	94,292
	Average per Week Open Six Months Only	890	660	89	618	1,813
II. **MAYOR'S PADDOCK**						
	1880	21,760	19,971	1,977	18,729	62,437
	1881	17,252	17,680	1,626	17,200	53,758
	1882	16,045	17,509	1,487	18,139	53,180
	1883	16,138	18,059	1,486	18,850	54,533
	TOTAL	71,195	73,219	6,576	72,918	223,908
	Average per Year	17,799	18,305	1,644	18,229	55,977
	Average per Week Open Six Months Only	684	352	31	350	1,076

the early budget of twenty-two thousand pounds had to be trimmed to a more modest ten thousand pounds. The baths, an outstanding example of civic pride with the city's coat-of-arms carved in stone above its entrance, included an eighty foot long swimming pool, six first class and eighteen second class private baths for men and four private baths for women. Keeping the large pool full and clean appears to have been quite an achievement. When it was opened, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral made the generous gift of free water for as long as the baths needed it. The pool was filled twice a week with freshwater with the ladies being afforded its use when the water was limpid and the men having to wait until the water was slightly murky, for mixed swimming was not allowed.[110]

By the onset of the final decade of the nineteenth century, Bristol boasted three municipal baths, three private swimming baths, the Victoria at Clifton, Popham's at Kingsdown and Rennison's, and Turkish baths on Royal Promenade, Clifton, Zion Row, Clifton Camp's of College Green and Mr. Bartholomew's in College Street. On March 8th 1892 the City Council decided to purchase Rennison's Bath at a cost of fifteen hundred pounds. The Council's intention of reopening it as a public swimming bath was realized in the autumn of 1893. Four years later on May 11th 1897, the Council accepted a recommendation from the Baths Committee to purchase the two private baths that had appeared on the market. The Victoria Baths in Clifton possessing both open air and covered pools, were purchased for three thousand twenty-five pounds while the Royal Baths at Kingsdown were purchased from the former proprietor, Mr. Popham, for three thousand five hundred pounds. Municipal expansion with regard to swimming baths continued with the City paying one thousand six hundred and seventy-five pounds for land at Barton Hill upon which a public bath was constructed at a cost of twelve thousand one hundred pounds. A year later, on October 31st 1899, the Council resolved to have galleries erected in the Barton Hill baths which facilitated its use as an assembly room during winter months. The final stage in the process of expansion during the 1890s occurred in 1899 when the Council voted in favour (twenty-two against twenty-one), of opening the municipal baths on Sunday mornings.[111]

After Captain Matthew Webb first swam the English Channel in 1875, taking twenty-one hours and forty-five minutes, the popularity of swimming snowballed. In Bristol, the greatest support for the sport came from the Bristol Humane Society which, after 1881, awarded prizes for swimming performance. The Society also furnished a Challenge Shield for the elementary school turning out the most proficient swimmers and other prizes for excellence in a rescue contest, the latter open only to pupil teachers. The program established by the Society was a moderate success. In April 1883, only three hundred and eighty-four boys in the city's public elementary schools were able to swim, accounting for less than four percent of the total number of schoolboys. By September of that year, one hundred and sixty-four more had passed the twenty-seven yard swim test, and two hundred and fifty more by September 1884, which increased the proportion of swimmers in the elementary schools to nearly eight percent. The tests were given at an Annual Trial under the direction of the Bristol Humane Society and managed by a committee of schoolmasters. It was this committee that was responsible for the distribution of eight thousand swimming bath tickets to elementary school boys, costing one and one-halfpenny each, they were the gift of middle class philanthropists. The September 1883 trial was held at Popham's Bath in Kingsdown, being the only one suitable for the swimming purposes of boys, an observer and member of the Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of the Bristol Poor described the proceedings thus:

> No one who attended on this occasion could help being struck with the little limbs and graceful forms of the young Bristolians; clean (even the poorest), happy; and as he watched the pluck of very young boys (some under 7) in the struggle to make their distance, and heard the cheers of their school fellow spectators rising louder and louder in encouragement, as the little swimmers neared the end of the bath, but must have acknowledged the healthy and generous morality (as well as the beneficial physical effect) of the whole effort and success on boy-life. 112

Nor was it only the state school that furnished opportunities for swimming in the municipal baths. Swimming races had been part of the Clifton College calendar since 1867, held at the Victoria Baths in Clifton until the school's baths were constructed. The events in the original meet were twelve lengths, four lengths, object-diving and long diving, all open events as well as a six length race open only to those under five feet and two inches tall. The benefit of having private baths and instruction is demonstrated when comparing the number of Clifton College boys who passed a one hundred foot test with those public elementary schoolboys who passed the twenty-seven yard test. In April 1883, of the College's six hundred and eighteen boys, five hundred and thirty-four or eighty-six percent (compared to four percent of public elementary schoolboys) passed the test. To limit any bias of age, of the youngest one hundred and forty-nine boys in the school, eighty-nine or sixty percent successfully completed the test. There were other reasons for the improved swimming instruction in schools. In 1884 twenty-seven persons drowned in Bristol while fifty were arrested by the police for "trying to teach themselves in improper places." This latter concern was prompted by the medical officer of health's findings that the water in the floating harbor was unsafe and ridden with typhoid. Among the city's leading swim clubs were the Bristol Leander, the Bristol and Clifton, the Electric (Bristol Telegraph) and the Bristol Young Men's Christian Association Swim Clubs. With frequent meets being held (usually at the Royal Kingsdown "Popham's" Baths) restrictions were made on dress, whether costumes were permitted or alternatively drawers were obligatory. Attracting swim clubs from regional towns and cities the events included the one length "Flying Handicap" (twenty-seven yards), two lengths, four lengths and twenty lengths races together with cork bobbing competitions. Held under the auspices of the Amateur Swimming Association, gold and silver medals and cups were awared to winning individuals and clubs.[113]

Organized swimming in Boston had been popular since Braman's Bath was opened on July 23rd 1827. Situated in tidal water on the north side of the Mill Dam, the bathhouse which was towed in during the winter months, was recalled by Edward Everett Hale in A New England Boyhood:

> The swimming school was in water where Brimmer Street and the houses behind it are now built. It was just such a building as the floating baths are now which the city maintains, but it enclosed a much larger space. Of this space a part had a floor so that the water flowed through; the depth was about five feet...

> A belt was put around you under your arms; to this belt a rope was attached, and you were told to jump in...I think now that scientific and systematic training in swimming is a very important part of public instruction, and I wish we could see it introduced everywhere where there is responsible oversight of boys at school. 114

The idea of a Boston swimming school was the brainchild of Francis Lieber, who arrived in the city as Superintendent of the gymnasium toward the end of July 1827, and was based upon similar schools that had been established in Germany. The school soon received recognition from many parts of the country, one North Carolina newspaper commenting that:

> Dr. Lieber, a German at Boston, is enabled in a few lessons to teach any person to swim. The unspeakable importance (to say nothing of the pleasure) of being able to sustain one's self in the water, would, it is believed, find pupils in abundance for any competent person who would establish a school in our city. A knowledge of swimming ought to be considered as indispensable a branch of the physical education of every youth as riding on horseback or the management of firearms. 115

The Boston swimming school was brought to the nation's attention when in September 1827, the then sixty-one year old President John Quincy Adams, himself a Bostonian, dived off the six-foot springboard and, much to Lieber's surprise, the President showed himself to be a very capable swimmer. Initially a novelty, Lieber's school proved to be a success, outlasting the Boston gymnasium and was still in existence in 1832.[116]

Despite the birth of what appears to have been the first swimming school in America, progress in the provision of swimming and bathing facilities was slow in Boston. There was a feeling that the abundance of natural open water was sufficient for Boston's citizens, even if in

August 1836, some boys were fined for bathing in the Frog Pond on the Common. The case for washhouse facilities was not as readily accepted in Boston during the first half of the nineteenth century as in Bristol. In fact, the American city's progress in sanitation and public health seemed to be somewhat retarded in comparison to Britain, for it was not until 1851 that ninety-six miles of sewer pipe completed the installation of Boston's sanitation system. The year 1863 saw the first public bath operated by a municipality in America opened in South Boston. Three years later the Boston City Council, stimulated by a wave of sanitary reform and an increased consciousness of the health of its people, provided ten floating baths for its residents. As the century progressed so did the number of baths increase, by 1870 there being fourteen scattered about Boston. Opened on the first day of June each year they were subject to a preliminary inspection by the Baths Committee. These baths were of various types, providing both fresh and saltwater and catering to one or both sexes. The report of the Bath Committee's inspection for 1870 noted that in the West Boston Bridge Bathhouse (No. 1) "white and coloured boys were found to be fraternizing on the most cordial terms." Despite the value of the increasing number of baths in the city there remained a major problem which, worsened by the tidal nature of the Charles and Mystic rivers, was described by a Boston newspaper in the following manner:

> The water near the Charlestown bridge is rendered impure and unfitted for bathing purposes by the oily refuse which proceeds from the Boston Gas Works. The proper authorities should be careful to investigate everything connected with our facilities for free bathing, as the health of the city may be most seriously affected by the presence of deleterious substances in the baths... Only a few days since a quantity of

> putrescent cats and dogs were taken from the water in the Charlestown Bath House on Mystic River. Citizens may not like the idea of such bathing companions, and the public good would seem to require that every precaution be taken to detect and prevent all such nuisances. 117

Nor was pollution the only problem facing bathers. In July 1872, concerned at the number of citizens that were being drowned, the Boston Morning Journal printed an article entitled "Caution to Bathers", the words taken directly from the Royal Humane Society of England. Although such drownings and fatalities were the result of a variety of causes, including a twelve year old boy who "went into the water while in a heated condition, resulting in inflamation of the bowels which terminated fatally," the greatest cause was undoubtedly the inability of many citizens to be able to swim. Although Boston lays claim to the third oldest lifesaving organization in the world, in the form of the Massachusetts Humane Society founded at the "Bunch of Grapes" in Boston, during the eighteenth century, together with the formation of the American Red Cross Society by Clara Barton of Massachusetts in 1881, swim instruction received little if any direction in Boston after Lieber's swimming school foundered during the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, enthusiasm for bathing and aquatic sports continued. In 1871, a water park for the practice of swimming and boating in summer and skating in winter was suggested for the basin which was nevertheless filled in to form the Back Bay section of the city. By 1872, well over five hundred thousand people used the city's bathhouses, the number steadily increasing which became important in the light of Wadlin's Report on the sanitary conditions of Boston's tenements which revealed that only one quarter of all these rented accommodations were supplied with bathrooms.[118]

As leisure time and wages increased during the second half of the nineteenth century, resorts grew up within the vicinity of Boston providing in particular improved conditions for ocean bathing. A hotel proprietor at Nahant advertised "a machine of peculiar construction for bathing in the open sea," and for the less affluent, neighbourhood groups similar in form and function to those interested in securing playgrounds, sought to establish and maintain public beaches. One such organization was the Savin Hill Beach Association which was formed in 1877, "to restrict certain abuses, to improve the beach and surroundings and to build a wharf or landing."[119] With the formation of the Metropolitan Park Department in 1892, the responsibility for maintaining public bathing areas fell into the hands of the City government. In 1897 the City provided two miles of surf bathing at Revere and later at Nantasket so that by the end of the century Joseph Lee felt that:

> Every citizen of Boston has thus within his reach one of the chief privileges of the visitor at a seashore resort. He can start in the middle of the business section of the city and half an hour later find himself swimming in the free salt ocean among the big waves rolling in unbroken from the open sea.[120]

Such increased involvement by the City government led to the formation of a Municipal Department of Public Baths in 1897. The following summer the City furnished five beach baths, thirteen floating baths, two river baths, two swimming pools and in addition, free bathing suits were provided for children, all at a cost of thirty-five thousand dollars. Finally, on October 15th 1898, Boston's first public year round shower bath was opened in Dover Street by Robert A. Wood.[121]

By 1898 the enthusiasm for swimming spread into the school system. In that year the Brookline Public Bath became the first in America to be used for public school swim instruction, and through the endeavour of Mayor Quincy, nearly eight thousand of the City's school children learned to swim. The following year, 1899, saw the introduction of another innovation which was to have a marked impact upon the health and hygiene of American public school children. The Paul Revere School became the first public school to provide bathing facilities for its pupils, described in the Annual Report of the School Committee for 1899 thus:

> Two sets were installed...On the girls' side there are ten individual compartments, each contains a seat and a spray. These compartments are of slate on three sides, with the entrance screened by a rubber curtain hung from rings which can be drawn at the pleasure of the occupant. There are also in the same room thirty dressing closets, each containing a seat, hooks for clothing, and provided with a self-closing blind door. The floor is of concrete covered with movable slated walks made in short sections. The Gegenstrom System is in use, whereby the temperature of the water may be accurately regulated, and a matron is in daily attendance.
>
> No individual accommodations are provided for the boys, the showers being grouped in a space about ten by fifteen feet, so that twelve pupils may bathe at the same time. The remainder of the room is used for dressing purposes, an oaken bench running along two sides of the walls, above which are hooks for clothing. This room is in charge of the janitor.
>
> Soap and towels are furnished without expense to the pupils. The arrangements for the use of these accommodations are such as to afford an opportunity to every pupil to bathe once a week throughout the school year, but this is not compulsory. A certain time for bathing is assigned each class. 122

The success of these showers ensured their future and in setting the example for basic hygiene facilities throughout the country, represented an innovation which has since shown incalculable benefit to urban residents.

In Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century, the political shift toward the left was evidenced by the on-going battle between the ideals of the Liberal Party led by William Gladstone, and Benjamin Disraeli's idea of a Tory Democracy which opened up the doors for the growth of neo-Conservatism. In America the later migration from the rural districts to the city was reflected in the rise of Popularism in fighting to retain agrarian values in American society. While Britain remained somewhat more stable in terms of demography and economy, the realization and acceptance of the inevitability of urbanization prompted the rise of Progressivism in an attempt to uplift industrial society. While the governments of both nations afforded increased recognition to the working classes, nationalism and imperial dreams consituted a significant part of their policy. The steady erosion of the idea of laissez faire precipitated a changing sentiment from that of self help to one of municipal help.

Bristol City government was dominated for much of the nineteenth century by Conservative values although by 1900 a rising group of Liberal non-conformists accompanied by a Socialist minority, gained an increasingly stronger hold on the City Council. In similar manner, the patrician Boston City government led by Brahmins who practiced the idea of moral stewardship gradually yielding to the Mugwumps and thence to the rising Irish democrats who, by 1900, assumed control of the City's government. While both city governments reflected a trend toward democracy and a recognition of the city's responsibility to social improvement, the Bristol City Council maintained a clearly passive role in regard to promoting sport whereas the action of the "Redballers'" ticket in 1869 demonstrated the important relation of sport and government in Boston. Bristol's tardiness in adopting the Reform Bill of 1832 was a further reflection of middle class bias permeating the City Council and likely contributed to the declining state of health in the City. The health and hygiene of both ports was poor during much of the first half of the nineteenth century with epidemics sweeping through their filthy streets and overcrowded districts. Through scientific advance and improved sanitary conditions, the health of both cities improved dramatically into the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, "breathing spaces" posed a real problem to both cities which had witnessed the loss of most open areas at the hands of city builders. The streets represented the most important playground to the children of urbanization but the danger imposed on them by disease and traffic, together with the danger imposed by them on pedestrians and property led the cities to search for a more healthy and safe environment. The reluctance of Bristol to direct any public monies into the provision of such areas is demonstrated in the City's reliance upon munificent gifts. The purchase of the Downs (an area much larger than the Boston Common) in 1861 by the Society of Merchant Venturers for the people of Bristol, was the first in a series of gifts to the city in the nature of park land. Like Bristol's Downs, Boston's citizens possessed their own playground in the form of the Common purchased by Puritans in 1634 and situated in the very heart of "the Hub." Further development in both cities was slow during the nineteenth century. Although Bristol boasted private "parks" such as the Zoological

Gardens, it was not until 1884 when Sir Greville Smyth donated his first land package to the city that the "lungs of the city" expanded in Bristol. By the mid-eighties Bristol came to accept its responsibility for sport and due in part to the inaccessibility of the Downs to the citizens of some districts, additional land was purchased and laid out as parks and playgrounds throughout the city. However, the municipal ownership of such areas led to restrictive legislation with regard to the practice of certain sports in the parks, although the Merchant Venturers ensured that the Downs were retained as the City's primary sports ground. In Boston the feeling was very different for the City did not rely on gifts of land but rather, after the Park Act of 1875 and the setting up of the first Park Commission, took an active part in purchasing, laying out and improving parks through its most notable achievement, the "Emerald Necklace." Early provision of gymnasiums and playgrounds in Boston was the result of commercial or charitable endeavour, but the formation of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association in 1884 and the Massachusetts Civic League in 1897, paved the way for the Playground Movement in America.

While the existence of open spaces appeared to concern the Bristol City government less than the government of topographically restricted Boston, the necessity for baths and washhouses was of primary importance. The Baths and Washhouses Act of 1846 prompted the establishment of Bristol's first public baths in 1850. With the second major public facility opened in 1871, and the subsequent purchase of private baths, Bristol's contribution to the hygiene of its citizens showed remarkable improvements. Although Braman's Bath was opened in Boston during the summer of 1827, it was not until the first public bath in America was opened in Boston in 1863, followed three years later by the establishment of ten floating baths by the City, that public hygiene improved. Unlike Bristol's baths, the American city's facilities were situated in tidal water where pollution represented a very real danger to their patrons. Boston assumed that abundance of ponds, beaches, and rivers in its vicinity provided adequate facilities for bathing and swimming, a feeling reflected in the fact that its first municipal Department of Baths was not established until 1897. While swimming at the seashore remained a popular pursuit of Boston's citizens, the rise of swimming clubs in Bristol suggests an earlier adoption of competitive swimming in the British city. Instruction in the public school system supports this idea for as swim classes for Bristol's schools were well established by the early eighties, it was 1898 before similar opportunities appeared in Boston. The fact that the government of both cities played an important role in the provision of sport facilities during the years 1870 to 1900 is quite clear. Whether in the search for civic pride or social improvement, Boston's municipal active provision and maintenance of park and playground areas provides an interesting contrast to the comparative passive role taken by the Bristol City Council, excepting the provision of public baths. It would appear that this difference was a reflection of the political values held by the city governments rather than differences in public need. However, a more reliable answer to this question should be facilitated through a consideration of the nature and extent of the prevailing sports practiced in the two cities.

Footnotes

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82. Frederick C. Howe, The City, the Hope for Democracy (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1967), p. 241.

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84. Baxter, pp. 1, 29-31; "Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioner," City Document No. 14 (1888), p. 59.

85. Rainwater, p. 72.

86. Everett B. Mero, ed., American Playgrounds. Their Civilisation, Equipment, Maintenance and Utility (Boston : American Gymnasia Company, 1908), p. 246; Sadie American, "The Movement for Small Playgrounds," American Journal of Sociology 4 (September 1898), pp. 168-169; Baxter, pp. 33-37.

87. Goldberg, p. 357.

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90. Chas E. Doell and Gerald B. Fitzgerald, A Brief History of Parks and Recreation in the United States (Chicago : The Athletic Institute, 1954), pp. 34-35; Charles William Eliot, American Contributions to Civilisation and Other Essays and Addresses (New York : Century, 1898), pp. 192-193.

91. Joseph Lee, "Boston's Playground System," New England Magazine XXVII : 5 (January 1903), p. 531.

92. Boston City Council Minutes (May 17th 1886).

93. Bellows, p. 429.

94. Henry L. Curtis, "A Historical Account of the Playground Movement in American Cities," Mind and Body 28 (April 1921), p. 511; "A Brief History of the Playground Movement in America," The Playground (April 1915), p. 1.

95. Boston City Council Minutes (March 29th 1877).

96. Boston City Council Minutes (Novemebr 7th 1881).

97. Gerald K. Marsden, "Philanthropy and the Boston Playground Movement, 1885-1907," Social Service Review 35 (March 1961), p. 49.

98. While several sources consider 1886 to be the first year of sandlots in Boston, and Mero, p. 85, cites 1887, the Annual Report of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association for 1885 supports their birth in that year.

99. Annual Report of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association for 1889, p. 32.

100. Annual Report of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association for 1890; Charles Eliot quoted in Charles Zueblin, American Municipal Progress (New York : Arno Press, 1974), p. 285.

101. From Rainwater, pp. 24-25.

102. "Mayoral Address of His Honorable Josiah Quincy," City Document No. 1 (Boston, 1897).

103. Massachusetts State Acts Ch. 412, (Boston , 1898); Josiah Quincy, "Playgrounds, Baths and Gymnasia," American Physical Education Review III : 4 (December 1898), p. 237.

104. Annual Report of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association for 1898, pp. 5-6.

105. Adapted from, "Playgrounds in Boston," American Physical Education Review (March 1898), p. 135.

106. Annual Report of the Massachusetts Civic League for 1901; Rainwater, pp. 66-67.

107. An Old Observer, The Handook for Visitors to the Clifton Hotwells (Bristol : R.W. Smith, 1853), p. 16.

108. Latimer, p. 310; Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Condition of the Bristol Poor, pp. 133-134. The practice of first and second class swimming at the Mayor's Paddock Bath further supported the existence of a clearly delineated system of social stratification in nineteenth century Bristol. The working classes and middle classes attended the bath at different times, at different prices, and under different conditions.

109. Adapted from, Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Condition of the Bristol Poor, pp. 134-135.

110. There is some confusion as to the opening date of the Jacob's Wells Baths. Meller, p. 267, provides the earliest date of 1884, although Latimer, p. 310, contends that the final plans were not accepted until 1885 with the opening on August 25th 1889. An intermediary date is provided by Max Barnes, Bristol A - Z. Fascinating Stories of Bristol through the Ages, (Bristol : Evening Post, n.d.).

111. E.R. Norris Mathews, New Illustrated Guide to Bristol and Clifton with map (Bristol : W.F. Mack, 1890), pp. 12-13; Latimer, II pp. 25, 58, 77, 80-83.

112. The second successful attempt at swimming the English Channel was not until 1911; Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Condition of the Bristol Poor, pp. 136-137.

113. Amateur Sport I : 17 (August 14th 1889), p. 272.

114. Edward Everett Hale, A New England Boyhood (New York : Cassell, 1893), pp. 56-58.

115. Carolina Centinel (August 4th 1827), quoted in Jennie Holliman, American Sports (1785-1835) (Durham : Seeman Press, 1931), p. 93.

116. Thomas S. Perry, Life and Letters of Francis Lieber (Boston : Ticknor, 1882); Lewis Harley, Francis Lieber (New York : n.p., 1899), p. 53.

117. Barber, p. 154; Boston Morning Journal (June 2nd 1870), p. 4, (July 2nd 1870), p. 4.

118. Boston Morning Journal (July 10th 1872), p. 4; Edward Mussey Hartwell, "Current Topics," Physical Education 4 (November 1895), pp. 116-117.

119. Frederick A. Wilson, Some Annals of Nahant (Boston : Ticknor, 1928), p. 77; Boston Journal (May 12th 1895), quoted in Hardy, "Organised Sport and the Search for Community : Boston, 1865-1915," p. 208.

120. Quincy, p. 236.

121. "Swimming and the Swimming Baths," American Physical Education Review IV (March 1891), p. 51; "Swimming, A Necessity in Education," American Physical Education Review V (March 1900), p. 77; Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston for 1899, pp. 28-29.

CHAPTER VI

POPULAR PURSUITS IN BRISTOL AND BOSTON

As children of the cities developed street games that were characteristic of their neighbourhood, so the sporting fraternities of Bristol and Boston invented and adapted "Organized Sport" that was representative of their preference in life. Often in emulation of other cities and nations, sometimes in search of community and national identification, both participant and spectator sports evolved, the significance of which could not be avoided by any segment of society. In Britain, football and cricket grew out of traditional pastimes while the American game of baseball, despite the claims of Albert Goodwill Spalding to the contrary, was a development of the British game of rounders. All three of these games were practiced initially as "Informal Sport" by people of all ages and social class but toward the end of the nineteenth century, following a transition to "Organized Sport", their significance to both American and British societies was greatest in the form of "Corporate Sport" catering, as pugilism had for many years, to the millions of spectators in the urban arena.

Association, Rugby and American Football

The game of football in Britain and America underwent a rapid transition during the second half of the nineteenth century. Evolving out of an informal, rural, folk game possessing few, if any, rules and adopted by the English Public Schools which afforded formal organisation and codification to the game, it was, by the end of the century, a complex sport possessing various sets of rules. The traditional game that had been practiced by the rural population of Britain since the fourteenth century and was the target of ongoing criticism, finally met its downfall as urbanisation and industrialisation created a metamorphosis in British society. The crude, mass-participant and often violent game was transformed and given a middle class stigma by the leading "public" schools of England. Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Winchester and Rugby each developed their own characteristic forms of football often reflecting different objectives and constrained by different sets of rules. It was during this stage in the development of Football that the Rugby game permitted carrying the ball, a style which has been mythically attributed to one William Webb Ellis who is said to have surprised his teammates by catching the ball and running with it during a game in 1823. Though it is doubtful that such an isolated event could change a game so radically, the rules were nontheless regularised at Rugby by a levée of Bigside on September 7th 1846. Other variations of the game maintained the kicking tactics but all, though codified by mid century, continued to rely upon internal control as referees and linesmen did not appear until the 1870s.

The Football Association was founded on October 26th 1863 at a meeting of ten football clubs at the Freemason's Tavern in Great Queen Street, London. Largely represented by public school "old boys" which further reflects the class association of early organised football, they adopted the Cambridge Rules and paved the way for the increased structure, inspiration and bureaucracy necessary to the development of the modern game. Although the first "international" football match was played in 1870 between an English team and a team of Scotsmen living in London, it was 1872 before the first official game was played. In that same year, the Football Association Challenge Cup competition was inaugurated and not surprisingly, the two finalists were "public" school teams. Football remained an upper middle class game through most of the seventies but as leisure hours increased muscular Christians, industrialists and schoolteachers promoted the game among the working class districts of the industrial midlands and north of Britain.[1] As the opportunity for participation improved, football was viewed as "one of the few avenues wherein a young man of working class origins could have his claim for self-importance internally satisfied and publically recognized." While its popularity spread, Montague Shearman noticed that the release football afforded to the monotony and frustrations of industrial life resulted in "less wrenching off of Knockers and 'boxing of the watch', and fewer 'free fights' in the streets."[2]

The eleven year reign of the southern, amateur "public" school teams in winning the Football Association Challenge Cup was brought to an abrupt end in 1883 when Blackburn Olympic, representing a team of Lancashire mill workers, defeated Old Etonians, after which event the "Cup" was not to be brought south of Birmingham until the twentieth century. Never again did the "public" school teams maintain a supreme hold on the "Cup", and deprived of success they started the Football Association Amateur Cup in 1893. By the mid-eighties the game showed few recognisable traits to its rural forerunner. The rise of professionalism and spectatorism presented further, though different avenues of involvement for the working classes, for by 1885 twenty-seven thousand people attended the F.A. Challenge Cup tie between Aston Villa and Preston. That year also saw the merger of the four national associations of Britain to form the International Football Association Board. It was the formation of the Football League in 1888, comprising six clubs from the midlands and six clubs from Lancashire that promoted professionalism in the sport. Seeking a steady income for its clubs through guaranteeing weekly fixtures of a high standard, the League's ideals tended to conflict with those of the Football Association, a body responsible for all levels of Football from schoolboy to International games.

Although the Football Association was founded in 1863, variation in rules continued for several years. Codification of rules was an ongoing process, the size of the ball being set at between twenty-seven and twenty-eight inches in circumference in 1871, goalkicks were introduced when the ball went behind the goal in 1872, the cross bar and two-handed throw became obligatory in 1882, and in 1891, goalnets were added and the Irish Football Association introduced the penalty kick, so that by the end of the nineteenth century, football represented a structured sport with an institutionalized set of rules. The game had rapidly become a national passion and in the eyes of Ernest Ensor the leading professional players were "better known than the local members of Parliament." Their photographs appeared in shop windows and as "marketable goods", led to the emergence of the "football agent" who became a mediator between players and committees. The year 1892 also saw the formation of a second division of the Football League with promotion and relegation between the two divisions being instituted in 1898.[3]

The leading clubs of the nineteenth century grew out of a variety of beginnings. Coventry City (1883) was founded by the employees of Singer's, the bicycle manufacturer, while Arsenal (1886) was a team of workers from the Woolwich arsenal in London. The church was a motivating force in the organization of clubs with Aston Villa (1874) originating in a Wesleyan Chapel and Southampton (1885) founded by the city's Young Men's Christian Association. While West Bromwich Strollers (1879) was started by a headmaster for his pupils, the "old boys" of Blackburn Grammar School formed Blackburn Rovers in 1874. Other clubs such as Sheffield Wednesday (formed in 1870 and originally a cricket club), grew out of other sport organizations. However, Bristol did not share the relationship of football to church, education and industry that other city's did. The ancestry of Bristol's leading football club is not so well defined as they emerged from an aggregate of two or more organizations.[4]

The Bristol South End Football Club was formed in 1894 by eighteen football enthusiasts who met in Southville with the intention of finding a replacement for the winners of the South Bristol and District League, Bristol South Football Club which had disbanded at the end of the previous season. With an annual subscription of five shillings (and two shillings and sixpence for ladies), the club decided on red shirts and navy blue knickers as their colours. Though being refused membership of the Bristol and District League during the club's first year, it played "friendly" games and as a member of the Gloucestershire Football Association was eligible to play in the Football Association Challenge and Amateur Cups together with the Gloucestershire Senior and Junior Cups. The Club's first game was played on September 1st 1894 against the West of England Champions, Swindon Town. In front of three thousand and five hundred spectators, who had paid threepence admission or sixpence for the enclosure (boys paid one penny and ladies were admitted free), the Bristol Club lost by a score of four to two. Nevertheless, the season was a success for Bristol South End with gate receipts amounting to over four hundred pounds, being swelled to six hundred and fifty-one pounds, five shillings and sixpence through club subscriptions and various fund raising events. The major expenditure of the club during its first season was one hundred and nine pounds, nine shillings and twopence for equipping the ground, with a profit of over sixty-two pounds being recorded. Despite such apparent success, the club was again refused membership of the Bristol and District League the following season, the League having changed its name to the Western League, although the Club did become a member for the 1896 to 1897 season.

The 1897 to 1898 season saw four of Bristol's football teams join the professional ranks, those being St. George's, Warmley, Bristol Rovers and Bristol City. The latter was formed into a company and a new name for the Bristol South End Club was adopted despite bitter protests by the Gloucestershire Football Association. The most radical change however came with the infusion of professionals into the club's membership. In fact the team rapidly became transformed from one of local talent to one of "imported" professional footballers. Bristol City's first manager was Sam Hollis formerly in charge of Woolwich Arsenal during the three years preceding their entry to the Southern League. With a budget of forty pounds, Hollis attracted a nucleus of established professionals from all corners of the nation, to Bristol. Among this group were Paddy O'Brien, Jock Russell, Alex 'Sandy' Caie and Finlay Sinclair, former players of Hollis' at Arsenal, the goalkeeper Hugh Monteith, Jack Hamilton and a twenty-one year old half-back, Billy Jones, (who later became Bristol City's first international player), from Loughborough, Alberty Carnelly and Harry Davy from Leicester Fosse, together with George Mann (Manchester City) and Tommy Wyllie (Bury). The playing staff was rounded out by the captain, Billy Higgins, arriving from Grimsby Town and the only local lad and amateur, Hammer Clements. Playing on the St. John's Lane Ground in Bedminster, the club's first season was an unexpected success. With the first team finishing runners-up behind Southampton in the Southern League and the Reserves winning the Western League. The following season saw a reshuffling of the playing staff with new players arriving from other clubs, Langham, Murphy and Arthur Potter (from Notts County), Finnerham (Liverpool), John McLean (Grimsby Town), and George Barker and Billy Stewart from Evefton. Stewart had also played for the Black Watch and Preston North End and was appointed the club's new captain. After the departure of Hollis to the Bedminster Club for the beginning of the 1899 to 1900 season (although the club merged with Bristol City by the end of the season), Bob Campbell, former Scottish International and manager of Sunderland, took over the leadership of Bristol City. That same year, the club rejected Billy "Fatty" Wedlock, yet was most fortunate that Bristol's most famous footballer agreed to return to them after six years. Wedlock, a Bristolian, had not played football at Ashton Gate school but after helping to form the Melrose Bible Class team, he joined Harlington Amateur Football Club at the age of sixteen for whom he played in the Bristol and District League.[5] The City's other leading club, Bristol Rovers, emerged out of the "Black Arabs" which played at Purdown in 1883, and the Eastville Rovers which played in a field off Fishponds Road. As Bristol City drew from a wide base of support in South Bristol, so did the Rovers draw from East Bristol. The "Black Panthers" (a nickname so given because of the colour of their shirts), recruited much of their playing staff from the ranks of boys and young men who practiced with diligence in Eastville Park. A poem entitled "A Rover's Dream" appeared in Amateur Sport for October 9th 1889 and described the game between Eastville Rovers (now playing in their more recognizable colours of blue) and the Clifton team played at the County Ground and which the Rovers won, "By that one goal to naught".[6] In 1897, Eastville Rovers were formed into a company changing their name to Bristol Rovers, and joining the Southern League for the beginning of the 1899 to 1900 season.

Nor was the existence of football clubs in Bristol during the nineteenth century limited to the major professional teams. During the early eighties, the number of clubs in the city could have been counted on the fingers of two hands but within twenty years their number had multiplied to well over two hundred. The association game developed slowly in Bristol, with a club being formed in Clifton in 1882. Then in rapid succession the game spread among the working class districts of Bedminster, Kingswood and Eastville. The St. Andrew's A.F.C. was founded in 1886 by a number of players living in that district of the city. One of Bristol's oldest clubs, it was a founder member of the Downs League. Also in 1886, a local football association was formed with a challenge cup being played for in 1887. By 1889, the leading senior clubs in the City were Eastville Rovers, the local cup-holders, Warmley, Fishponds (formerly Morley Memorial A.F.C.), St. George, Kingswood, Southville, Clifton (with three internationals in the team), and Mangotsfield. While most of these clubs fielded reserve teams, they played in junior level football against such clubs as St. Paul's, Downside, Clarence, Redcliffe, Nelson, Oldland, Zion, Bethesda, Wick and Doynton, and the Staple Hill A.F.C. The Bristol North League (later the Bristol Suburban League), was founded in 1894 by John Kennedy who later went on to help organize the East Bristol League (later the Bristol and District League) and the Church of England League (1906). Other clubs grew up in Bristol during the nineties. One of the more prominent being Hanham Athletic A.F.C. which one year after its formation in 1896, won the Gloucestershire Football Association Junior Cup, retaining it for a second year in the season 1898 to 1899. One of the club's leading players, Herbert Wilshire, was the first player in the Bristol and District League to sign as a professional, for Lincoln City in 1894. The Sneyd Park A.F.C., another founder member of the Downs League was formed at a meeting at the Young Men's Christian Association building in St. James' Square during September 1897. Finally, Clifton St. Vincent's A.F.C. was formed in 1899 by a group of Clifton schoolboys. Using their coats as goalposts, the humble beginnings of this club is further reflected in the fact that team selection was conducted by a committee meeting at a seat near St. Vincent's Rocks, hence the club's name. While other clubs in the city are too numerous to mention, the fixture list included in Appendix B, for one Saturday during the 1900 to 1901 season, reflects the extent of competitive club football in Bristol at the turn of the century. While highlighting the importance of the Downs and Eastville Park as playing areas, the list is by no means complete but rather it serves to demonstrate the range of clubs and venues involved in Bristol football by the end of the nineteenth century.[7]

While the rapid growth of football had many benefits, particularly for the working classes in Bristol, it was also accompanied by problems. The middle class stigma attached to the early game was perpetuated in Bristol by the early formation of a club in Clifton. For ten years, this club maintained fixtures regardless of the social background of its opponents. However, when in February 1896 the Clifton Club met the Warmley A.F.C., which was patronized primarily by colliers from Kingswood, class conflict eventually erupted. The game was physical and infringements frequent when the referee saw a Warmley player deliberately kick his opponent. Adhering to the rules of the game, the player was sent from the field of play, much to the disgust of the partisan crowd. When the game was over and the two teams returned to their respective and distinct neighbourhoods, the "respectable" citizens of Bristol expressed dismay at the debacle that they had witnessed wondering indeed whether this was truly a game for gentlemen. One newspaper reporter reflected the feeling:

> If the disgraceful scenes witnessed at Kingswood on Saturday are repeated, the days of Association Football in this neighbourhood, at least as far as respectable people are concerned, are numbered. Here was a case in which a man committed a flagrant breach of the rules and was rightly ordered off the field, whereupon the bulk of the spectators behaved in what was nothing short of a brutal manner. Not content with yelling and using language of a disgusting character, they swarmed upon the field at half time to hustle the referee. We are almost inclined to wish that someone had really assaulted him, for then the magistrates at Lawford's Gate would have had an opportunity of making an example of these cowardly blackguards. 8

Neither was this an isolated incident. Earlier in September 1889, the same two teams had been involved in "a most unhappy and unsportsmanlike exhibition," prompting the editor of the Bristol journal, Amateur Sport to comment that "it is a great pity that this rough element has taken such a hold on the game, as there is no greater obstacle to the spread of Association." In May of that year, a letter entitled "The Ethics of Football" reached the desk of the editor of Amateur Sport. After clarifying the difference in the injurious effects of football and other sports (particularly tennis and cricket), the writer concluded that:

> If a game cannot be conducted with considerate courtesy, with the ready give-and-take fair play which healthy rivalry demands, then all footballers interested in the purity and progress of the game ought to combine as one man to stamp out the evil by completely proscribing the players guilty of rough play, or else they should set on foot a root-and-branch reform of the game. As at present played, the sport has a tendency to demoralize and injuriously affect the character of our young men.[9]

From these events it appears that football in Bristol during the last two decades of the nineteenth century supported Herbert Spencer's view that the rise of football was a manifestation of the "rebarbarization" of society.[10] However, while criticism of "ungentlemanly conduct" in football continued at the municipal and national level, there remained a feeling of optimism regarding the value of football. In 1896, the Bristol Times and Mirror praised the theme of "The Football King", a drama production appearing at the Theatre Royal in Bristol for:

> ...it is surely better that an audience which has a taste for exciting drama should be entertained with a play that lays its scenes in the football field, and can hardly, therefore, be unwholesome, than that it should sit shuddering through five acts at a nightmare of horrors called a stirring melodrama.[11]

Quite whether the rapid rise of football in Bristol during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century enhanced or negated social interaction is unclear although it appears that its increased popularity represented the early years of an ongoing process of development and increased significance for society as Ensor most perceptively stated in 1898, "whether it tends to good or evil, football is a mighty influence whose importance has even yet hardly been realized."[12]

Although the birth of modern football is most oft attributed to Britain, its practice was not unknown in America. Football was first played in Boston before the middle of the seventeenth century after John Wheelwright, a friend of Oliver Cromwell at Cambridge and an enthusiastic footballer, settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony as a clergyman. During the nineteenth century the Boston Common provided fields for the practice of football, the two most popular pitches being the Parade Ground and the part of the Common between Flagstaff Hill and the smaller hill known as the "hollow". The first organized football club in America, and Boston's leading one, was the Oneida Football Club organized by Gerrit Smith Miller, a graduate of the Epes Sargent Dixwell private Latin school. Formed in 1862, the Oneida Club utilized a nucleus of Dixwell boys together with others from neighbouring schools.[13] The record of the Club has been discussed earlier, never suffering defeat, the reports of its games were typified by the following which appeared in the Boston Daily Advertiser for November 9th 1863:

> An interesting game of football took place on the Common on Saturday afternoon between the wellknown Oneida Club and a chosen sixteen of the High and Latin Schools of this city. Three games were played, in all of which, although they were severely contested, the Oneidas were victorious.[14]

The game that this Club and schools played in Boston during the 1850s and 1860s resembled the kicking game which was codified by the Football Association. It differed from the one eventually adopted at Harvard and other colleges, although it was not unknown in these halls of academe as one graduate of Harvard's Class of '75 recalls:

> In the afternoon the boys of all the preparatory schools who lived on Beacon Hill and the Back Bay would meet for a game on one of the vacant lots west of Berkely Street, preferably the ones adjoining Boylston Street, between Berkely and Clarendon Streets, on the southerly side.[15]

Nevertheless, it was the game of Rugby football, popularized by Thomas Hughes in Tom Brown's Schooldays that received widespread acceptance in

American colleges and represented the foundation of American football, a game that had gathered ongoing support from bourgeois quarters of Bristol Society.

While football was undergoing change and codification during the sixties and seventies, a bifurcation occurred between those supporting the Association game described in the early part of this chapter and those showing allegiance to the game of Rugby football. The latter was a more robust game and permitted handling of the ball in preference to kicking it. At the outset players were allowed to trip and kick an opponent anywhere below the knee, making it a good tactic to maim the better players on the other side so forcing them to retire from the game. Although one might have expected such seemingly barbaric tactics to be rejected by the "respectable" middle classes, it was in the public schools that the manly sport drew its greatest support. The Rugby Football Union was formed in 1871 and a year later at a meeting in the King's Arms, Redland on September 27th 1872, Clifton Rugby Football Club (the twelfth oldest club in Britain) was formed. The game grew up (as did the Association game), among the middle class suburbs of North Bristol whose citizens had more time and money to devote to the sport. An earlier Clifton Club had been formed in 1869 but its life was rather short whereas the new club, adopting the colours of lavender and black together with the rules of the game played at Clifton College, lived to represent a major influence upon sport in Bristol. The club's first game against Sydney College, Bath was won by Clifton which went on to remain unbeaten throughout its first season. Other earlier fixtures against Clifton College, Marlborough College, Sherborne School, Cheltenham

College, Taunton College, Rugby and Oxford University supported the idea of a game dominated by the middle class. The desire to keep the club's players together after the first season led to the formation of a cricket club. By the 1875 to 1876 season the club membership exceeded one hundred, most "Public School men", and that year J.A. Bush, the Gloucestershire wicket keeper and Clifton Rugby player became the club's first "cap" when he played for England. In all, ten Clifton players were "capped" for England or Scotland during the years 1875 to 1900. A more important event which occurred during this most successful season in which only one game was lost, took place with the games against Clifton College, for on that occasion fifteen men a-side were played for the first time instead of the earlier twenty-a-side. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Clifton R.F.C. had played against fifty-one different clubs and, as the playing record included in Appendix B suggests, during its early years the club met with considerable success.

By the mid seventies and into the following decade, other clubs were formed in Bristol and the surrounding towns. Weston-Super-Mare R.F.C. was founded on October 2nd 1875 and became one of the leading clubs in the country during the mid eighties. During that decade the town laid claim to several other clubs including the Weston Crusaders, Weston Wanderers, Red Cross Club, St. John's Bible Class Club, the Star Club and the Dreadnoughts. In Bristol the Ashley, Bedminster, Medical School and Redland Park clubs joined Clifton and the City's leading school sides in creating strong support for the Rugby game well before 1880. The increasing number of clubs in the county led to the formation of the first Gloucestershire

County Rugby Union during the 1878 to 1879 season although it was replaced in 1891 by another organisation. During the following decade the Bristol Arabs, Bristol United, Bristol Harlequins, and the Carlton Club emerged as leading exponents of the game in the City. All the clubs (except Clifton R.F.C.), played on the Downs during these years. At the beginning of the 1888 to 1889 season (the same year that A. Budd, a Clifton player became President of the English Rugby Football Union), a number of local clubs, notably the Redland Park and Carlton clubs, decided on amalgamation to form a representative club for Bristol.

Although "town" Rugby clubs were not common at this time it seems likely that the increased travel of Bristol clubs to South Wales influenced the move, for both Cardiff and Huddersfield (the home of A. Gee, Bristol's first captain) had representative "town" clubs. The first game of the Bristol Football Club, as it was known, was played on October 6th 1888 at Cardiff Arms Park, the home side winning by twenty-four points to nil. The Club played on the Gloucestershire County Ground until the season of 1894 to 1895 when it moved to "Buffalo Bill's Field" which became its permanent home. The Bristol Football Club did not share the same early success as the Clifton club had nearly twenty years earlier. However, by the end of its fourth season, the Club had recorded an impressive record of twenty wins against only four losses and went on to win fifty-four percent of its games during the nineteenth century, while the Clifton club won only forty-eight percent of its games for which records remain. The representative nature of the Bristol Football Club meant that most of its games were played against "foreign" clubs extending the length of the country from Edinburgh University to Plymouth (see Appendix B). Among the seventy-six different clubs played during the years 1888 to 1900, were those northern teams from Halifax, Swinton, Huddersfield, Salford, Castleford and Hartlepool which subsequently, after the formation of the Rugby League in 1895, adopted the different professional game no longer competeing with the Bristol club. During the 1899 to 1900 season, J. Wallace Jarman, captain of the Bristol Football Club, became its first international "cap" when he played for England against Wales at Gloucester.

While the emergence of the "town" club took the limelight away from local Rugby, the district clubs continued to multiply. Together with the established clubs of former years, the 1890 to 1891 season saw the Oakfield, Clifton Crusaders, Bristol Hornets, Vauxhall Rangers, Knowle, Lodway, Portishead, St. Saviour's, Bristol Rangers, and Young Men's Christian Association clubs playing in the City. By the year 1896, the Y.M.C.A. club changed its name to the Saracens in an attempt to shake off the constraints of its parent organisation. The following year saw the formation of the Bishopston R.F.C. and the Avonmouth Old Boys R.F.C., the latter founded by Welsh "immigrants". In search for better organisation and control of the game, the Gloucestershire County Society of Referees (South) was formed in November 1893 by the Bristol Rugby Football Union and a Bristol Schools Rugby Union was started by seventeen clubs in 1898, an organisation which led to the formation of "old boys" clubs in the City. Although the Gloucestershire County League competition was initiated in 1898 and won that year by the Bristol Football Club, the Rugby game in Bristol remained a strictly amateur game, accompanied by the essentially middle class ideals of gentlemanly play.[16]

That folk football was played in Boston during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been noted earlier. Although this game tended toward the Association style, the Rugby game became increasingly popular in the leading educational institutions of New England, particularly Harvard and Yale during the nineteenth century. To many Americans, the Rugby game appeared a remnant of feudal pursuits, one which urban, industrial society had adapted but not destroyed. Unacceptable to American lifestyle and perceived as "a worn-out, brutal old game, second-hand from England,"[17] the Rugby game was transformed initially in the colleges, so as to create a codified style of American football. Typified by a shift away from individualism, a clearly defined division of labour and a mechanical interaction of units, the American game mirrored the complexities of modern, industrial society. While American society adapted the folk games of Britain, one sport that retained its traditional flavor in Boston, though much more popular and more greatly developed in Bristol, was cricket.

Bails, Batsmen and Bowlers

The story of cricket in Bristol and Gloucestershire during much of the nineteenth century is, to a large extent the story of one family. "Gloucestershire is the county of the Graces as long as there is any cricket",[18] said Bernard Darwin, while one journal in 1898 considered that "In all probability there never could have been a county cricket club in the western shire if it had not been for this remarkable and unique cricketing family."[19] The father of the family, Henry Mills Grace, was born at Long Ashton, Somerset and moved to Downend, then a struggling village situated some four miles north-east of Bristol, in 1831. A keen sportsman, Henry Mills Grace joined the Beaufort Hunt in winter and played cricket in the summer. As a medical student in Bristol, he recalled getting up early to play cricket on Durdham Down between five and eight o'clock in the morning. Henry Mills Grace married Miss Martha Pocock in 1831, and she remains the only woman to appear in Wisden's through the following entry:

> Grace, Mrs. H.M. (mother of E.M., W.G., and G.F.) B. July 18, 1812. Died July 25th, 1884
> ... She died during the second day of the Lancashire v Gloucestershire game July 1884. The match abandoned as soon as the news reached Old Trafford.

Mrs. Grace took great interest in the game of cricket and demonstrated as much enthusiasm as the rest of her family in driving to the games in her pony and trap. The Graces had a family of five sons, Henry (born in 1833), Alfred (1840), Edward Mills (1841), William Gilbert (1848) and Fred (1850), and four daughters. All five sons followed their father into the medical profession and like Henry Mills Senior, who batted right-handed and bowled left-handed, entered cricket with great vigour. Henry, the eldest son, made his debut for the West Gloucestershire Cricket Club in 1848, the same year that William Gilbert was born. Both Henry and Alfred distinguished themselves as cricketers in playing for the Marylebone Cricket Club, but it was the three younger sons, all who played for England, that dominated Gloucestershire cricket during the years 1870 to 1900. When in 1880, "E.M.", "W.G. The Champion", and "G.F.", played on the same side against the Australians at Kennington Oval, they became the first trio of brothers since 1744 to play on a representative team. However, that same year saw the tragic death of "G.F." and it was left to "E.M." and "W.G." to uphold the family's name in cricketing circles.

It was the family that prompted enthusiasm for cricket in the Grace household for as well as the great patriach, Henry Mills who founded the Mangotsfield C.C. in 1845 (chiefly for the benefit of his two elder boys), and which later amalgamated with the Coalpit Heath Club to form the West Gloucestershire Cricket Club, Mrs. Grace's brother, Alfred Pocock represented a very able coach to the young boys. Though frequently forgotten, to the four daughters "has been attributed wonderful prowess as cricketers." So close was the family that Darwin described the Graces as a "clan" incorporating its cousins, Pococks, Reeses and Gilberts. In the same manner that their father had ignored the temptations of affluent patients, the new breed of doctors "drove far afield in their traps, and looked after poor people, whom they could understand and treat with homely kindness," Henry in Kingswood, "E.M." at Thornbury and "W.G." settled in a practice on Stapleton Road.[20] Although their characters differed markedly, no malice was held one for another, and as the following account of "E.M." and "W.G." playing for their county against the touring Canadian team in 1886 shows, the brothers frequently enjoyed playing cricket with one another:

> At four o'clock the two Graces commenced the innings for Gloucester, and we expected almost any amount of leather hunting. They kept up a running conversation while in together, and some of their remarks were very humorous, and on this occasion, as always, they put the large concourse of spectators in good humour,...[21]

While the match was drawn, "W.G.'s" contribution of fifty-nine runs and one wicket in the first innings, and ten runs and five wickets in the second, upheld his reputation in cricket.

The earliest known cricket team styling itself "Gloucestershire" played in 1839, although 1863 is generally viewed as the founding year of the first county club. Established as "The Cheltenham and County of Gloucester Cricket Club," its President was Colonel Berkeley, M.P. Membership to this club cost one guinea, reduced to half a guinea for playing members, all subscribers being "privileged to the use of Ground for Cricket, Archery, Bowls, Quoits, etc.- the implements for the practice of which, excepting Bows and Arrows, to be provided from the general fund of the Club."[22] Within five years another "county" club had been formed, this time in Bristol, playing on Durdham Down and patronized by the Grace family. The fixtures of this team included a game against the M.C.C. at Lord's on June 25th and 26th 1868, which the Bristol club won. It was in the summer of 1870 that the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club was formally organized, and played its first match on June 2nd, 3rd, and 4th 1870. Playing on Durdham Down in front of a large crowd, the Gloucestershire Club beat Surrey by fifty-one runs.[23]

During the years 1860 to 1880, cricket was fostered by the schools and universities. Finding favour among the middle class in particular, the era was typified by the "Gentlemen" versus "Players" fixtures of which fifty-one percent were won by the "Gentlemen" and twenty eight percent by the "Players" during the years 1870 to 1900. Novelty games such as those played between left and right-handed players; married and single men; smokers and nonsmokers; and even a "one arm versus one leg" encounter, were popular, yet the sport was to become increasingly organized and serious by the end of the century, so that one clergyman remarked in 1894 that:

> Twenty-five years ago, the great matches of the season were North v. South and Gentlemen v. Players. The former have to all intents and purposes disappeared, whilst the latter no longer possess the charm they once did. County Cricketers prefer fighting under the colours of their County. It is by no means certain that in twenty years time the annual matches between Amateurs and Professionals will be played. The fact is, all our interest is absorbed in the doings of the counties. The crowds flock to County Matches.[24]

By 1870, all but five English counties laid claim to representative cricket clubs furnishing the interest necessary for the institution of the County Cricket Championship in 1873, with nine original clubs competing for the Championship until the number was expanded to fourteen in 1895. The first Championship was shared by Gloucestershire and Nottinghamshire but, as the County's playing record in Appendix B suggests, the remaining years of the nineteenth century brought mixed fortunes. While, during the years 1873 to 1900 the Gloucestershire C.C.C. won thirty-three percent of its games to carry off three County Championships, it also lost forty percent of its games in finishing bottom of the Championship table three times.[25] Although success and failure fluctuated within the Club's performances from season to season, Gloucestershire and the Graces remained feared opponents as the words of Francis Thompson suggest in a verse written about the County's first appearance at Manchester in 1878, the season after having won two consecutive Championships:

> This day of Seventy Eight, they have
>   Come up North against thee,
> This day of Seventy Eight long ago
> The Champion of the Centuries, he
>   cometh up against thee

With his brethren, everyone a
   Famous foe!
The long whiskered Doctor, that
   Laughest rules to scorn
While the bowler pitched against
   Him ban the day he was born,
And 'G.F.' with his science makes
   The fairest length forlorn;
They are come up from the West to
   Work thee woe.[26]

During its formative years, the Gloucestershire C.C.C. played its "home" games at a variety of locations throughout the County. Starting on the Downs, games were later played on the grounds of Clifton and Cheltenham Colleges and in Gloucester at the Spa Ground which had been opened as a Public Park and Pleasure Ground in June 1862 by Sir James Jelf. In 1885 the Club proposed to lease land in Eastville for the purpose of laying out a County Ground but within two years the idea was dropped. Still intent on finding a more permanent home for the county side, "a committee of gentlemen (and) promoters of athletic recreations" announced on January 23rd 1888 that an offer of twenty-six acres of land on Ashley Down had been received for a price set at six thousand and five hundred pounds.[27] Immediately a County Ground Company was formed and with twelve thousand pounds capital set out to purchase the land, lay out the sports area and construct a grandstand and other buildings on the site. A plan of the Gloucestershire County Ground in Amateur Sport for April 24th 1889 showed the main cricket field surrounded by a bicycle track while to the east was space for additional football and cricket pitches. Although the new ground provided particularly suitable surroundings for a game that was becoming increasingly popular as a spectator sport, the shortsightedness and greed on the part of the business-minded County Ground Company precipitated several problems. During the early nineties one observer drew attention to "the unseemly and unsightly placards of advertisements" that appeared on the ground concluding that "aesthetic ideas are rather outraged by such an exhibition." While other sports organizations used the ground for cycling, track and field and football it was the smaller clubs that were hit hardest by the money-grabbing policy of the County Ground Company as an article entitled "Greedy Company" in the Bicycling News and Sport and Play, for May 14th, 1895 so vehemently pointed out.[28]

The economy of sport played an increasingly important role with county cricket during the years 1870 to 1900. While at one time cricket had been the reserve of the country gentleman playing the game on the lawns of his home, the rural and urban laborers were being provided increased opportunity to play so that by 1873 James Lillywhite was able to write:

> It is a great thing, particularly in these days, that any Lord, and Sir John, and his Reverence should mix on terms of legitimate equality with the farmer, the blacksmith, and the butcher, whether as players or spectators.[29]

Such a perception was somewhat misleading for while it is true that persons of all social strata played cricket and even on the same team, there emerged a clear distinction between "Gentlemen" and "Players". The stigma attached to the usually working class, professional "Player" was particularly strong in Bristol for "When the County of Gloucester plays with the first-class counties of

England, seldom, if ever, do more than two professional players appear upon the Eleven, it is therefore, perhaps, in a position to put the strongest amateur county Eleven in England in the field."[30] However, by 1895, when Gloucestershire played Somerset on the County Ground it was the visiting team that boasted two "Players" only with Gloucestershire C.C.C. fielding five and that, with "W.G." being claimed as a "Gentleman", an occasion incidentally when "the Champion" scored two hundred and eighty-eight runs in the first innings. While the question of amateurism and professionalism in sport is discussed in Chapter XII, it is particularly relevant at this point to inquire briefly into the policy of the Gloucestershire C.C.C. with regard to this matter. As early as 1873, the Club paid James Lillywhite ten pounds to manage the game played at Cheltenham. The following season saw the beginning of "payments" to "W.G." which, throughout his career amounted to a tidy sum. To the forty-five pounds that "W.G." received in 1874 was added another eighty pounds in "expenses" for the games that he played in 1875. The Cheltenham Festival was started in 1878 and James Lillywhite was "allowed" one hundred and twenty pounds for running it. That same year saw the "kidnapping" of the County's first proclaimed professional (William) Midwinter who was paid seventy-six pounds for the season and received an additional thirty pounds from a collection taken during the game against Australia. Although Midwinter's benefit game scheduled as the match against Lancashire was cancelled due to rain, the Club gave him one hundred pounds plus the eight pounds per game wages for the season. "W.G.'s" national testimonial in 1879 fattened his purse in the amount of nearly fifteen hundred pounds, and any concerns that "the Doctor" might have had for his financial wellbeing were eased when, starting in 1883 and continuing until 1895, "W.G." was paid thirty-six pounds annually for a locum tenens for his medical practice in Bristol. In 1890, W. Murch and J.W. Stinchcombe were engaged as professional bowlers by the County, each being paid thirty shillings per week for their efforts. The three thousand pounds remuneration paid to "W.G." as captain of the England XI in Australia during 1891, and another nine thousand pounds plus forthcoming from his testimonial in 1895, perhaps provides a solution to his moderating view toward, and even acceptance of professional "Players". While the Club appeared to freely support this idea of payment to players, shrinking coffers in 1894 finally forced its Committee to make drastic resolutions for the following year, some of which are outlined below:

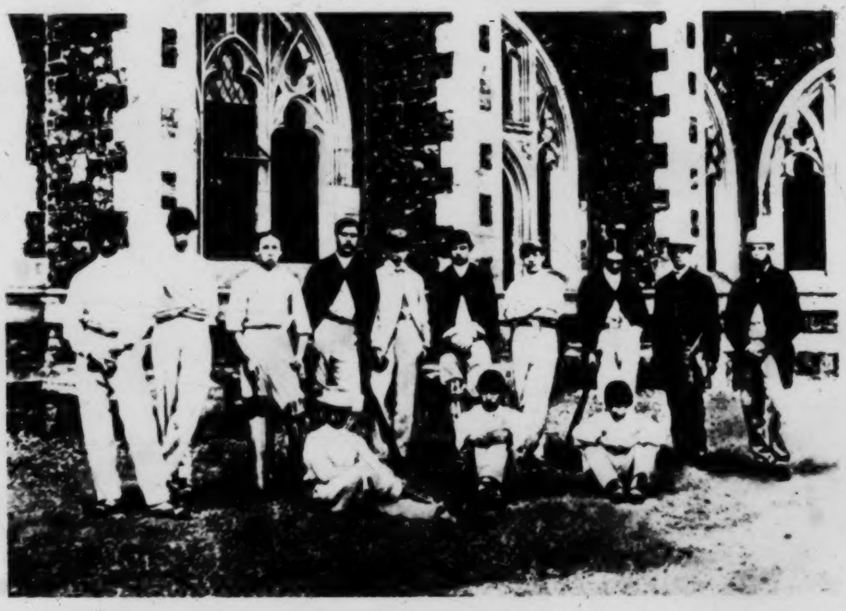
> (i) That not more than fifty pounds per annum be paid for the services of bowlers on the County Ground.
>
> (ii) (a) That the Amateur players be allowed, when playing more than ten miles from their homes, Third Class Railway Fare, and fifteen shillings a day (instead of one pound) for personal expenses.
> (b) That as regards Professionals, allowances for winning matches and for talent money be left to the discretion of the Committee.
> (c) That no allowances or payment be made to more than eleven men for any one match.[31]
>
> (viii) That the payments for match practice for players be limited to five pounds.

Despite these cutbacks, the County emerged from two successive seasons in the cellar of the County Championship to finish fourth out of fourteen counties in 1895.

While Gloucester remained "the County of the Graces" throughout the eighties, the loss of "G.F." in 1880 coupled with the less regular appearances of "E.M." and "W.G." meant that eyes were opened to other accomplished members of the Club. Born in Cawnpore, India on July 28th 1850 and educated at Clifton College, James Arthur Bush was the Club's wicket keeper from 1870 to 1891. His achievement as an English international Rugby player (while with the Clifton R.F.C.) has already been recognized, and together with his accomplishments behind the stumps and with the bat for Gloucestershire and England, supported his claim as Bristol's greatest all-round athlete of the years 1870 to 1900. William Evans Midwinter, the Club's first professional was born in Gloucestershire at St. Bravels, Forest of Dean in 1851 but emigrated to Australia during the days of the goldrush. Being the only player to appear for Australia and England in Test Matches played against one another, he played for the Gloucestershire C.C.C. from 1877 to 1882. William Albert Woof, also born in Gloucestershire, in 1859, followed Midwinter as the County's second full-time professional. A left arm spin bowler, he played from 1878 to 1902 taking six hundred and two wickets in nearly seven thousand overs. Gloucestershire's second wicket keeper, Jack Board, a protege of "W.G." also played for England and represented the Club from 1891 to 1914. Among the County staff who took a great interest in school cricket at Clifton and Cheltenham Colleges was Frank Townsend, the headmaster of a preparatory school in Clifton who, as one "old boy" of Clifton College recalls, "kept his eye specially fixed on us." The headmaster's own son, C.L. Townsend first appeared for Gloucestershire in 1893 when only sixteen and went on to play for England. Also, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, there emerged a capable replacement for "W.G." as "The Doctor" left the County by the turn of the century. Gilbert Jessop was born on May 19th 1874, the eleventh child of a Cheltenham doctor. Christened Gilbert after "W.G.", the professional all rounder played his first game for Gloucestershire C.C.C. in 1894. Three years later, he scored one hundred and one runs in forty minutes during a game against Yorkshire, was made County captain in 1900 and played for England in eighteen tests. Although the County team and more particularly "W.G." represented the greatest attraction to Bristol's cricket enthusiasts during the years 1870 to 1900, the game was well known in the city before mid-century, a fact reflected by the early existence of several strong local clubs.[32]

Clifton Cricket Club claims to have its origin shortly before Queen Victoria ascended the throne, while its records date back to 1841. By 1847 at least three other clubs were founded in the Bristol area, representing the districts of Kingscote, Westbury-on-Trym and Bedminster. The Bedminster Cricket Club was formed in 1847 and includes many prominent cricketers in its role of honour. "E.M." played for the Club in 1856, and then in 1865 "W.G." made his first appearance for Bedminster in a match against Swindon on the Greenway Bush Lane ground during which he recorded his only pair of "specs" after being caught out for no runs, in both innings. The Club maintained its popularity throughout the nineteenth century and when in 1892 it became one of the thirty-three founder members of the Bristol and District Cricket Association; its membership stood at four hundred. In 1851, a team by the name of Great Western Cricket Club played the Bedminster Second team and it appears that this was the forerunner of the Knowle Cricket Club which was formed one year later by employees of the newly opened Bristol and Exeter Railway. Little evidence remains of the early days of this club although the first record of their playing a match was not until the Midsomer Norton game in 1859. The year of 1861 saw the amalgamation of the Arno's Vale C.C. with the Knowle club and a receipt of that date still remains reading, "Received from the Knowle Club the sum of one guinea for wickets, leggings, gloves, bats, etc., lately belonging to the Arno's Vale C.C." By 1892, when the Club's name was changed to the Knowle Cricket and Football Club, the District of Knowle was one of the most prominent in the realms of sport in Bristol, for there also existed the Knowle Racecourse which was temporarily taken over by the Golf Club, the district Rugby Club and the Knowle Greyhound Track.[33]

The Schoolmasters' Cricket Club was started on Durdham Down in 1852 for "schoolmasters, pupil teachers and other friends." Sharing the Downs with other clubs, members were forced to act as pickets in guarding their wickets before each game. The increasing popularity of the game meant that club membership grew to fifty by 1865, and one year later a second eleven was formed. After membership restrictions were dropped, in 1867, the Club became even more prominent in Bristol cricket and by the end of the century it fielded four teams. While the congestion of urban districts led to the formation of numerous clubs, the surrounding villages and towns likewise fielded representative teams. One of the leading village clubs was Hambrook C.C. situated seven miles to the north-east of the City and playing their games on



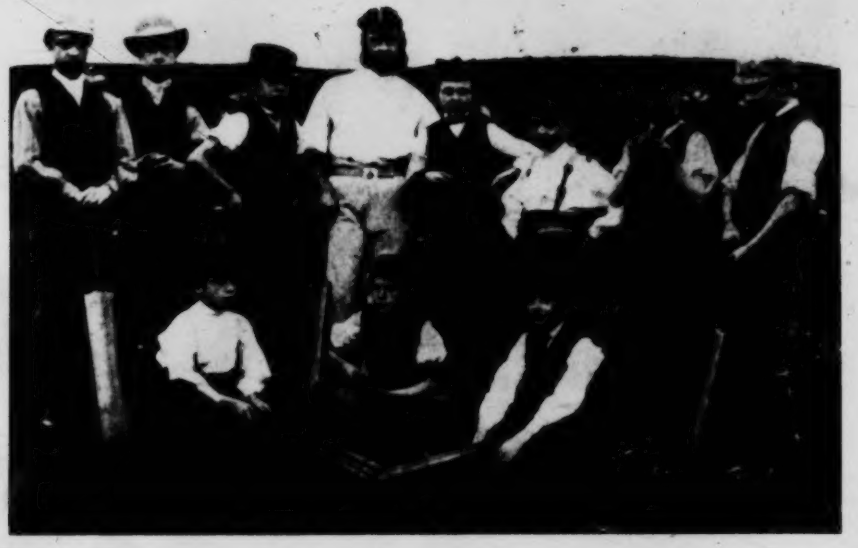


PLATE V

Cricket - A Contrast of Class in Bristol

(Above) The Clifton College First Eleven in 1864.
(Below) A Group of City Boys on Durdham Down in 1867.

the village common. Formed in 1878, its life centred around the village's pubs, the Crown, the Black Horse, the White Horse and Star, a fact reflected in the Club's badge. So popular had the local game become by 1889 that the fixture list for May 22nd of that year printed in Amateur Sport showed that fifty-nine games were scheduled in Bristol and vicinity (although perhaps South Wales may not be considered so), and that, while Gloucestershire was playing Warwickshire at the County Ground. The fixture list (which is included in Appendix B), shows clubs representing a variety of backgrounds, from the temperance groups of the Wesley Society Abstainers XI to the factory teams of W.D. and H.O. Wills as well as various church, political, school and district sides. Nor was this list inclusive of all clubs in Bristol at the time, for so early in the season many clubs, among them the Fry and Sons, Holy Trinity Mission, Y.M.C.A., and St. Paul's Bible Class Sides, had not been organized. While the number of cricket clubs certainly increased during the eighties and nineties, the standard of play that the majority exhibited on public grounds did not necessarily improve, for as one observer noted in 1889:

> A walk around the Downs on a Saturday afternoon, from a cricketer's point of view, is not worth taking now. A year ago there were always a number of decent clubs to be seen there; but now - well, barring Clifton, the least said the better. The clubs have been gradually securing grounds of their own; and now that the County Ground is open it means 16 clubs are generally playing there, and the Downs left to the hit-and-run class of player.[34]

In 1893 another of the City's leading clubs, Downend C.C.C. emerged out of the Christ Church Institute Cricket Club, and although the birthplace of "W.G.", he did not play for the club but did bring a county side to Downend in 1896. A year before the founding of the

Downend C.C.C., the Bristol and District Cricket Association was formed at a meeting held in the Montague Hotel and attended by representatives of nine leading clubs in the City. In an attempt to better organize and control the practice of club cricket in Bristol, the Association registered thirty-three members during its founding year. Cricket came a long way in the west country city, from the earliest club at Clifton, to the provision of spectator oriented professional, county cricket and a complex organization of amateur club cricket. Yet while the game flourished in England, it also spread throughout the British Empire and to other lands making it a universal sport by the end of the nineteenth century.

Although cricket was not played as extensively in America, the game maintained its popularity in the former colonial towns of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Evidence that a Boston Cricket Club was in existence as early as 1809 quite surprisingly predates its counterpart in Bristol. However it was rather short lived and not until the Star and Thistle Club appeared in 1857, did the game reemerge as popular in "The Hub". As the fifties drew to a close other clubs appeared, such as the Bay State, the Young Boston, and the Mount Vernon. Out of the Star and Thistle club evolved the Boston Cricket Club which grew to two hundred members and, finding the Common "too hard to place a wicket, or bowling crease,"[35] relocated to grounds in East Cambridge. While the Boston C.C.C. adapted to the conditions of the "New World", other clubs disbanded or took to base ball, a game that did not rely on flat grassy fields. In 1859 an English professional eleven arrived in America and while playing against the twenty-twos of the nation's leading cricketing centres, New York, Philadelphia and Rochester, the tourists bypassed Boston. Not that this reflected the importance of cricket in the City. In 1863, sixteen year old George Wright (later to become a leading light in the successful Boston Red Stockings baseball team), played for the St. George's Cricket Club of New York against the Boston C.C. at the East Cambridge grounds. A review of Boston newspapers for the early seventies supports the existence of district cricket clubs, many of them supporting two or more elevens. By 1870, in addition to the Boston C.C. leading clubs included the Alphas (Salem), Nonantums, Needham, Winnissimmet (Chelsea), Waltham, Albion (Needham), Lawrence, and Harvard University Cricket clubs. By 1872 three other prominent clubs appeared, the Nahant, Stars (Newtonville) and Boston Junior Cricket clubs. Playing on Boston Common, Salem Common and the grounds at East Cambridge, cricket in Boston appeared to reach its peak during the first few years of the 1870s. Harry and George Wright frequently turned out for the Boston Club during these years, while the cricketers often reciprocated in moving from the square to the diamond. An announcement of such a game in the Boston Morning Journal for July 14th 1870 set the scene:

> The Ball and Bat. To-morrow afternoon the Boston Cricket Club will try their hands at base ball against the Lowell club at the Union grounds. The cricketers receive the odds of six outs, and on these terms ought to make a good show. Next week the Lowells will return the compliment, playing twenty two against eleven, and exhibit their full skill at cricket.

Despite the cricketers being afforded the advantage of six outs and eleven men, the Lowells won by eighty runs to thirteen. The following week it was the turn of the cricketers to win the game with which they were more familiar, an observer noting that:

> The best of feeling prevailed among the members of the two clubs, and the cricketers were much pleased at the interest manifested by many of their opponents in the game of cricket brought about by this match. Were it not for the time required to play the game, cricket would become quite popular in this country, but when one can witness a first class game of baseball in two hours, it is rather irksome to have to give up a good portion of a day for a cricket match.

Nevertheless, such games were not always predictable and tiresome. In November 1871 the Boston Red Stockings baseball club beat a Boston Select Cricket Eleven in both cricket and baseball, while the following year the Red Stockings beat the Winnissimmet Cricket Club, one of Boston's leading clubs, by an aggregate of one hundred and three runs to fifty-two in a two inning cricket match.

While these "novelty" games continued and attracted larger crowds than the cricketers normally experienced, the Boston clubs began to take the game more seriously and in imitating their English cousins hired professionals for coaching but more important, playing purposes. These accomplished cricketers frequently hailed from England, as was the case with Harry Carpenter, "a son of the celebrated Robert Carpenter, the well-known English cricketer," who became professional for the Winnissimmet Club in 1871, and was followed in 1872 by "Louden, a professional, who has lately arrived in this country."[36]

Reports of cricket matches in England were scattered among the columns of Boston's papers, and when in 1872 "W.G." himself brought a team across the Atlantic to test the Canadians and Americans, Boston was on his itinerary. The Boston newspapers covered the tour from the time that the "Twelve English Amateur cricketers sailed from Liverpool," to their departure from Quebec nearly two months later. After games in Canada, New York and Philadelphia, where the English Eleven played a Philadelphia twenty-two in front of ten thousand spectators, the tourists arrived in Boston for the last game of their trip. Although their late arrival in "the Hub" necessitated the cancellation of a match planned, with the Harvard Cricket Club the game with the Boston Club went ahead. Long before the tourists arrived in Massachusetts, the public's interest was drawn to "W.G." who, according to one Boston newspaper, was "acknowledged to be the best player living, if not the best that ever lived." Plans were made to make the visitors' stay hospitable:

> Invitations to visit the Boston Theatre and Boston Museum have been extended to the Englishmen...on Thursday morning they will take a ride in the suburbs... at Harvard College there will be a reception by the students in honor of the five Oxford undergraduates who are in the party.[37]

While all provisions were made to ensure a comfortable visit, the unpredictability of New England weather in later September was not taken into account and, after the heavens opened, the wicket became a "veritable quagmire." The story is best left to "W.G." who was entrusted with the team's captaincy when R.A. Fitzgerald travelled into the city to do business, although he returned for the end of the match:

> When we got to the baseball ground, on which the match was played, we found it in a very deplorable condition, heavy rain having been falling all through the night. The wicket itself was not very bad, but where short slip, point and mid-off had to stand there was a perfect quagmire. Some idea of the condition of the turf may be judged from the fact that between twenty and thirty bags of sawdust had to be bestowed upon the ground before it was fit for the match. Notwithstanding this precaution, some of the fieldsmen stood ankle deep in sawdust and slush.[38]

Nevertheless, play commenced and after the Boston Twenty-Two had scored fifty-four and forty-three as against the English Eleven's fifty-four and twenty-one for six wickets, the Boston umpires, having refused all earlier appeals, finally agreed to stop the game when Fitzgerald was hit on the toe by a ball that, due to the deteriorating light, he could not see. After the match, George Wright (who, along with his brother Harry, was playing for the Boston XXII), presented each of the English players with a baseball.[39]

Although cricket in Boston by the fin de siècle did not enjoy the same popularity that it had during the seventies, "the Hub" was a part of the Inter-city Cricket League formed in 1891, and played against Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia on the eastern circuit, while the western division comprised Chicago, Detroit and Pittsburgh. By 1894 Boston had experienced a partial revival, one observer noting that "Boston and New England claim about one hundred Clubs."[40] Nevertheless, the requirements of the game, willow for bats and level, grassy playing surfaces, were not to be found in Boston and, coupled with the nature of the game, cricket in Boston foundered and by the end of the nineteenth century represented a loss lamented by many including Boston's own sport historian, James Lovett, who wrote:

> Somehow American soil is not congenial for cricket - more's the pity! as it is one of the finest and noblest of all outdoor sports; it is a gentleman's game from start to finish, and brings forth into play the best sporting instincts of which a man is possessed...
>
> There is no doubt that the length of time required for a full two innings match (frequently two days) is a serious handicap for it in this country, and is at variance with the American temperament. The office boy can occasionally get a few hours off in the afternoon with the "grandmother's funeral" plea, but obviously this could not be worked two days running, for a cricket match.[41]

One-day games and limited overs matches were not accepted during the nineteenth century and as the nature of the sport was not conducive to play in an increasingly urban, industrialized environment cricket declined in popularity throughout America. Unlike football, a game that Americans adapted to fit into their value system, few attempts were made to change cricket (although a version of "American Cricket" appearing in a Boston newspaper for 1870, is described in Appendix B), and its patrons switched to the more suitable game of baseball.

Bases, Balls and Pitchers

> An Englishman is so constituted by nature that he can wait three days for the result of a Cricket match; while two hours is about as long as an American can wait for the close of a Base Ball game - or anything else for that matter.[42]

These words of Albert Goodwill Spalding found in his book proclaiming baseball America's National Game further substantiate the feeling expressed as early as 1858 by Thomas Wentworth Higginson that baseball is a game "whose briskness and unceasing activity are perhaps more congenial...to our national character, than the comparative deliberations of cricket."[43] At this time the game of baseball (or more accurately the game as played in America), was not practiced in England, as a High Commissioner sat watching the Boston Red Stockings play in Washington D.C. commented, "This sort of thing isn't done in England, you know, where they have cricket, you know, and rowing, you know, but not this sort of thing, you know."[44] While cricket retained its status as the most popular team sport for both spectators and performers during the summers of late nineteenth century Bristol, baseball was enjoyed by players and audiences alike in Boston.

Baseball evolved out of the English children's games of rounders, feeder, baseball and stoop ball. Being carried to Colonial Boston their games were adapted and became known as town ball (due to the fact that it was played while town meetings were in progress), Massachusetts ball in Boston, "one old cat, two old cat etc.," until the name of base ball was finally adopted. It was the rules of rounders that appeared in William Clarke's, The Boy's Own Book first published in London (1829) and later the same year in Boston, which Robin Carver copied in his The Book of Sports which was published in Boston five years later. Changing the name of the game to "Base, or Goal Ball," the book includes a print depicting the game being played by boys on Boston Common. It appears that various forms of the game were enjoyed by Boston's children since early years of the nineteenth century and before, while Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Class of '29 at Harvard recalled the enjoyment he gained from playing rounders during his college days. With this in mind, it seems unlikely as Robert Henderson has shown, that Spalding's claim of baseball being invented by General Abner Doubleday at Cooperstown in 1839 is valid, but rather it represents[45] a myth founded in a search for national pride.

In 1859, the same year that The Baseball Player's Pocket Companion was first published in Boston, the National Association of Baseball Players was formed. The earliest baseball club was established by the Knickerbocker Social Club of New York in 1846, and by 1869 the nation had its first professional club in the form of the Cincinnati Red Stockings. Under the management of Harry Wright, the team included his brother George, and two others who transferred to Cincinnati from the National Baseball Club of Washington D.C., which was formed in 1867. The advent of professionalism precipitated problems that the game was ill equipped to handle. The traditional distinction between Work and Play discussed in Chapter III presented a strong lobby against the professional game yet this was far from being the sole criticism. In an attempt to better control the problems of gambling and contract breaking the National Association of Professional Baseball Players was formed at New York in 1871, at which time the future of the game passed from the hands of the amateurs to the entrepeneurs and professionals. That year also saw the founding of the first professional baseball league under the auspices of the National Association. As public opposition to the professional game dwindled, many of the earlier fears were realized; gambling, liquor sales and violence on the field. In an attempt to eradicate these evils and abuses the National League of Professional Baseball Clubs was formed by the beginning of the 1876 season and maintained effective control of the game until 1882 when the American Base Ball Association was established, a veritable competitor to the National League. A Union Association followed in 1883, in which Boston was represented, there following the institution of a post season pennant in 1884 due to the rivalry between leagues. The status of the professional baseball player was elevated in 1885 when the National Brotherhood of Base Ball Players was organized by John M. Ward. With a chapter in Boston to which Kelly, Kilroy, Brouthers and Starey belonged, it changed from being a fraternal society initially to becoming a platform for player discontent. As with cricket in England, the game of baseball in

America underwent a great transmutation during the years 1870 to 1900, from a game played by children on the Common to one typified by heavy expenditures, a complex system of rules, player contracts, and the construction of large and elaborate accomodations for spectators. The game that was most popular in the street and playground in mid-nineteenth century America, was played around the world by the year 1900.

During its early years, the bulk of players in the National League came from the Northeast states of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Boston has been described as the "Cradle of Baseball" as well as the "Cradle of Liberty" a belief upheld in Grantland Rice's analogous poem entitled "The Slide of Paul Revere," which included the words:

> Now the home of poets and potted beans,
> Of Emersonian ways and means,
> In Base Ball epic has oft been rung
> Since the days of Criger and old Cy Young-
> But not even fleet, deer-footed Boy
> Could have pulled off any such fancy ploy
> As the slide of P. Revere, which won
> The famous battle of Lexington. 46

In their first year, the Cincinnati Red Stockings toured the east and achieved an incredible record of fifty-seven wins and one tie, their performance doubtlessly impressing someone in Boston for within a year, plans were well underway for bringing a professional baseball team to "the Hub," for as one newspaper put it, such an organization was "one of the few notions in which Boston is lacking."47 A capital stock of ten thousand dollars in shares of one hundred dollars each being raised, interests set out to secure the services of George and Harry Wright of the Cincinnati club.

William Henry (Harry) Wright was born in England in 1835. Upon arriving in New York he played cricket for the St. George's Cricket Club of that City and joined the Knickerbockers Base Ball Club in 1862. After playing for the Gothams (the team through which E.G. Saltzman introduced the "New York game" in 1857 in contrast to the "Massachusetts game"), he played for the Nationals before arriving in Cincinnati. In 1870, Ivers W. Adams, President of the newly formed Boston Club persuaded the pitcher to leave the Ohio club and his salary of twelve hundred dollars, and to come to Boston as manager. Harry Wright, who had been instrumental in the formation of the National Association of Base-Ball Players was well liked in Cincinnati yet while the rumours of his departure were not met with smiling faces, the Cincinnati Commercial stated:

> If he goes to Boston or elsewhere, he may feel assured that the people of Cincinnati regard him as the father of the Red Stockings and the mainspring of their success, and that they think that he is worth not only $2,500 a year to any community, but that he is too good a man to be salaried.[48]

The question of salaries was a prickly point in Boston in 1870. The traditional and honest prejudices against professionalism that permeated the former Puritan strongholds of the east remained particularly strong in Boston. Harry Wright was reluctant to "break over the custom" and so the Boston Club became one which was "ostensibly amateur but really professional; for all were to receive good salaries." Eventually however, the players decided to openly declare their status as professionals. As a drill master, coach and tactician Harry Wright was unsurpassed during the early years of the professional game. His experience in cricket lent to his development of a scientific plan of training and playing. Yet it was his insistence upon disciplined practice for which Wright's players remembered him best, for as he told one young player:

> ...learn to be a secure catch, a good thrower - strong and accurate - a reliable batter and a good runner, all to be brought out...by steady and perservering practice.[49]

Harry Wright remained the cornerstone of the Boston Club and of the National Association (afterwards, National League), for many years, and in 1872 he sat as Chairman of the Committee on Rules for the Baseball Championship.[50]

The Manager was joined in Boston by three of his former teammates in Cincinnati, George, his brother and ten years his junior, had been the Red Stockings' highest paid player earning fourteen hundred dollars, Calvin A. McVey and Charley Gould. In searching for young, talented players, Harry Wright looked to the Forest City Club of Rockford, Illinois, which had beaten the number one ranked National Club of Washington D.C. in 1867 for whom the Wright brothers and McVey had played. While in Rockford, he signed Roscoe C. Barnes, J. Fred Cone and a young pitcher by the name of Spalding. Albert Goodwill Spalding was born in Byron, Illinois on September 2nd 1850. Resisting offers of fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred dollars to play in Washington D.C., New York and Cleveland, he chose to stay in Illinois working as a clerk and bookkeeper while playing for the Forest City Club and tending to his widowed mother and sister. However, the invitation to join the Boston Club was more appealing as Spalding recalled:

> ...when Harry Wright appeared at Rockford one day in the fall of 1870, with an offer of $2,500 per autumn, one-fifth to be paid spot cash, I signed a contract to pitch for the original Boston professional club.[51]

Spalding, who in 1900 was appointed Commissioner to the American Olympic

Team at Paris, played for the Boston Club until his playing career took him to Chicago in 1876. The first Boston professional team was rounded out through the employment of Samuel Jackson (Flower City Club, Rochester, New York), an Englishman and the team's only amateur, David Birdsall (Unions of Morrisanta), and Henry C. Schafer (Athletics, Philadelphia), the complete team, ages and positions as far as evidence will allow, is found in Appendix B. In selecting a team that it was hoped would represent "the model baseball nine of the country," President Adams reasurred the Boston critics of professionalism that the management had selected the team not merely on their playing ability but rather "because they are known to be strictly temperate, industrious and gentlemanly in their conduct at all times, besides honest lovers of our National Game." To uphold this statement, the team lived in a house next to Harry Wright's during spring training in March 1871, which was held at the Tremont Gymnasium.[52]

Before the start of the Bostons' first season, the Union Base Ball Ground in the South End was leased, the availability of covered seating being improved by erecting a "Grand Duchess" which seated one thousand including reserved seats for shareholders, and two hundred members. Members paid twenty dollars for a season ticket which entitled the holder and his lady to a seat in the grandstand, while the Metropolitan Railroad Company improved their services to the ground enabling citizens of Boston to travel to the games with relative ease. The Boston Red Stockings' opening match was played on April 7th 1871 at the Union Ground against a Picked IX of the City, attracting five thousand spectators, at that time, the largest baseball attendance seen in Boston. The Club's first season in the National Association was a relative success. Winning twenty-two of its thirty-two games, the Red Stockings finished runner-up to the Athletics of Philadelphia who, while also winning twenty-two of only twenty-nine games, were awarded the pennant as they lost only seven games. While success on the diamond was forthcoming during the Red Stockings' early years, pecuniary solvency was seldom known. For the 1872 season, ticket prices were set at ten cents for practice, twenty-five cents for games with amateur clubs, and fifty cents (half price for children under fifteen) for professional matches. The enthusiasm of Boston's citizens increased and for the game against the Athletics in June 1872, "The grandstand was filled with ladies and their escorts, except a few front seats, which were occupied by members of the French Band, who took the liveliest interest in the game." The Red Stockings' defeat of the Philadelphia team was watched by eight thousand spectators, another record! Despite such an apparent rise in popularity, at the Annual General Meeting of the Boston Baseball Club in December 1872, the treasurer gave his report stating an expenditure of twenty two thousand and seven hundred dollars as against receipts of eighteen thousand and seven hundred dollars. With the main problem seen to be the payment of high salaries, a meeting of the newly formed Boston Base Ball Association also in December 1872, and attended by two hundred gentlemen, set out to rectify the Club's financial losses.[53]

The financial situation of the club was not helped by the signing of other players. By the end of 1871, Andy Leonard (a former member of the Cincinnati Red Stockings), from the Olympics, and Fred "Fraley"

Rogers, a first baseman and member of the amateur Star Club of Brooklyn, signed for the Red Stockings. J.J. Ryan was acquired from the Forest City Club of Rockford, Illinois in time for spring training of 1872, a year in which "the Bostons [were] considered the strongest club in the country." The catcher "Deacon" Jim White and Jim O'Rourke joined the club in 1873 followed by George Hall, an outfielder from Baltimore, the next season.

The early success of the Red Stockings was bettered during their second season when, after losing to the Athletics in their first game, they went on to win the next nineteen games straight, recording a season total of thirty-nine wins and eight losses. The Boston Club won the National Association pennant that year and retained it in 1873, 1874, and 1875, finally ceding it to Chicago in 1876. The key to the Red Stockings' domination during these years appears to have rested with the ability of their players. In 1875, when Boston won seventy-one of seventy-nine games, eight of the Club's players were represented among the top twenty hitters in the Association, including the leading four. Yet the game took more than the ability to score runs and it was not surprising that "records showed six Boston men topping all rivals at fielding their positions." The previous season had seen the Boston Red Stockings and the Philadelphia Athletics leave on a tour to Britain where they played fourteen games (of which Boston won eight), at a variety of venues which included the Lord's Cricket Ground. It was during this tour that the Americans consented to "wield the willow" against the Marylebone Cricket Club, and although they lacked skillful players, the handicap of eighteen men was not really needed as the Americans won every game.

The professional game wrought many changes during the early seventies. During the Club's first season a gold watch chain and locket was offered as a prize for the player recording the most base hits, with twenty-five and ten dollars offered as second and third prizes. In addition, monetary incentives were presented for individual games, with a diamond cluster pin (valued at seventy-five dollars), being offered on one occasion. The economic importance of the game is reflected in the prize money offered at a baseball tournament held in Williamsburg, New York in 1872. Contested by the Mutuals of New York, the Athletics of Philadelphia and the Red Stockings, the winner took home eighteen hundred dollars, with twelve hundred and one thousand dollars going to the second and third teams respectively. Although the early years of the Club were a financial disaster, by 1875 its treasurer reported a profit of slightly more than three thousand dollars. Nevertheless, Wright's payroll of twenty thousand dollars (an average of two thousand dollars per player), in 1875 remained the highest in professional baseball until the eighties. The end of the 1875 season, in which the Red Stockings had won their fourth consecutive pennant, heralded changes in the Club. A Boston newspaper reported as early as August 1871 that the President of the Chicago Club was in the City hoping to entice players to join his team. However, it was not until 1876 that William A. Hulbert saw Barnes, McVey, White and Spalding playing for his Chicago White Stockings Club. Although they actually signed in June 1875 the deal was kept quiet tor two weeks. When word finally got out, severe criticism was levelled at N.T. Appolonio, President of the Boston Club, but despite his offers of higher salaries to the players, they joined Chicago in 1876. Spalding recalled some of the criticism they faced, "Boys would follow us on the streets, shouting, 'Oh, you seceders; your White Stockings will get soiled;'...It was only ten years after Appomattox and 'seceders' still was a reprehensible word in Boston." Although Jim White returned to Boston in 1877, the superiority that the Club had enjoyed from 1872 to 1875 was never replicated, and in 1879 George Wright and O'Rourke left for Providence where, under Wright's management they won the Championship for that year, with the Red Stockings being runners-up.[54]

While the Boston Club's record (.899%) of 1875 has never been beaten, the City's National League team continued to give creditable performances. Although the migration of the "Big Four" to Chicago in 1876 had given the White Stockings the Championship in that year (leaving Boston in fourth place), the Red Stockings brought the pennant back to "the Hub" in 1877 and 1878. It was not until 1883 that the Red Stockings won their seventh Championship, a year in which the popularity of baseball in Boston reached unequalled heights as the Boston Globe, noted:

> The hold that the game has in this city is well-shown by the fact that up to date almost 75,000 people have attended the games in this city...Unprecedently large throngs attend the games of all the associations, comprising youth of the tenderest ages, business and professional men, old men and ladies, in fact every class, every colour and every nationality will be found at a ball match.[55]

Nor was this apparent democratization restricted to the audience. When in 1877, Spalding sold Mike "King" Kelly to Boston for ten thousand dollars, so another prominent sportsman of Irish lineage joined the World Champion fighter John L. Sullivan on the top rung of "the Hub's" sports ladder. Signed for a reported salary of five thousand dollars per annum for three years, Kelly had been so popular at Chicago that Spalding was forced to publish the ten thousand dollar cheque in the newspaper. Later, when the White Stockings sold John B. Clarkson to Boston for a similar sum to Kelly's, "the diamond reached a new peak of prosperity." Clarkson was a talented pitcher and master of the outcurve, incurve, drop and fadeaway ball which had been developed after the removal of all pitching restrictions in 1884. While the price of players snowballed during the 'nineties, the rising gate receipts promised pecuniary reward for the Club and as one observer noted in 1894:

> The Bostons on their preliminary trip to the other eastern cities of the League made enough money to pay the salaries of their players for the entire season.[56]

At the beginning of the 1891 season, the Boston Club changed its name to the Beaneaters, winning National League pennants in 1891 to 1893 and 1897 to 1898. During the Championship playoffs of 1897 the Boston Beaneaters met the defending champion Baltimore Orioles. The final game which was held in Baltimore prompted an unparalleled feeling of civic pride in Boston to which even the Conservative, Brahmin organ, the Boston Evening Transcript contributed in setting the scene:

> Stocks may rise and fall, but the clerk, the broker, the student, the merchant, master and man, priest and people, have awaited with feverish interest the latest tidings from the diamond on the rounding-out of each recurring day's history. The first man or boy to bring the returns to a waiting crowd establishes a position for himself at once, especially if his news jumps with the hopes of those whom he enlightens.
>
> The attempt to analyze this universal enthusiasm would hardly be profitable. Enough of that exists. Enough to know that not only thousands, but possibly millions, are awaiting with interest more or less anxious the result of today's game. Music Hall will be thronged with an excited

> multitude. Washington Street in front of the newspaper offices will suggest a presidential election night. Until the final bulletin brings elation or despair, a stranger may know that some national event is agitating the breasts of the American people...[57]

The Beaneaters won by a score of nineteen runs to ten, and as the City had risen to the earlier achievements of John L. Sullivan, so the "boys of the diamond" were praised as heroes. At a civic reception Mayor Josiah Quincy presented each player with a diamond studded watch in recognition perhaps, of his contribution to the uplift of the City's esteem.

The story of professional baseball in Boston commenced another chapter at the turn of the century. In opposition to the perceived threat of Bancroft Johnson's American League of Baseball Teams formed in 1900, the National League attempted to resurrect the extinct American Association, however the move came too late and an American League team appeared in Boston in the same year. Known by a variety of names during its early years including, the Pilgrims, Somersets, Puritans, Plymouth Rocks and Speed boys, the team eventually grabbed the name Red Sox as John I. Taylor, President of the National League Club changed the colour of its stockings from red to white and its name from Beaneaters to Doves in 1907. In time for the start of the 1901 season the American League club tempted four of the Beaneater's players across town and signed Cy Young and Lou Criger from the St. Louis Nationals, The Pilgrims played their first game on April 16th, 1901, losing by ten runs to six at Baltimore but success was soon to come their way and by 1903 they laid claim to the American League pennant while continuing on to win their first World Series. Although it appears that no other city could equal Boston's achievements during professional baseball's first thirty years, the fame that its teams brought the City and the entertainment it provided the people was only a part of the total role that baseball was to play in Boston.

The first organized baseball club in New England was the Olympic Base Ball Club founded at Boston in 1854, and followed by the Elm Tree (1855), Green Mountain (1857) and Hancock (1857) Clubs. Playing the Massachusetts game at first, the New York rules were not adopted until E.G. Saltzman of the Gotham Club arrived in Boston and established the Tri-Mountain Base Ball Club. The first team in New England to use the New York rules, the Tri-Mountains played its first game against the Portland Base Ball Club on Boston Common in 1858. As the Civil War disrupted so many other traditional pastimes, so baseball declined and clubs folded as "upwards of fifty members of Boston's clubs were to be found in Uncle Sam's ranks."[58] While, for instance, the life of the Bowdoin Club (1859 to 1863) was relatively short, the Lowell Club, formed in 1861 remained one of the leading organizations in the city during the sixties and until they foundered in December 1873. The most popular baseball ground during the sixties was Boston Common upon which the diamonds were marked out, roped off and guarded by policemen. The Cincinnati Red Stockings arrived in Boston during June of 1869 to play the leading baseball clubs of the City. As part of a tour that carried the team nearly twelve thousand miles, and recording sixty-three straight victories in front of two hundred thousand spectators, they defeated the Lowells, Trimountains and Harvards in games that "were witnessed, amid great cheering, by thousands of spectators who were seated in the stands, erected on the Parade Ground on the Common."[59] Baseball's increased attraction for spectators necessitated improvements of grounds that had previously represented open fields, the Boston, Salem and Lynn Commons, the grounds on Columbus Avenue, in the South End, Cambridge and the Back Bay, as well as the Technology grounds, the Boston Fairgrounds and the Boston Base Ball Grounds at Milford Place. Two weeks before the opening of the 1870 season the Boston Morning Journal announced that, "The Union Base Ball Grounds at the South End are being newly fenced, graded and furnished with new seats..." Together with Boston's three senior amateur clubs, the City's baseball grounds were shared, during the early seventies, by a large number of junior clubs representing industrial and social teams, though most often towns and districts in the vicinity of "the Hub." Many of them organized and controlled by the Massachusetts Association of Junior Base Ball Players, they played for a champion bat throughout a season extending from May to November. Although identification of all the City's clubs is hampered by the fact that so many were shortlived leaving little if any evidence, a survey of Boston newspapers resulted in the compilation of a list comprising one hundred and thirty three different amateur clubs playing in the Boston district during the years 1870 to 1872. While several of these clubs fielded more than one nine there evolved a clear hierarchy of play with some of the senior teams providing "nurseries" for the professional clubs toward the end of the century. As in Bristol, where informal games of cricket were played on the Downs throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, so too did boys and young men congregate on the Common in the hope of participating in a "pick-up" game of baseball. Also, in the same vein as the novelty cricket matches, Boston's baseball fraternity frequently resorted to light hearted tactics in playing games between married men, bachelors and muffers, while handicapping the regular teams by playing clockwise, or batting and throwing left-handed. By the end of the nineteenth century, baseball was the one team sport in the City that permeated all strata of Boston society, fulfilling the needs of players and spectators alike. It was the equivalent to cricket in Bristol, yet unlike the knowledge of "the willow" in Boston, Bristolians knew little of the American development called baseball.[60]

Although baseball found limited acceptance in Britain, early attempts were made to export the game to the Old Country. In 1870 after commenting on the success of the Harvard team, a reporter in the Boston Morning Journal proclaimed:

> Base ball, from being the national game, is likely to become the international game. Wherever it is introduced it speedily finds favour, and creates much enthusiasm. It has been introduced by Americans in Prussia, Germany, Switzerland and Scotland, and wherever matches are played the natives flock in large numbers to witness the exciting sport.[61]

Four years later a tour of twenty-three players (and eighty American tourists), accompanied by Charles H. Porter, President of the Boston Club and Ferguson, President of the Philadelphia Athletics, was made of Britain. The results of both baseball and cricket matches have been discussed earlier, the American game being met with much fascination by the lovers of the English game. Referred to by "W.G." as the "American Invasion" he felt that "their fielding was exceptionally smart; and though their efforts to create a love for baseball were not rewarded, their skill was undoubtedly appreciated."[62] Although, as Grace suggests, the American effort to spread the gospel of baseball failed in 1874, fourteen years later the idea was revived and a World Tour of Professional National League Base Ball Players was organized. Represented by the Chicago team and an All-American Nine, which included Tom Brown of the Red Stockings in right field, the party played in Australasia, North Africa and Southern Europe before arriving in England, where their schedule included a game played on the County Ground, Ashley Down. Upon his return to America, Albert Spalding who had travelled with the tourists wrote a letter to Edward G. Clarke, Chairman of the Gloucestershire County Ground Company thanking him for the cordial reception afforded the baseball players and continuing:

> I have just taken the liberty of giving a letter of introduction to Mr. James Gamble Rogers, President of the Yale College Base Ball Association, who, in company with several other college students from Yale, Harvard, and Princeton, visit England for the purpose of illustrating the game of base ball to the English colleges with the hope that in future years intercollegiate base-ball matches can be arranged between the two countries...
>
> I regret to see in some of the papers an idea conveyed that to encourage the introduction of base ball into England would jeopardize cricket. I think that such an idea must emanate from narrow-minded sportsmen; for I don't think it would affect cricket one particle - in fact, I think it would add to its interest, and I also firmly believe that there is plenty of room for both base ball and cricket...
>
> P.S. - A favourable word from W.G. recommending base ball would be of great assistance, and I hope he will give it. [63]

A reply was sent within ten days of the first letter being written in New York, expressing the Chairman's wish that the American students should meet with some success on their intended visit. Offering his services and "anything in my power to help," Clarke reflected on the skill of a cricket team from Philadelphia that had lately been playing in Bristol and had been viewed with envy while practicing base ball. The

PLATE VI

The Entertainers

(Above) The Gloucestershire County Cricket Club Eleven in 1898.
(Below) The Boston Red Stockings and Opponents in 1900.

postscript in Spalding's letter reflected something of his persuasive character, although perhaps rather optimistic for as the editor of Amateur Sport notes:

> ...W.G. Grace is about as broad and all-round a sportsman as they make, but then you see he is a cricketer above everything else, and we in Gloucestershire would consider it sacrilege to have him championing any other game than the one he has done so much for. [64]

Thus while cricket emerged as the most popular sport in Bristol, and baseball in Boston during the years 1870 to 1900, and football in its various and modified forms was practiced enthusiastically in both cities, no one team sport was followed with equal vigour in both cities. However, there were two sports which, while attracting the spectator element and its attendant evils was shared in the two cities particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century and into the seventies.

Pugilists and Pedestrians

> An Englishman will take his part
> With courage prime and noble heart;
> Either forgive, or resent offence
> And bang-up in his own defence.
> No sword nor dagger, nor deadly list.
> He'll rise or fall but by his fist
> The battle o'er - all make amends
> By shaking hands - becoming friends. [65]

These words from the old ballad entitled "Boxiana" reflect the belief that all Englishmen are born with an inclination to fight yet moderate their desire through an inherent feeling of fair play. This idea of manliness is no better personified than in the pursuits of England's gentleman pugilists of the eighteenth century, however as money became a more important influence than respect for one's opponent, the nineteenth century prizefighter emerged reflecting less than desirable values. The most popular nursery for bare knuckle fisticuffs in early nineteenth century England was Bristol with "several of the leading 'bruisers' being natives of the city or of its environs."[66]

The City's earliest nineteenth century champion was Jem Belcher. Born in the Parish of St. James in 1781 and nicknamed "Napoleon of the Ring," he was Champion of England from 1800 to 1804. He retired from boxing in 1814 and lived out the rest of his life in line with so many other prize-fighters, as a London publican until December 1854. It seems that the pugilistic exploits of the Belcher family reached beyond Jem's performances for in 1805, a Bristol newspaper reported a fight between Jem's sister and another woman in a city street. Seconded by her mother the battle lasted "more than fifty minutes."

The Championship was taken over by another Bristolian, Henry Pearce for the years 1805 to 1807. A butcher by trade, Pearce better known as "the Game Chicken" was reputed to be as brave outside the ring as he was in it. Another Bristol butcher, John Gully, took the Championship in 1808. Born at the Rose and Crown in the City in 1783, as well as becoming Champion of England, he was elected a Member of Parliament, and upon retiring from the ring took to the turf, owning the 1846 Derby winner, "Pyrrhus the First." The most famous of Bristol pugilists ascended the Championship podium in 1809. Born at Hanham in 1781, Tom Cribb trained as a fighter at "the Hatchet" in Frogmore Street and later at "the Cribb" in Cribb's Causeway. Recording twenty-nine victories in thirty fights, the "Man of Iron" who, first as a coal miner and then a butcher, displayed legendary courage and toughness drew large partisan crowds to his fights at the Lansdown racecourse booth and the St. James' fairground in Bristol. A poem entitled "A Miracle in Twenty Minutes," by Tom Hazel echoed Cribb's superiority:

> A true Briton from Bristol, a rum one to fib,
> He's champion of England, his name is Tom Cribb
> With white and with black men, has mill'd all round,
> But one to mill him in the world can't be found.[67]

Eventually after nine years a successful challenger was found, but not before Cribb fought before the Czar of Russia and King of Prussia in 1814 and served as an official guard at the entrance to Westminster Hall at the Coronation of George IV. So popular did pugilism become in Bristol during the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century that while gentlemen poured scorn on the acts of brutality and gambling that accompanied it, one Bristol newspaper editor in 1813 described the sport as an "elegant and fashionable science." Another popular Bristol butcher and pugilist appeared in the early twenties. In 1823 Bill Neate known locally as the "Bristol Bull" faced Tom Spring himself a west-countryman. The fight at Andover attracted thirty thousand spectators and included a large contingent from Bristol who had hired "every available horse in the city, including the black horses employed at funerals,..." as a means of transport. However, Neate's performance was not one that he wished to remember as the last verse of a poem describing the fight relates:

> Each Bristol lad look'd rather sad,
> When time again was call'd,
> For their fav'rite man could scarcely stand,
> So cruelly he was maul'd.
> With cautious pace his man to face,
> He had been us'd so rough,
> He reel'd about, Spring serv'd him out
> Till he faintly cried enough.[68]

After the defeat, Neate was denounced by his disappointed supporters as having "sold the fight," and even the celebrated philanthropist, Mrs. Fry called on him to retire from the ring. Never again did Bristol experience such enthusiasm for pugilism. Bare knuckle prize fughting became illegal and gradually died out in Bristol as the Marquess of Queensberry formulated new rules in 1866 so controlling the brutal free-for-alls into which the sport had deteriorated. Nevertheless, reports of prizefights continued to appear in the City's newspapers. Although outlawed, a crowd congregated to watch a fight in 1869 but retired as the police arrived. The lingering and sometimes romantic popularity for the sport is demonstrated in the organization of a fundraising "Assault at Arms" by the middle-class members of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club in 1887. Held at the gymnasium adjoining the Royal Baths at Kingsdown, events included boxing, fencing, quarter staff bouts and tug-of-war. That the gentlemanly values afforded boxing were still prevalent among the middle class is given further support by the fact that boxing became a Saturday night institution in all the houses of Clifton College by the end of the nineteenth century. The metamorphosis that came over boxing in Bristol during the nineteenth century was accompanied by a decline in popularity by 1900 for no longer were the encounters bloody and brutal affairs appealing to the barbaric nature of the spectators. However, in Boston such battles continued well into the second half of the nineteenth century ensuring popularity that far outlasted the heyday of Bristol's pugilists.[69]

Boxing appears to have been very much more popular in Boston. Prize fighting had long been popular with the slaves and freed negroes during antebellum years despite the fact that every state in the Union had at one time or another outlawed such encounters. One of the earliest teachers of the sport in America was G.L. Barrett who arrived in Boston in 1798 only to be followed in 1826, by James Sanford and an Irishman, Ned Hammond. Indeed, Irish blood and pugilism appeared to go hand-in-hand in nineteenth century America and as Boston was a home of Irishmen it might also have been expected to be a home of boxing. One of the earliest well known prize fighters and promoters was one James Ambrose better known as Yankee Sullivan. Not to be confused with his later namesake, John L. Sullivan, Ambrose was born in Ireland in 1807 later being sentenced to the penal colony of Australia. After escaping he made his way to New York City and earned fame as a prize fighter, wearing an American flag tied as a sash about his waist when he entered the ring. After his fighting career he turned to promoting fights, and it was one such battle between Christopher Lilly and Tom McCoy, held on a barge in the middle of the Hudson River, that after one hundred and nineteen rounds and nearly three hours, left McCoy dead. For his part in the act Sullivan was sentenced to two years in Sing Sing for manslaughter, but was subsequently pardoned on the understanding that he would give up the prize ring. So much a part of his life was prize fighting that Sullivan was unable to uphold his promise and eventually committed suicide in a San Francisco cell on May 31st, 1851.[70]

As English magistrates suppressed the practice of prize fights by the middle of the nineteenth century, "lusty, low-browed, short cropped, broken-nosed" bare-knuckle fighters emigrated to America.[71] While the manly sport of boxing was championed by some, including Oliver Wendell Holmes who described the gloves used as "batter puddings," it was frowned on by many Puritannical leaders and was ignored by the more respectable newspapers. The editors of Harper's Weekly for May 5th 1860 offered strong opposition to the sport:

> We believe prize-fighting to be a degrading, brutal and shameful practice; we consider the prize-ring a national nucleus of black-guardism, and we do not believe that pugilism is in the least degree calculated to do good when it can hardly fail to do evil...
>
> Moralists must be writing and clergymen must be preaching to very little purpose, since the bulk of the people in England and America are heart and soul engrossed in a fight compared to which a Spanish bull-bait is a mild and diverting pastime. To what purpose are so many pulpits and so many sermons if the brutal prize-fighter is the hero of the day? [72]

Nor did criticism of prize fighting falter after the aggressive intervention of the Civil War years. The church and the law continued to denounce the brutal spectacles and their attendant evils of intemperance and gambling. Sparring exhibitions became the legitimate alternative for spectators and were popular among Boston's citizens. Such an exhibition of the "manly art of self defence" was given at the Lyceum Theatre, Boston in 1870, the audience comprising "a curious compound, including one clergyman, at least two lawyers, some prominent business men, clerks, men-about-town, and a very large delegation from Fort Hill and other localities where a love of the art still lingers." [73] The bill included the self-proclaimed Champion of the World, Jem Mace and Tom Allen who, it was announced, had been matched for five thousand dollars to fight Mike McCoole for the Championship of America.

While such relatively controlled and theatrical affairs were tolerated by Boston's public, the prize fights that continued in the backwoods of the surrounding country became the target of increased criticism and legislation as one Boston newspaper observed in 1870:

> We are glad to see that it is becoming more and more difficult to carry out prizefights in New England. The participants and contrivers in these brutal exhibitions are already driven to islands and other out of the way places, and we trust that even these will soon be closed against them. [74]

Going on to praise Governor Jewell of Connecticut whose mobilization of three companies of militia and a platoon of police had led to the arrest of seventy-five "roughs", the paper stated that "It is high time that these affairs - importations of foreign rowdyism and schools of iniquity - were crushed out." Yet the discountenance of prize fighting in Boston only served to drive the combatants further afield. A year later Jem Mace and a fighter by the name of Coburn crossed into Canada and although the fight was interrupted by authorities the Boston Morning Journal expressed the feeling that:

> It is a shame and disgrace to the civilization of these days that those brutes are allowed to make their matches and go through their training on American soil, and then leave it to fight the battle just across the line. If there are not laws which will prevent it there ought to be, and we hope the day is not distant when there will be... [75]

Nevertheless, despite the continued attempts to wipe out prize fighting in the City, accounts of bouts and arrests were scattered throughout the columns of newspapers. One report in 1870 spoke of two fights held in Neponset and the neighbouring district of Dorchester. The first, lasting thriteen rounds was fought "in the presence of quite a large number of spectators without being molested," while police searched until two or three o'clock in the morning for the concealed venue of the second fight, allbeit to no avail.[76] A year later a fight near

Everett attracted one hundred ruffians before being terminated after two hours by "public intrusion." Such encounters were not limited to the suburbs although the risks involved in partaking of an urban bloodbath limited their practice. However a report in the Boston Journal of June 22nd 1871 colorfully describes such a contest that took place in East Boston:

> About half past seven o'clock last evening, a couple of young roughs, 18 or 19 years old, named Sullivan and Morrison exhibited their pugilistic proclurities by "stripping to the buff" and assaulting and battering each other in a vacant lot on Bremen and Orleans streets, known as the "Ice Lot." The father of Sullivan, brute-like, was on hand aiding and abetting his son in his pugilism, but on the appearance of the police the whole party skedaddled in the usual cowardly manner of that class of scamps. No arrests were made up to a late hour last night.[77]

Could this have been an account of the early pugilistic career of John L. Sullivan? It would seem doubtful for this was not his part of the town and being born in October 1858 would have made him not yet thirteen years old. Nevertheless, the presence of a "brute-like" father and the fact that a man the size of Sullivan might conceivably have appeared older at age twelve suggests that it could have been the young John L., fighting on the "Ice Lot" on a summer evening in 1871. Maintaining the practice of prize fights was as important to the spectators as to the nineteenth century gladiators themselves. In August of 1872 a large number of "Boston Ruffians" travelled north to Portland to attend a prize fight between Timony of Providence and their man, Kelly of Boston. As such encounters were illegal in Maine, the island of Campobello became the intended destination. Usually, early warnings of the approach of police facilitated dispersal of the crowd and escape of the pugilists; however, on occasion neither early warnings nor leaving the State to fight prevented the authorities from arresting and sentencing the prize fighters. In 1870, George Siddons was sentenced by Judge Rockwell of the Massachusetts Superior Court to six months hard labour for leaving the State to engage in a prize fight on Smutty Nose Island. In November of that same year Michael Nolan and Edward Kane were fined twenty-five dollars after being involved in "a pugilistic encounter which strongly savoured of a prize fight," on Lynn beach. Later in December 1870, Edward O'Baldwin who had been sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment in November 1869 for engaging in a prize fight, turned down a pardon from the Governor which had stipulated he leave Massachusetts within twenty-four hours, never to return again.[78] The impact of the moderate fines incurred on those prizefighters convicted might be questioned in consideration of the size of the purses for which they battled, frequently upward of two hundred dollars. However, it was neither the fear of injury nor the fear of punishment that led to the decline of bare-knuckle prize fighting. After the introduction of the Marquess of Queensberry rules in Britain, the three minute rounds, count of ten and five ounce gloves were, slowly at first, introduced into the American ring. Gaining increased social approval the pugilists came out of their hiding places to try their hand at the new sport. A strong proponent of the new style of boxing was John L. Sullivan a Boston Irishman who followed the line of transition in becoming the last bare-knuckle Champion, and World Champion during the years 1882 to 1892, until beaten by another Irishman (this time from San Francisco), "Gentleman Jim" Corbett. So important was the Irish label in boxing after the achievements of

Sullivan, Corbett, Paddy Ryan, Jake Kilrain and John Morrissey that by the end of the nineteenth century it was "a matter of common knowledge that a majority of prize-fighters in New York [were] really Jews who [operated] under Irish names." Yet Boston remained the cradle of American boxing, and in 1899 another future Champion arrived in Boston, a black Nova Scotian by the name of Sam Langford who was soon to be better known as the "Boston Tarbaby."[79] As in Bristol, boxing emerged from the brutal prohibited state in which it fell into the social cellar during much of the nineteenth century, to become once again the manly art that was approved by all classes of Boston's citizens. The heroes of the late nineteenth century ring earned a tidy sum while spectators fought over the relative limitation of attendance set at the spectacles.

As pedestrianism has been shown to have been a popular sport in eighteenth century Bristol, so during the nineteenth century did it wax and wane in Boston. Typified by multitudinous congregations of spectators, gambling and tales of super human endurance, pedestrianism was Boston's most popular winter spectator sport particularly during the middle third of the nineteenth century. The year 1835 saw Henry Stannard become the first person to walk ten miles in less than one hour. His accomplishment in front of forty thousand spectators assembled on Long Island won him one thousand dollars in prize money and heralded the advent of organized pedestrianism in America. Two famous pedestrians of the time performed regularly in Boston. First, in 1842 Thomas Elworth walked around the Cambridge Park Trotting Course at a pace of one mile per hour for one thousand hours, yet it was the arrival of Edward Payson Weston, born in New England in 1839 which gave pedestrianism the impetus that would carry it through the remaining years of the nineteenth century. A professional, he would wager that he could complete the near impossible, in 1861 doing just that by betting that if Abraham Lincoln was elected President he would walk from Boston to Washington (a distance of four hundred and seventy-eight miles), in ten days. Lincoln was elected and Weston won his wager. In 1876 he travelled to England where some days after having walked more than one hundred miles in twenty-four hours, he repeated the feat at the Agricultural Hall in Islington, London. Although Weston stole the Sir John Astley belt from the English pedestrian Rowell in June 1879, three months later Rowell reclaimed the belt. Weston lived to the age of ninety years, he was a remarkable man and during his career as a pedestrian from 1861 to 1913 he walked over one hundred thousand miles. While Weston was travelling the world entertaining spectators and filling his coffers, pedestrianism in Boston was rapidly becoming popular and "heroes of the boards" were emerging. The most prominent pedestrian in the City during the early 'seventies was one John McEttrick. At home walking against the clock or opponents, McEttrick attracted hoards of spectators to various indoor venues about the City. His early attempt in November 1870 at walking for one hundred and four consecutive hours in the Institute Hall of Boston Highlands attracted a large audience but led to a premature termination of the spectacle after forty-five hours as McEttrick was arrested due to the fact that he had obtained no license for such an event, and a bar for the sale of liquor was situated in one corner of the hall. One month later, McEttrick made another attempt this time in the Pine Street regimental armoury. With a purse of one thousand dollars put up if he succeeded, McEttrick's attempt failed as he collapsed of vertigo. Although "when he fell no beating of the heart could be felt,"[80] after a ninety minute rest he got back on his feet and finished the one hundred and four hours. Unfortunately for McEttrick the rules permitted one thirty minute rest in twenty-four hours and he lost the purse as well as the support of many onlookers, such dissatisfaction being reflected in the words of the editor of the Boston Morning Journal:

> We do not hesitate to say that such exhibitions are wrong in every particular and deserve suppression. If not now unlawful, they should be made so without delay by special enactment. No man has the moral right to destroy himself, be the process resorted to long or short, much less to put his "taking off" up on exhibition at so much per spectator, and by such examples of mock heroism induce others with more muscle than brain to do likewise. It is, in fact, a kind of Anglo-Saxon hari-kari and we hope our authorities will see their way clear to suppress all such exhibitions in the future.[81]

Earlier in October 1870, after George J. Washington, a black pedestrian completed a thirty-six hour continuous walk around the Velocipede Hall on North Russell Street, the same newspaper commented, "The fools are not all dead yet." However, such spectacles of "human sacrifice" continued although it might be true that the instances of pedestrian races against the clock diminished, those contests between men multiplied. Once again in 1872 McEttrick attempted the one hundred and four hour barrier, but this time with no maximum rest limit enforced and a fellow pedestrian, J.C.L. Taylor to challenge for the purse of fifteen hundred dollars. Held once more at the Pine Street armoury, McEttrick won by taking only five hours and forty-nine minutes rest as against Taylor's seven hours and one minute of recuperation during the torturous ordeal. While the clock provided the pedestrians an opportunity to wrestle with the records of Weston and others who seldom made themselves available for challenges from below, the races between men were more popular with the spectators and gamblers. In a fifty mile match for the Amateur Championship of America between Charles Cushing of Boston and John L. Wayne of New York, held on the Mill Dam in 1870, Wayne, the winner, was awarded a one hundred dollar purse. Three weeks later another fifty mile contest for the Championship of America was held between J. Bevelander (Boston Highlands), P. Dinsmore (South Boston), J. Sturks (South Boston), "Young" Wayne (Boston), J. Oddy (Philadelphia), and J. Adams (New York). Held at the Union Baseball Ground, Tremont Street, the event was won by Adams as all the others except Wayne dropped out. In addition to the one hundred and four hour, and fifty mile marathons shorter "sprints" attracted a greater number of spectators as they were able to watch the contest in its entirety through one sitting. In November 1870 "Mullens Novice" won the Champion medal of Boston, walking for ten miles around the quarter of a mile track roped out on the Parade Ground of the Common, completing the distance in one hour and thirty-seven minutes, and in front of four thousand onlookers. The prize purses, usually upward of fifty dollars a side, appeared to have no effect on the "amateur" status of the pedestrians as challenges and acceptances were published in the press with no attempt at concealing any of the particulars.[82] One such acceptance appeared in the Boston Morning Journal for October 31st 1870 and read:

> Owen T. McDermott, an amateur 25-mile walker of this city, accepts Reuben Spence's challenge on condition that the race shall be a fair heel and toe walk of 25 miles, over the Milldam road, for $1000 a side, the match to come off on Thanksgiving Day.[83]

The city became a veritable haven for pedestrians trying to earn both fame and money during the early seventies. Together with the aforementioned venues, matches were also held in Franklin Hall, South Boston, the Neponset and Boston Skating Rinks and the Olympic Theatre during the winter and Hampden Park in summer. However, the golden age of pedestrianism in Boston was short lived as the public's interest in the sport waned and they found alternative activities to interest them. The decline was evidenced in the decreasing coverage of pedestrianism in the City's newspapers for while the Boston Globe included one thousand four hundred and fifteen articles on the sport in 1879, this number had decreased to forty-six such articles in 1885.[84] Failing to adapt to urban, industrial society in the manner of football and baseball, and ignoring the transformation of boxing from a barbaric bloody spectacle to a skilful, manly and respectable sport, the nature of pedesrianism was ill-suited to the character and ideals of post bellum America, and consequently lost its appeal to Bostonians by the end of the nineteenth century.

The years 1870 to 1900 brought a transformation of popular team sports from the informal games of earlier years, to the organization of amateur clubs and leagues in the two cities. Whether cricket in Bristol or baseball in Boston, increased codification and regulation of sport eventually legitimized the participation of the middle class in such pursuits. While being dominated by the amateur, manly ideal of the bourgeois bureaucracy in its early years, as the working classes realized a new found leisure time and affluence, their active and passive involvement in sport increased. Sports clubs became an instrument for achieving group identity, facilitating social interaction and also maintaining social order. In Bristol, where traditional rural sentiment followed the practice of amateur pursuits, the complex and full program of club sport flourished while in Boston, the adaptation of British feudal sports and games heralded the rise of "corporate sport" suited to the needs and wants of an urban industrial society. Despite criticism based upon the dichotomy of Work and Play and the attendant evils of violence and gambling, the new status afforded sport, further developed in Boston than in Bristol, had a particularly strong impact on social class relations. Team sport viewed as a commercial enterprise, first seen in Bristol with the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club (1870) and in Boston with the Red Stockings (1870), radically transformed the image of sport in the two cities characterized by the purchase of private grounds, the construction of grandstands, the charging of admission fees, and the importation of professional players from distant cities. While such a transmutation was witnessed in Bristol with regard to Association football (and in some degree to Rugby football), neither game was accepted in Boston although by the end of the nineteenth century America's own brand of football, promoted in the nation's leading universities had become codified and regularized, reflecting many of the traits of "Corporate Sport". While football represented the most popular winter diversion for both player and spectator in Bristol during the years 1870 to 1900, the severe climate of Boston forced its citizens indoors, relying on the "prize ring," sparring exhibitions and pedestrian meets for their sporting entertainment. Nevertheless, society's disapproval of the intemperance, gambling and "roughs" that such events attracted, coupled with the rise of alternate attractions including the City's gymnasiums resulted in a relative decline of the two spectator sports in Boston.

In addition to entertainment and civic pride that "Corporate Sport" provided the citizens of both cities, it produced the inevitable heroes, "W.G.", J.A. Bush, Harry Wright and "John L." These men represented all that was good in the City, a role model for the young and amateur athletes. By 1900, the city had changed and so had sport. At first resistant to alter the traditions and value patterns of their forefathers, new trends in thought, politics, religion and life style necessitated municipal adaptation and intended progress. However, increased knowledge and the problems associated with the shift to urbanization prompted a development that sat at the forefront of social change in Bristol and Boston throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Central to the rise of sport in the two cities during the years 1870 to 1900 was Man's increased understanding of science and its consequence, a scientific, industrial and technological revolution, which developed a new interest in the commercial viability of sport.

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CHAPTER VII

THE SPORT BUSINESS

The emergence of an industrial society in Britain and America during the nineteenth century necessitated certain radical changes in the living conditions and lifestyle of the City's residents. As millions crowded into the congested housing districts, both the standard of living and public health deteriorated markedly. Yet the years 1870 to 1900 witnessed a revolution in public services as waste disposal, water supply, police and fire fighting services improved. Accompanying the progress in public health, discussed in Chapter V, came an improvement in lighting which made a great impact upon the city. Developments of incandescent lighting brought by Brush and Edison in 1879 contributed to better health through lowering the incidence of poor sight while the lighting of streets and buildings lessened the crime rate of the city, while providing new indoor arenas for round-the-clock practice of sport. A leading American urban historian, Sam Bass Warner, has identified two stages of such technological improvement in nineteenth century America, the years 1820 to 1870 being characterized by the utilization of handtools, water and horsepower, together with the construction of canals, steamboats and railroads, while after 1870 and through the turn of the century mechanized production techniques, electricity, national railroad networks and cheap mass transit were introduced into the modern industrial city. As Warner suggests, it was the revolution in communication and transportation which most typified these developments and had greatest impact on the American city:

> ...because it is from a particular
> technological climate and a particular
> configuration of transportation that
> the form of cities and our business
> institutions...and our local jobs and
> local housing... inevitably take shape.[1]

First the telegraph (1837 to 1839), then the postal service and, after the first intercity line in America was completed between Boston and Lowell in 1879, the telephone contributed to the breakdown of distance between urban centres. Although by the year 1900, eight hundred thousand (or one per ninety-five persons) telephones were in use, twice as many as in Europe, it was through transportation, the need for swifter conveyance and improvement of existing services that changes were most clearly observed.

Britain had become the "Father of Industrialization" and "Mother of Invention" during the eighteenth century, this fact being reflected in the nation's early advances in transportation. First, the work of road engineers John "Blind Jack of Knaresborough" Metcalf, John MacAdam, a Scotsman who later came to Bristol, and Thomas Telford, led to improved speed and comfort in travel culminating in the "Golden Age of Coaching" during the decade 1820 to 1830. Earlier still in 1874, John Palmer started a mail run between Bristol and London via Bath, so facilitating better communication between the west country and the nation's capital. This pathway was improved upon when in 1810, the Kennet and Avon Canal was opened linking the headwaters of the Rivers Avon and Thames and so completing an inland waterway between Bristol and London. As canals declined through technical difficulties, topographical problems and the slowness of travel, the railways bought them up using the surrounding land and negating any competition. Out of the early work of Newcomen (1717), and James Watt's development of the first economical steam engine (1769), together with George Stephenson's journey by locomotive along the Stockton to Darlington track at twelve miles an hour in 1825, the railway network of Britain expanded at an amazing rate offering first, second and third class travel (as the stage coach had done), and by 1842 twenty-three million passengers were travelling on Britain's railways. In 1870 this figure was greater than two hundred and fifty million, surpassing the one billion mark by the turn of the century, reaching all major urban centres of the nation.

On August 31st 1835 an Act of Parliament was passed "for making a railway from Bristol to join the London and Birmingham Railway, near London, to be called 'The Great Western Railway"..."[2] The line was finally completed in 1841, and with the locomotives reaching speeds of fifty miles an hour, the journey between Bristol and London was cut from twelve hours by stagecoach in 1830 to four and one half hours by railway in 1850. Initially reaching only the eastern periphery of Bristol, the Bristol Joint Station at Temple Meads was completed in 1878. It was to the endeavours of one man that the City owed much with regard to its role in the transport revolution. Isambard Kingdom Brunel, generally considered the greatest engineer of Victorian years was born at Portsmouth in 1806, his father having been the chief engineer of New York until 1799. Arriving in Bristol in 1828, with the intent of convalescing his health at Clifton, Isambard Kingdom Brunel soon set to work on his engineering feats. It was largely the work of Brunel that saw completion of the "Great Western" in 1837, a huge wooden hulled steamship which, leaving Bristol four days behind the "Sirius" (which had sailed from Cork), became the second ship to steam across the Atlantic, arriving in New York later in the same day that her competitor had docked. In 1843 Brunel was responsible for the planning and design of the "Great Britain", the first iron hulled, screw driven, ocean going steamship which was followed in 1858 by his launching of the "Great Eastern" a ship nearly twice the length of most ships of her time and capable of carrying four thousand passengers. Nor were Brunel's engineering achievements limited to ship building. His planning of the Great Western Railway (of which two thousand miles of track were laid under his direction), and design of the tudor gothic station in the City placed him at the forefront of railway engineers.[3] It would seem that Brunel's greatest achievement was the Clifton Suspension Bridge, spanning the Avon Gorge two hundred and forty-five feet above high water mark, the one thousand, three hundred and fifty-two foot long bridge was designed by Brunel in 1837 and, after construction was temporarily suspended in 1853 through lack of funds, it was finally opened in 1864. However, perhaps he would have thought twice if he knew that the thirty-first suicide off the bridge was to be recorded in 1890.

The first railway in America had its inception in a Boston suburb during 1825. The Quincy Railway originated in a necessity for some easy and expeditous means of conveying the granite of which the Bunker Hill Monument was constructed from the quarries on the shores of the Neponset River to Boston. Yet a passenger railway network was comparatively slow in emerging and it was not until September 1851 that President Millard Fillmore and Lord Elgin, the Governor General of British North America, arrived in Boston for the opening of the Boston to Montreal railroad.

As the railway networks expanded in Britain and America linking ever more urban centres they provided the means of transport necessary for the travel of sports teams and spectators, the result being that sport became less centralized. In Bristol, the Great Western Railway became the backbone of the Western and Southern Leagues in football, the County Cricket Championship and the numerous inter-town, inter-regional and even international rivalries that sprang up in Rugby, track and field and cycling. After the Gentlemen of Canada played Hampshire at Salisbury during their cricket tour of 1886, two of the players recalled the culmination of their railway journey to Bristol, "At nine o'clock we trooped our weary way into Bristol's 'first class' refreshment room...En route at 10.15 we reached Yatton at 11 o'clock,"[4] where they were to play the Gentlemen of Gloucestershire in Somerset! However, excursion trains did not appear until later in the century and for a team wishing to travel, play and return in one day, problems were frequently encountered as the members of Clifton Rugby Football Club found out:

> There were no excursion trains to travel in the early seventies, and when Marlborough College were opposed it meant leaving Bristol at six o'clock in the morning; and the drive back to Swindon on a cold winter's night, after spending an enjoyable time with the boys at the "School singing," was not all that could be desired.[5]

Nevertheless, by the nineties sport specials were a reality in Bristol and were advertised by the City's professional football clubs as the Ashton Gate station was only used for such excursions necessitated by "a great football match...played [by] the City..."[6] While the railways promoted team sports and spectatorism, the Great Western Railway in providing "anglers tickets" at lower prices provided the followers of Izaak Walton the opportunity to venture forth to new fishing grounds. After the G.W.R. terminated their concession to provincial anglers the Midland Line offered similar incentives advertising fifty or sixty "fishing stations" within a reasonable distance of Bristol.[7]

In America, first the steamboat and then the railroad promoted sport in providing spectators and players alike the means to attend baseball, horse-racing, prizefighting and rowing encounters in particular. Possibly the earliest "sports special" in America was furnished for the first intercollegiate rowing regatta between Harvard and Yale, held on Lake Winnepesaukee in 1852. Harvard was quick to recognize the value of the railroad and in 1870, their baseball team made its first grand tour which, according to Henry Chadwick nearly two decades later, was "the most brilliant in the history of college baseball."[8] Playing both professional and amateur clubs the Harvards travelled north to Oswego (Canada), west to Chicago and south to Louisville. The same year, New York clubs travelled to "the Hub" via the Old Colony Railroad. As baseball became more popular and professional teams appeared throughout the nation, so its organization became increasingly dependent upon the expanding railroad network.

In Spalding's Official Base Ball Guide for 1886 one company advertized that:

> The cities that have representative clubs contesting for the championship pennant this year are - Chicago, Boston, New York, Washington, Kansas City, Detroit, St. Louis, and Philadelphia. All of these cities are joined together by the MICHIGAN CENTRAL Railroad. This road has enjoyed almost a monopoly of Base Ball travel in former years.[9]

Nevertheless, Boston's newspapers continued to carry advertisements of the services offered by other railroads to those interested in following the City's Red Stockings. Nor only was professional baseball provided for, as even before the Civil War excursion tickets were sold in Massachusetts for the state championships. While this innovative mode of transport opened the gate to intercity rivalry, it sometimes set limitations on the game of baseball as the Lowell club of Boston discovered in 1870 when their opponents, the Clippers of Lowell, terminated the game in its eighth inning so that they might catch the train home.[10] During the eighties, John L. Sullivan, the American Champion pugilist, utilized the national railroad network in acquiring his popularity throughout the country.

Together with the expansion of inter-city railroads came a growth of municipal transport necessitated by the gradual sprawl of the cities. Formerly relying upon hackney carriages and horsedrawn omnibuses as means of conveyance about the City and vicinity, the citizens of Bristol were, by the mid seventies, provided a horsedrawn tramway service. In 1870, Parliament passed an Act authorizing the construction of tramways as a mode of public conveyance. The Bristol City Council responded by laying its first tracks in 1873. One year later the Bristol Tramway Company was formed which (after an early steam experiment was dropped and the first electric tram service commenced in 1895), provided thirty-one miles of electrified tram routes in the City by the end of the nineteenth century. The first tram route had run up the Gloucester Road toward Ashley Down and provided transport from the City centre for those people wishing to watch the Gloucestershire C.C.C. play, once the County Ground was opened. This provision of cheap mass city transport, which enabled thousands of spectators to be deposited at various sporting venues in Bristol, whether the County Ground, Downs, Clifton College or the football grounds, toward the end of the nineteenth century was paralleled and even bettered in Boston.[11]

During the seventies steam cars and horse cars left from the Boston and Albany Railroad Depot and Revere House at regular intervals, carrying spectators to horse-races at Beacon and Mystic Parks in the City's suburbs. The Union Base Ball Ground was served by the Metropolitan Horse Railway Company which in 1871 refused to carry the announcements of games inside their cars travelling to the Ground from Tremont and Lenox Streets, Brookline and Jamaica Plain. As Boston's municipal boundary receded still further by the end of the nineteenth century, making way for what became known as "streetcar suburbs," the service to and from these residential districts improved. In 1889, the West End Street Railway Company introduced the first electric trolley service into the City. However, the "crooked and narrow streets" of Boston, which still followed the seventeenth century cow paths to the Common, were not conducive to the expansion of streetcars. The City engineers looked above and below ground level in the hope of easing the congestion of urban traffic, and subways, which had already appeared in London and Budapest, arrived at Boston in 1897. The first subway, excavated below the length of Park Street, adjacent to the Common, was later accompanied by the "Elevated" and together served the outlying suburbs of Malden, Medford, Arlington, Watertown, and Newton by 1900, connecting with other lines to reach such suburban centres as Natick, Concord and Lynn. While this ever complex system of transport allowed Boston's suburban population to visit sporting events in the city if they so desired, more important was the opportunity provided to the inner city residents to travel out of Boston's congested core to the lungs of the city, its "Emerald Necklace" and surrounding countryside.[12]

Resorts and Excursions for All

While marked improvement was witnessed in the transportation service offered to the citizens of both cities during the years 1870 to 1900, the shortsightedness demonstrated by the railway companies with regard to money-grabbing remained a primary concern to the cities' government. As early as 1867, a Royal Commission in Britain rebuked the railway companies for their neglect of the needs of the populace. As omnibuses, charabancs and other forms of horsedrawn transport carried the middle classes to the outskirts of the cities during the first half of the nineteenth century, as the distribution of wealth altered and leisure time of the working classes increased, so did the railways provide a cheap form of excursion travel for all. While the countryside offered opportunities for entertainment, the reasonable proximity of British cities to the coast led to an unparalleled attraction to the seaside resort as G.M. Trevelyan observed, "Now the whole coast of England and Wales was opened out to 'trippers' and 'lodgers,' by steam locomotion and by the increased earnings and savings of all ranks."[13] As the traditional, well established resorts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century found themselves transformed by the arrival of the "Railway Age," new resorts grew out of villages dotting the coast of England. The seaside resorts with a rate of growth exceeding manufacturing towns, mining and hardware towns, seaports and country towns, found themselves in harmony with the rise of urbanization unlike the traditional spas that had become anachronistic to industrial society. The attraction of the nineteenth century English seaside resort was more than the easy access provided to it by the railway. In search of uplifting their health, the urbanites made for the sea and the recuperative qualities that the air and water promised. Often in emulation of the Royal family and the middle classes with whom the resorts were associated in the public mind, the working classes held such visits as prima facie, for as one observer noted in 1877, "it is certain that in most people the disposition to imitate others and to act in concert with them is a firmly rooted element of character."[14] The result was that the seaside became the experience of all but the lowest class in English society. To the middle classes the resort was perceived as a "suburb by the sea," a convalescent and retirement centre while the working classes, whenever money and time allowed, made a day trip to the sea by means of escape from the unhealthy urban industrial atmosphere. Nevertheless, affluence frequently dictated the distance and type of resort patronized, for while the populace relied on the city's immediate hinterland and resorts nearby, the middle classes ventured further afield.

The earliest excursion trains in Britain appeared in 1840 when the Midland line offered half-price tickets to members of local mechanics' institutes desirious of visiting exhibitions in Nottingham and Leicester. A year later Thomas Cook, secretary of the South Midland Temperance Association began his successful career by organizing a railway excursion from Leicester to a temperance demonstration in Loughborough. Although earlier mention has been made of "anglers tickets" offered by the Great Western Railway excursion trips were relatively slow in appearing at Bristol. The advantages of railway excursions were outlined in a travel handbook highlighting the escape from the city's evils:

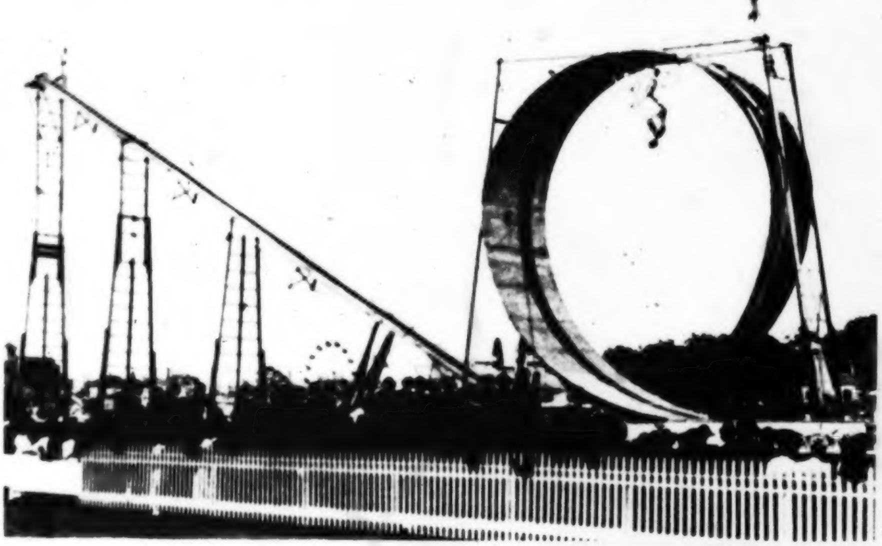
> ...they are greatly conducive to health, by combining pure air with the active exercise of field sports, that they are not less productive of cheerful, sober, and innocent enjoyment; and that they are eminently social and domestic in their character - and in all these respects are infinitely preferable to the tumultuous, disorderly, and intemperate scenes of the racecourse - scenes in which wives and children cannot and ought not to participate.[15]

This idea of a healthgiving, sober alternative to city life available to the whole family opened a market for those entrepreneurs, in and around Bristol, willing to invest in the amusement of the masses. In 1886 a group of Bristol businessmen purchased the steamship "Bonnie Doon," with the intent of establishing a boat excursion company in Bristol. However this attempt and the subsequent chartering of S.S. Waverley by another group in 1887 failed and it was left to Peter and Alexander Campbell, who transferred their steamer business from the Clyde to the Bristol Channel in 1888, to establish pleasure excursions, sailing to Clevedon, Weston-Super-Mare and even Ilfracombe and South Wales. If the railway companies in part neglected the needs of Bristol's workers, other groups attempted to compensate.[16] Nevertheless, the essentially middle class doubt expressed at the workers' ability to enjoy their holidays (and discussed in chapter III), surfaced in Bristol representing a negatory factor. On successive Easter holidays in 1870 and 1871 the Western Daily Press warned of the need for self discipline among holiday makers and claiming that what determined a good holiday was the change of scenery, pleasant companionship and the return to work without a headache! Weston-Super-More and Clevedon, the nearest resorts to Bristol, reflected all that was characteristic of the Victorian Seaside. Bathing machines and piers "straddling out on their iron legs," were seen in both towns, as they grew to offer more to the casual visitor or long-term resident than the pleasures and benefits of sea and air as hotels, theatres, baths, parks and "Winter Gardens" attracted increasing numbers of visitors. The resorts eventually became a playground for the rich and poor alike as merely arriving beside the sea was apparently insufficient to the English "pleasure seeker" for "so strong a characteristic,...is this love of action, that the richest sensuous impression may fail to convey high pleasure unless there has been eager and arduous exertion in pursuit of it." The rise of sport, which was being experienced in the city, was likewise reflected at the seaside. Open tennis tournaments and Somerset County Cricket festivals were held at Weston-Super-Mare, attracting large audiences of visitors by the end of the nineteenth century. Generally, the seaside resort attracted commercial sports typified by the provision of donkey rides on the beach, boat and fishing trips and croquet, with tennis courts being laid out by the hotels and in some of the parks. The practice of leaving Bristol on traditional holidays was well established across all levels of society by the year 1900. Depending upon means, one might take the train to Horfield or Avonmouth for the day, partake of a pleasure cruise down the Bristol Channel, or descend upon Weston-Super-Mare or the more select resort of Clevedon while for the destitute, there was always Clifton and Durdham Downs to provide some relief from the city ills. While the city folk escaped from Bristol on public holidays, the farmer and his family frequently took the opportunity to enter the City gates in visiting the Zoological Gardens at Clifton, and other points of interest that the west country entrepot had to offer. The years 1870 to 1900 witnessed a growing appreciation of the Victorian holiday and as Bristol's residents flocked to their favorite seaside resort, so Weston-Super-Mare became transformed from the village of mid-century to the established seaside resort town of nearly twenty thousand permanent residents which it had become by 1900.[17]

The pattern was little different in Boston, where during antebellum years the few resorts that were then in existence attracted only those who could afford the time and money to travel. To the middle class Bostonian, the mountains offered equal attraction to the seaside. A recent study identifying the guests at Tip-Top House, atop Mount Washington in New Hampshire, found "the vast majority travelling from Massachusetts in general and Boston in particular." As the most represented city, Boston contributed over thirteen percent of the guest house's trade which, rather than being "exotic foreigners, cotton rich planters or blue-blooded millionaires," included middle class Bostonians such as Horace Scudder, a Boston merchant, James W. Otis, a City bookseller and Benjamin Crowninshield, President of the Old Colony Railroad.[18] To those City residents who were unable to boast the means required for such elegant diversions, a railroad day excursion to the beach at Revere in summer or to Jamaica Pond in Winter would suffice, as Edward Everett Hale recalled, the advent of the railway had a marked impact upon his family's rambling pursuits:

> When in 1833, the Worcester Railroad was opened, this walking gave way, for a family as largely interested in that railroad as we were, to excursions out of town to the point where the walk was to begin.[19]

Excursions planned by various religious, educational, cultural and militia groups became increasingly popular throughout the nineteenth century. In 1871, an outing of the Ninth Regiment to Fresh Pond Grove included a goose race in which "each contestant was seated in a tub drawn by six geese...The distance traversed was about 150 feet,..."[20] A year later the thirteenth Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment took an excursion culminating in a boat race and wheelbarrow races with further amusement being provided by the swings and flying horses. Again, the railroads offered more salubrious surroundings for those who could afford it, as the Boston Morning Journal reminded prospective summer travellers in 1871, "In our columns to-day will be found the advertisements of the leading railroads and hotels of New England which present for tourists and pleasure travelers those attractions which



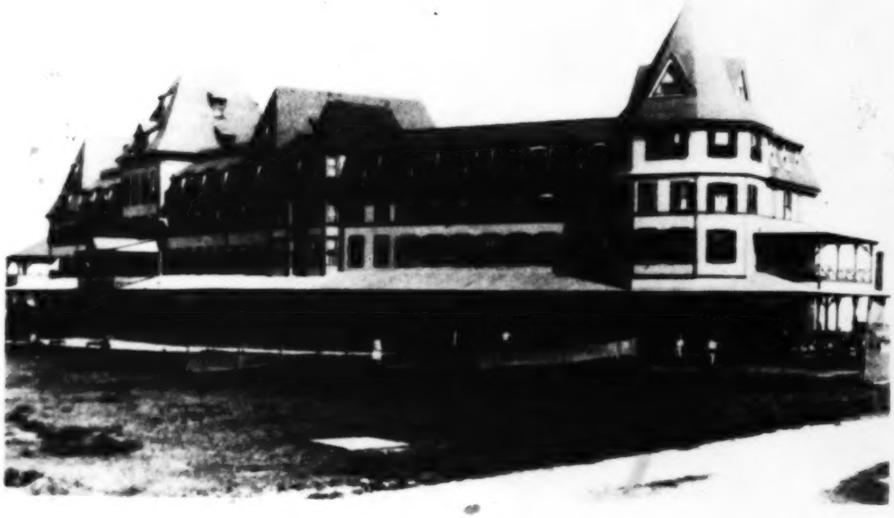


PLATE VII

Recreational Retreats

(Above) An Amusement Park at Lynn, Massachusetts in 1898.
(Below) Atlantic House above Nantasket Beach, Hull, Massachusetts during the 1890s.

are sought for at this season of the year." A good example of these tourist lures is provided in an advertisement for Mattapoisset House appearing in the Boston Morning Journal of June 6th 1872:

> This popular house on Buzzards Bay, two hours from Boston via the Old Colony Railroad, is now open under the charge of Mr. J.A.D. Worcester. Good fishing, fine views, riding, boating and no mosquitoes, are a few of the attractions of this delightful resort.[21]

After the Boston, Revere Beach and Lynn Railroad was founded on April 8th 1872, the narrow gauge "Little Wiggler" as it was better known became "the Hub's" leading provider of day trips. On its first excursion trip out of Boston on July 29th 1875 the train carried over one thousand passengers intent on an enjoyable day of escape from the City.[22] However, the railroads were faced with strong opposition in the excursion market by the steamships in the harbour. As early as 1807 Robert Fulton navigated a steamship up the River Hudson from New York to Albany and progress in marine engineering meant that by 1872 steam tug races were being held in Boston harbour for a purse of one hundred dollars a-side and over a twenty-four mile course. The steamships were used by sports teams for the dual purpose of excursions and as a means of transport to reach the venue of a match in a manner that the following announcement in a local newspaper suggests:

> The Harrison Base Ball Club will go on an excursion this evening down the harbour, and on Thursday morning will make a call at Fort Independence, and play a match game of baseball with the officers of the Fort.[23]

More frequently the owners of various steamers in the harbour provided free trips for celebrities visiting the City and Boston's Sports teams in the hope of promoting business. In June 1871, the early enthusiasm toward the Red Stockings prompted the owner of the "Grace Irving" to take the baseball club on a trip to the fishing grounds, an event afforded generous coverage by the press. On July 4th 1870 the citizens of Boston had the choice of six steamboat excursions to a variety of destinations including, Nantasket Beach, Hull, and Hingham on the south shore or to Nahant, Salem and Gloucester to the north. The price of the pleasure trips varied from twenty-five cents to one dollar, while bands accompanied passengers on the "Emeline", and "William Harrison". Although twelve excursions were offered on the following year's Independence Day, such outings were not limited to national holidays. Weekends were a favourite time to take "the sea air," although the arrival of yacht squadrons in the bay attracted much interest and in 1871 the following advertisement appeared, directed at those interested in taking a "Grand International Steamboat Excursion" on the steamer "New Brunswick" to:

> Rowing Match at St. John, N.B., Aug 23,
> between the celebrated Tyne crew of
> England and the famous St John crew
> and Grand Aquatic Carnival at
> Halifax,N.S., on the 29th,30th,
> and 31st days of August.[24]

Quite obviously the trip was not intended for all as the fare amounted to seven dollars roundtrip to St. John, and eleven dollars roundtrip to Halifax. As the middle class patronized these amusements so they were responsible for the growth of resorts in the vicinity of Boston. Among the resorts mentioned earlier as destinations for July the fourth cruises, Nahant became the most popular home of the "Proper Bostonians". First patronized in 1819, Nahant grew to become "a symbol of Boston Society's idea of low-scaled high living," among an elite who could not accept the idea of spending money on amusement when they might be reaping the rewards of work, a philosophy which led to the adoption of an existence typified by plain living and high thinking. While the affluent generally returned to the seaside resorts, or to their rambles in the mountains, some ventured farther afield as advertisements for excursions to Europe appeared in the late nineteenth century Boston press.[25] At the other end of the socioeconomic scale, the immigrants and laboring classes looked to the beaches and parks of the emerging "Emerald Necklace," while somewhere in between came the five hundred persons who camped in tents on the islands and near the ocean in the immediate vicinity of Boston during the summer of 1872 described by a Boston newspaper as:

> ...independent squatters, selecting the best locations, indifferent alike to land rent and town taxes, [who] indicate the progress of society in wealth and appreciation of those breathing spells, which are really the best investments a man can make, whether his lot be labor with the muscle or brain.[26]

Whether working or middle class, the increase in non-work time coupled with a more democratic distribution of wealth, resulted in a call for amusement to occupy that time. Resulting in a commercialization of sport, both spectators and would be participants (who represented a new consumer market), benefitted from technological advances in equipment manufacture and the like.

Spectators, Speculators and Sport

As the need for commercial and spectator sports to satisfy the urban masses of both cities was realized, the new breed of sporting entrepreneurs willingly funnelled the unknowing populace into their stadiums. In England the weekly diversion of spectatorism began in the seventies as first the county cricket clubs and later the leading football teams began to attract large numbers of onlookers to their games. Although not for Gloucestershire at first, W.G. Grace became the greatest crowd puller in cricket from the sixties and until the end of the century. By 1892, the Football League was well established as a drawer of large attendances as one observer in that year noted:

> It is quite odd to see how strongly the people in League districts are smitten by the football fever. Many old people and women are so caught up by it that they would not, on any ordinary account, miss a local match. They may be seen, too, wedged in the crowds of youths and young men who patronize the excursion trains to fields of combat fifty or a hundred miles from home.[27]

Although, as has been seen in Chapter VI, Bristol's Football League clubs did not appear until the end of the nineties, the words of Edwardes provided a taste of what was to come, although to the more partisan supporters of some of the local clubs it represented nothing new.

The reasons for the rise of spectatorism in Bristol, particularly with regard to football are not too difficult to identify. As a greater proportion of the City's residents found more leisure time on their hands, then those who were young enough and could afford to contribute toward the renting of grounds formed clubs to play. The majority, who were unable to afford this or were too old to play, abandoned any athletic aspirations and came to watch. Prompted by the tedium of long hours of repetitive labour in the City, the working classes looked to the entertainment afforded by football and cricket as a relief and provider of enjoyable group excitement as Ensor concluded in 1898:

> The astonishing increase in the numbers that play and watch others play the great English games is largely due to the dull monotony of life in our large towns; it is the absolute necessity of some change, some interest outside the daily work which has long ceased to be interesting, that causes the huge crowds at the weekly football matches.[28]

But more than this, in their quest for excitement the inherent social characteristic of Man was called upon and as one writer suggested as early as 1870, "a crowd forms spontaneously a kind of electric battery"[29] which is constantly generated by the interaction between the spectators. The football ground provided a particularly suitable arena for such enjoyment as, during the years 1870 to 1900, the sport was gradually shaking off the middle class stigma that had formerly become attached to it, and to the working classes who responded more readily to the idea of immediate gratification, for them, "better a furious thrill for an hour or so than the protracted gentle pleasure of the bats and stumps."[30] The idea of anomie and alienation, precipitated by urbanization and industrialization, led to a search for group identity and social cohesion. To this end the local football game became the stage for ritual and ceremonial expression of communal identity which evaded urban residents after having lost the traditional security of the extended family and rural life of the previous generation. On the factory floor the masses were politically and socially impotent but the football field provided them a surrogate identity and the opportunity to openly and vociferously challenge the authority of the officials, as indeed was seen to be the case at the games between Clifton and Warmley discussed in Chapter VI. However, the frustration of lost esteem and monotony of industrial society was often manifested in collective aggression as Edwardes noted, "'Down him!' 'Sit on his chest!' 'Knock their ribs in!' are invitations often addressed to them [the players by the spectators], and in no playful mode be it understood." While local leagues fought to limit the outbreaks of violence, the Football Association in 1881 took powers to expel "any associated club which shall be deemed to have done anything derogatory to the game." By 1892, the Football League found it necessary to take action by instructing all clubs affiliated with it to display a poster stating that:

> Spectators and players are requested to assist in keeping order at all matches on this ground, and to prevent any demonstration of feeling against the referee, the visiting teams, or any player. The consequence attending any misconduct of this kind may result in the closing of the ground for purposes of football. Such a course would not only entail great monetary loss, but would bring considerable disgrace to the club.[31]

Although not without its critics, the commercialization of spectator sport continued at an alarming rate. To the management of the clubs, who were directly concerned with the financial success of the teams, ensuring sizeable crowds became a primary concern. After professionalism in football was legalized in 1885 gate receipts multiplied. Whereas only two thousand spectators had watched the first Football Association Challenge Cup Final in the 1871 to 1872 season, the final game of the 1900 to 1901 Cup competition was attended by more than one hundred and ten thousand spectators.

Although the development of League football in Bristol was relatively late in coming, the commercial possibilities of the game were no less understood. During the early years of the Bristol South End Football Club, the St. John's Lane Ground in Bedminster was backed by Mutton Hill which provided hundreds of spectators with an excellent and free vantage point from which to watch the games. Aware of the revenue being lost to this group, the management erected a canvas sight screen which was hoisted up thirty-foot poles before each game and later became a giant billboard for advertisements, so further fattening the Club's coffers. This resourcefulness was successful in attracting larger paying audiences to the ground as sixteen thousand spectators, paying over five hundred pounds, attended the Cup game with Sunderland which the visitors won by four goals to two.[32] The Clifton Rugby Club also realized the pecuniary potential of spectatorism and in the season 1885 to 1886 levied an entrance fee of one shilling, with ladies being admitted free. However, the chief reason given by the Club for charging entrance fees to the ground was not profit but rather to pay for the services of a policeman necessary to the maintenance of order. By the season 1893 to 1894, the Club, anticipating a large crowd for the game against Bristol on their new ground in Horfield, hired five policemen and "four strong and worthy men to keep peace and order."[33]

As the leading football clubs of Bristol during the years 1870 to 1900 learned to cope with the problems of crowd behaviour and the needs of the spectators, so the cricket clubs and other organizations adopted similar policies. The gentlemanly traits attributed to the game of cricket appeared to be no guarantee of the spectators' behaviour. During the game between Gloucestershire C.C.C., and Sussex C.C.C., held at the County Ground in 1894 the wicket had been drenched by a downpour on the Sunday during the match and completion of the game was threatened. As the rain ceased and the sun appeared on the Monday, up to three thousand spectators paid to watch an afternoon's cricket but, when the umpires declared "No play today!" at three o'clock, the crowd "behaved in a very unsportsmanlike manner, some kicking up the turf and doing considerable damage."[34] So unruly was their behaviour that "W.G." and Murdoch, the two captains, found it necessary to seek police protection. Despite the obvious attraction of the professional football and cricket teams in the city, Meller has suggested that track and field meetings represented the most popular spectator sport in Bristol during the last quarter of the century. Held at the County Ground, Zoological Gardens and other arenas, they were frequently run under the auspices of various social and sports clubs. One such meet in 1888, held by the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club at the County Ground attracted ten thousand spectators, although it would appear that their popularity subsequently waned as a report of the Bristol Police Constabulary Athletic Club Sports for 1900 suggested, "the drawing power of cycling and athletic festivals are not a patch on what they used to be."[35]

In Boston, the professionalization and commercialization of spectator sports was the product of essentially the same influences as in Bristol. The new abundance of leisure time and money and loss of an agrarian lifestyle prompted the search for amusement, but as Arthur Schlesinger wrote, "the pioneer inheritance unfortunately did

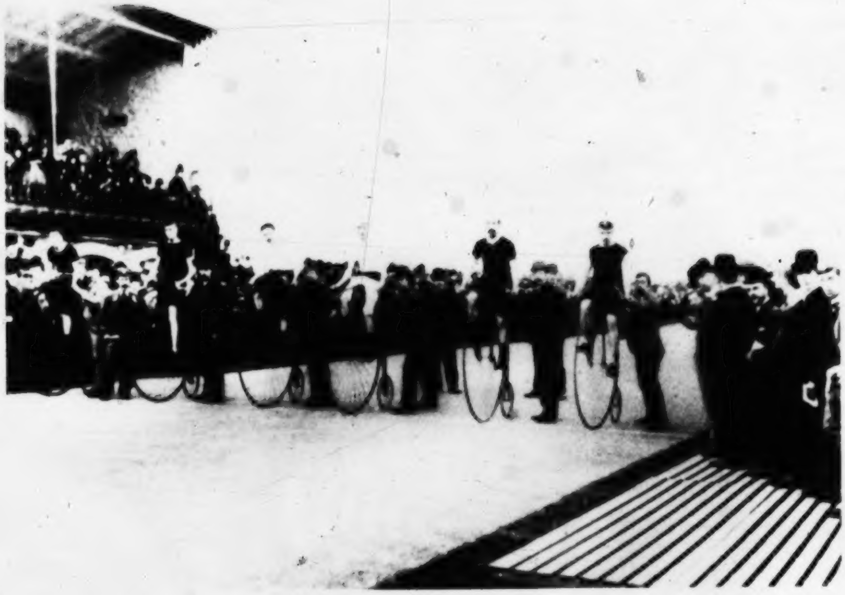


PLATE VIII

Spectator Sports

(Above) A Bicycle Meet at the County Ground, Bristol in 1888.
(Below) The Last Bareknuckle Championship Fight between John L. Sullivan and Jake Kilrain in 1888.

not necessarily include pioneer biceps. Most people were therefore content to take their more strenuous forms of exercise by proxy..."[36] Herded like cattle into the sports arenas, entrepreneurs bent on making a profit promoted the passive role of the spectator. Unlike Bristol where patriotic crowds were viewed as an important instrument in achieving group identity, sport in Boston was seen as a democratic tool which could be utilized in fostering a better understanding across social strata through increasing intimacy of association among socially differentiated groups. This value is clearly born out by Rollin Hartt's lighthearted description of a baseball fan in a town that quite obviously represents Boston:

> Mickey O'Houligan sees more of America at a baseball game, and hears more of it, than anywhere else. He knows by its utterances that its heart is right. He is consciously, hilariously, a part of it. An when, with spirit at once softened and elated, he turns toward home and is halted in the street by a representative of the abhorred "plutocrat" class, he overlooks artificial distinctions, as created by a panama hat, gloves, and a swaggerstick, and ungrudgingly divulges the score. "A mon's a mon, for a' that!" Next day, as he discusses the game with Father Hogan and Morris Rosenberg, with patrolman McNally and a worker from the Settlement, with a scab and walking delegate, he finds always a glow of fellow-feeling, so strong and so genuine as in some sort to be-speak a realization of that noble American ideal, the brotherhood of man.[37]

This perception of spectator sport reflects an idea of sport being "the great equalizer", a crowd as part of which one could belong regardless of colour, class or nationality. Whether such a situation existed in reality, particularly at baseball games, might be questioned when one considers ethnic preferences for sport, the gulf remaining between classes with regard to leisure time and wealth, and the existence of reserved seating in the grandstand at particular sporting events in "the Hub". Nevertheless, it seems that spectators at baseball games in Boston were a far more representative cross-section of the City's society than were the spectators at either football or cricket matches in Bristol.

While criticism might not be levelled at social inequality among spectators in Boston, the habit of passive observation and the declining physical state of the citizens did receive much attention from the City's leaders, among them Oliver Wendell Holmes and others, previously discussed in Chapter III, who saw the average Bostonian as prefering to sit back and watch rather than play.

The problem of gambling that seemed to accompany spectator sport represented another point of criticism. To put oneself in the position of a longshoreman or machine worker in Boston during the years 1870 to 1900 might provide some insight into the pleasure accrued from the placement of a small bet, of discussing the chances, the cognitive exercise of speculation, the excitement of anticipation and perhaps on occasion, even the joy of winning. As the end of the nineteenth century neared, organized gambling flourished, and one Boston newspaper of 1887 listed a dozen leading bookmakers in the City. Prize fighting, pedestrianism, horse-racing, rowing and baseball provided the opportunity for gambling which, although practiced by many wealthy and socially select young men, was scorned upon by the patrician class.

As in Bristol, so also in Boston did behaviour at spectator sports leave plenty to be desired. Whereas baseball games appeared to be generally sober, well conducted affairs with isolated incidents of intemperance and gambling, it was the football games, particularly among colleges which paralleled the vociferous and sometimes aggresive behaviour of the partisan crowds frequently attending Bristol's sports fixtures. Precautions were taken to maintain order among spectators in both cities but as an observer recalls a scene at the 1882 Harvard versus Yale football game in Boston, it appears that such measures were not always successful:

> Ropes? Who ever thought that ropes were sufficient protection for a college football field? Under and over and through them we went. Polly Parrott happened to be beside me. A stalwart cop was making for our corner and we were dodging under the rope. Polly did not see him. I yelled a warning, but too late. The cop had his hand on Polly's shoulder. With a new shout of glee and with magnificent strategy Polly whirled and threw his arms around the rotund blue waist. And the pride of Beacon Street went upward. His place, Polly divined, was over almost in front of our goal-posts, and Polly had ample time to melt into the mob before the cop had time to get back from that place. He had to count up legs and arms and test his air before he could move at all. [38]

Neither was such opportunity for antisocial behaviour limited to baseball and football. During antebellum years and before the organization and commercialization of these two team sports, "the turf", rowing and "the ring" represented the most popular crowd pullers in Boston. While the latter together with pedestrianism have been discussed in Chapter VI, and the others are to be considered in Chapter XI it is worth considering the impact of boat and horse-racing, together with other activities, in attracting spectators. The early popularity of rowing on the Charles River and Jamaica Pond lent to its development as a frequent, exciting and generally free spectator event therefore appealing to all classes. Those desirious of viewing a boat race were provided an abundant choice of good vantage points along the course, particularly on the banks of the Charles River, and as early as 1870, "a large flock" of eight hundred persons turned out on the shores of Jamaica Pond to listen to a brass band play and enjoy the boat races.

Perhaps the oldest of the spectator sports in Boston was horse-racing. Evolving out of rural pastimes, the agricultural fairs in and around Boston attracted upward of thirty thousand people daily, who together with visiting farming displays would contribute enthusiastically to the horse racing proceedings of the fair. The popularity of the Metropolitan racecourse in Boston was reflected in the outlay of nearly one hundred thousand dollars toward improvements made by Sawyer the owner of the Beacon Park course at Brighton in 1870. In an attempt to better the amenities for the essentially middle class patron, changes were made as described in the Boston Morning Journal for May 1st, 1870:

> There are to be 25 new carriage stalls for gentlemen attending regularly, where they can keep their teams under lock and key. The track house will be all that will be wanted and the grand stand will seat about 2500 persons, the area under the seats to be used for horses and carriages... [39]

Despite such liberal improvements their sufficiency was questioned after a month as twelve thousand persons attended one meet bringing with them fifteen hundred vehicles of all descriptions. As the "disease" of spectatoritis permeated all levels of Boston society, so the vast majority of sports found it necessary to improve and expand their accomodation for spectators. Grandstands were erected and by the turn of the century plans were underway for the construction of the region's first stadium in Cambridge.

The commercial capabilities of amusement made evident by the success of spectator sports led to further changes in the leisure patterns of Boston's citizens. The result of technological advance and entrepreneurial guile, amusement parks and pleasure beaches emerged in the vicinity. Promoted by railroad and streetcar companies who realized the financial benefit of these monuments to the age of technology, attractions as diverse as "flying horses" finding their way into some of Boston's parks, and the more lavish displays of electric light and ferris wheels found at Lynn and Nantasket, tempted a new consumer breed of Bostonian to make the trip and spend their money on such amusement. While these parks were very much the invention of urban America (although they later spread on a smaller scale to some British resorts), the circus was a strictly European innovation. However, by 1870 it represented a well established form of leisure in Boston. Visiting the City as well as outlying suburbs both human performers in the ring and menageries attracted vast numbers paying upward of fifty cents for admission. When in 1881 P.T. Barnum's "Big Show" and J.A. Bailey's menagerie joined forces a new era in circus was born in America, bigger, more spectacular and more lucrative than their European counterparts. Few indeed, were the days of summer that a "big top" of some description was not to be found in the vicinity of Boston.

The shift from play to commercialized sport was more readily made in Boston than in Bristol. In a society that still believed in the ideal that each man through his endeavours might make his fortune, sports entrepreneurs jumped at the opportunity to fill a void that was left by the City. However, America possessed neither the inhibitions nor the gentlemanly respect for sport witnessed in Britain, the result being that American commercialized sport was stricken with corruption, excessive competition and exploitation (all of which were more effectively controlled in Britain), whether in professional or college sport. In addition, as Robert Woods suggested, municipal neglect of the citizen's changing needs was manifested in the behaviour of Boston's citizens:

> Anything like a policy, a well-organized and statesmanlike plan for knowing and meeting the real needs for the recreation and refreshment (of the people) has apparently never been dreamed of, much less contemplated...here again we meet a circle of causes: inferior amusements degrading the people; degraded people enjoying inferior amusements. [40]

These were far from the feelings of mainstream thought in Boston, perhaps rather sentiments that would have received greater response in Bristol where sport was far less commercialized and bourgeois capitalism inhibited by the governing nonconformist liberal elite. Neither did the idea of commercialized sport end with the provision of athletic spectacles, for the new consumer market coupled with scientific and technological discovery led to a continual flow of sporting innovations intended to increase the opportunity for participants and spectators alike and to improve the games while more importantly, moulding and assisting the sports businessman.

Technological Development and Sport

> To be an American is to hunger for novelty; and all the instruments and appliances, especially, require constant modification; we are dissatisfied with last winter's skates, with the old boat, and with the family pony. So the zealot finds the gymnasium insufficient long before he has learned half the moves. [41]

These words by Thomas Wentworth Higginson clearly reflect one of the characteristics of the American people of direct relevance to sport. Although innovations with regard to equipment and arena were evidenced in the evolution of British sport from the informal folk games of early years to the highly structured "Corporate Sport" of the late nineteenth century, British society and in particular its traditional games, was highly resistant to change in terms of both rules and equipment. The newly developed games of baseball and American football, together with the novelty sports or fads that swept the nation (many of which appeared in Boston), during the years 1870 to 1900 prompted the need for mass production. Baseball typified this growth of such a market and Boston as cradle of the game was foremost in the development of equipment as it had been in organization and codification of the game. As early as 1870 a Boston newspaper reminded its readers that, "The accident to Mr. Lowell last Friday, would in all probability not have occurred if he had worn the laced gaiters generally used by the ball players instead of low walking shoes."[42] Changes in baseball equipment were generally made with either safety or improving performance in mind. Quite obviously the laced gaiters reaching up the calf were intended to prevent ankle injury, in the same way that the baseball glove was intended to cut down on hand injuries, the first used being that which Spalding saw worn by Charles C. Waite standing at first base for the Bostons during the season of 1875. In the same manner, the earliest catcher's mask was designed by Frederick W. Thayer, a player on the Harvard Base Ball Club, first being worn by James Tyng, the Club's catcher, during the 1876 season. Assisted by George Wright, the wire mask was patented and sold in his shop, the royalties going to Thayer. A variety of bats were designed during these years each professing to improve upon the performance of its forerunners. During the Red Stockings' first season they used the "Ryan" bat which is deemed the best by professional clubs," while later the same season an advertisement appeared for the "New England Champion Machine - wound Balm of Gilead base ball bat," patented and manufactured by a local firm.[43] In boxing it was John L. Sullivan who popularized the superiority of the "leather football" over the "sand pillow." Adapted by Mike Donovan, the boxing instructor of the New York Athletic Club, the fact that it was used in the training of "The Champion" led to a general acceptance of the punch ball and later punch bag in gymnasiums throughout the world.[44] Croquet had appeared in Boston during the previous decade, as a new more robust type of ball was advertised in the City. A game played initially by the middle class on the lawns of their homes, the new ball promised the opportunity to play on less perfect surfaces by other classes of society:

> We have seen at Messrs. Tilton and Co's, 161 Washington Street, a croquet ball which was in use all last season which was thrown with all a strong man's force against a jagged rock, and which, for all that, retains a perfectly spherical shape, and does not seem to be even marred. Such a ball will be desired by all expert croquet players, and Messrs. Tilton and Co., propose introducing it to the public this season under the name of the "Ebonite Croquet Ball." Ebonite is a composition made partly of hard rubber.[45]

While British sport resisted any radical transformation in the nature of play during the years 1870 to 1900, gradual changes in rules were accompanied when necessary by modification and addition of equipment. In football shinguards were introduced in 1874 while quite surprisingly the referee's whistle was not heard until 1878. In cricket the mechanical mower replaced sheep in maintaining a grassy surface of suitable length while tubular batting gloves and spliced bats became more common toward the end of the century. To one invention a Clifton College pupil was particularly grateful as he wrote the following ode "To the Canvas Helmet":

Oh, helmet! canvas helmet!
    In which Cliftonians play,
Thou hast been sent to save us
    From Phoebus' scorching ray.

Although the days be hotter
    Than ever known before,
With thee, a thing of beauty,
    A joy for evermore.

No longer dread we fielding,
    Though high the sun o'erhead;
For our good canvas helmet
    Doth gentle coolness shed.

Praise to thee, canvas helmet!
    Blessings be on thy name!
With all my power I will strive
    To give thee endless fame. [46]

The rise of sport in Bristol and Boston during the second half of the nineteenth century led to a demand for a new sporting commodity. While sports entrepreneurs increased the opportunity for spectators and amusement parks, manufacturers and retail outlets emerged for the production and sale of sport equipment. Advances in manufacturing techniques led to the mass production of cheap sporting goods and when in 1820 the Lowell loom was developed and spinning together with weaving was conducted in the same factory, not only was the whole clothing industry of New England revolutionized but so also was sportswear produced in greater supply. During antebellum years the manufacture of sports equipment including "Cricket bats...billiard tables, archery equipment, guns and fishing tackle was carried on by a host of individual craftsmen," including Bassler of Boston, catering to a limited middle class clientele. Only those who possessed the means were willing to purchase equipment while the informal nature of most sports permitted a degree of improvization. As sport became increasingly organized and popularized larger industrial concerns emerged. In 1876, the former Red Stockings' pitcher, Albert Goodwill Spalding who, with his brother J. Walter Spalding, became co-partners in the Baseball and General Sporting Goods Emporium opened in Chicago.

With an initial capital of eight hundred dollars, the successful pitcher, who won eighty percent of the games that he pitched for Boston between 1871 and 1875, and his brother soon opened a factory and main office at Chicopee, Massachusetts. Eventually swallowing up the smaller but older sports equipment companies of Boston, A.G. Reach Co. (founded in 1867), in 1885, Wright and Ditson (1871), in 1892, and Peck and Snyder (1865), Spalding Bros., claimed to make the first major league baseballs (1876), the first American made tennis balls (1880's), the first American made football (1887), the world's first basketball (1894), the first American golf clubs (1894), and golf balls (1898). In the production of larger items, Boston also claimed the lead as Edward Mussey Hartwell noted in his report on physical training in 1886, stating that "the most reliable manufacturers of gymnastic apparatus" were Dudley Allan Sargent in Cambridge and the Boston Gymnasium Construction and Supply Company. With regard to sports stores Boston boasts one of America's earliest, as Jeremiah Allen imported bamboo, dogwood and hazel fishing rods prior to the American War of Independence, although it was at least another one hundred years before a specialist sports store opened in the City. In 1870 D.B. Brooks and Bros. advertised ring quoits, ten pins and croquet implements for sale as well as claiming to be the sole manufactures and distributors of the new field game, "Le Cercla." The same store advertised the more popular parlor games for sale, "Shoo Fly," "Buried Cities," and "American Cities," together with checkers, cribbage boards and chess. The latter was popular in both cities throughout the nineteenth century. Harry Nelson Pillsbury was born in Somerville on December 5th 1872. Becoming Boston's best known chess player he was remembered for his ability to play twelve games of chess, six games of checkers (plus a few rubbers of whist to ward off any boredom!), simultaneously. At age twenty-two he travelled to England to play in the Hastings tournament beating the well known German Dr. Siegbert Tarrasch.[47] The Bristol Chess Club was formed in 1829 and while changing its name to The Bristol Athenaeum Chess Club and later The Bristol and Clifton Chess Association, continued to organize and control the game in the City throughout the nineteenth century.[48]

Winter sports were well provided for in Boston with the sale of custom made sleighs, runners, pungs, skates and robes chiefly at Kimball Bros., on Sudbury Street; William P. Sargent and Co.; and Edward Riddle and Son. Costing upward of sixty-five dollars for a single and one hundred and sixty dollars plus for a double sleigh a variety of models were advertised including the "Albany", trotting, family and business sleighs. It was in April 1871 that Messrs. Wright and Gould of the Boston Red Stockings opened a store on Boylston Street. As a supplier of baseball goods (and imported cigars!), the proprietors' intention was that it should function as the headquarters of the baseball fraternity of Boston with national and local news of the game bulletined at the store daily. So significant had the interaction of sport and business become in Boston with the rise of organized and commercial sport that one businessman used baseball vocabulary in announcing changes in a City newspaper:

> A Change of Base. Mr. Damon announces in another column a "change of base" for his operations. He wants to get onto the field and meet his opponents hand to hand and face to face. So he proposes to sell off his 20 Franklin St. stock at wonderfully low rates, for thirty days, and go into the campaign with new stock.[47]

While the increasing significance of sport had a major impact on business and other institutions of society, changes in scientific and technological knowledge promoted the rise of sport in Bristol and Boston during the years 1870 to 1900.

After Samuel F.B. Morse developed the Morse code telegraph in America during the mid 1840s improved and more speedy communication between the nation's centres of population facilitated the spread of sports news yet it was the laying of the first transatlantic cable, so reducing the time of sending intercontinental messages from ten days or more to a mere instant, that represented the most important communication breakthrough of antebellum years. Laid by Cyrus Field of Stockbridge, Massachusetts from the deck of the "Great Eastern" in 1866, its completion was a boon to sports enthusiasts. In 1869 when Harvard travelled to Britain to row against Oxford University, the scene in New

York City was one of anticipation:

> Along the sidewalks there was but one topic of conversation. The results of the race were flashed through the Atlantic cable so as to reach New York about a quarter past one, while the news reached the Pacific Coast about nine o'clock, enabling many of the San Franciscans to discuss the subject at their breakfast tables, and swallow the defeat with their coffee.[50]

Despite this revolution in international communication it was the telegraph that was of greatest importance to the domestic sports fan. During the fight between John L. Sullivan and Jake Kilrain at New Orleans in 1889, representatives of the Associated Press and reporters from "every prominent journal in the Union" covered the event together with fifty operators of the Western Union handling two hundred and eight thousand words as the journalists jostled to allow their newspaper reports to roll off the press first. After George Wright and Charles H. Gould opened their sports store in 1871 it became the destination of many an interested Red Stocking's fan desirious of learning how his team was doing "on the road." During their first season when the Boston Club played in Washington D.C. the store was busy as:

> The headquarters of the Boston Club, No. 18 Boylston street, were crowded last evening by members of the fraternity and lovers of the National game generally, to hear the result of the match for the Championship of the United States between the Boston Nine and the Olympics... and when it was known that the Bostonians had won the enthusiasm was intense.[51]

As popularity for the game increased crowds flocked to the premises of Wright and Gould to hear reports of games, whether or not the Red Stockings were playing. By 1897 the crowd was so large that it poured into the Boston Music Hall for reports of the series between the

Beaneaters and Baltimore, one newspaper commenting that:

> There may have been men there who have had their doubts of the value of the telegraph and the telephone, the trolley and the incandescent light, the phonograph and the vitascope, but there was evidently no one who questioned in his innermost consciousness its service in the dissemination of baseball intelligence.[52]

In Britain, where distances were not as great between major centres of population, communication networks were not as highly developed. Nevertheless, improvements in the telegraph service of Bristol resulted in a more widespread coverage of sport, horse-racing and hare-coursing, with the latest betting results, together with the results of cricket and football matches played by the City's teams. Communication improved further upon the development of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876. A Scotsman, Bell emigrated to America in 1870, accepting the position as professor of physiology and the mechanics of speech in the School of Oratory at Boston University. His invention was readily accepted in America and Europe and the length of telephone wires soon surpassed those of the telegraph. Bristol's first telephone exchange appeared in 1879 while the National Telephone Company Exchange opened at Boston in 1894. The emergence of a complex telephone network within both cities and between the major centres of both countries further enhanced the dissemination of sports news, although improvements were to come by the end of the century as Guglielmo Marconi first tested his wireless in reporting an international yacht race in 1899, an innovation which had first appeared three years earlier.[53]

As technological expertise developed during the years 1870 to 1900, the revolutions in transport, communication, mass production of sporting goods, and training methods were accompanied by the emergence of electric light. Working independently in England and America respectively, Joseph Swan and Thomas Alva Edison developed the carbon filament lamp by the end of the 'seventies. What became known as Edison's soft glow or incandescent lamp, utilized a bamboo filament in a vacuum-sealed glass container and represented a major innovation to sport in Boston and Bristol during the remaining years of the nineteenth century. Within two years Edison incorporated his own firm and built a dynamo in the hope of providing large scale electric light to the nation. Although gymnasiums, public halls and theatres installed electric lighting (one of the first theatres to forsake gas lighting being the Bijou in Boston), the transformation was neither rapid nor widespread at first, witnessed by the smoke filled air and gas fumes with which John L. Sullivan had to cope as he defeated Herbert Slade at the old Madison Square Garden in 1883. Eventually however, Y.M.C.A.s, athletic clubs, and regimental armories adopted the new system attracting large numbers of players and spectators alike to their facilities, particularly during the dark winter months. From 1890 onward, the Boston Athletic Association held carnivals in the hall of the Massachusetts Mechanics' Association, as the use of electric light at sporting events was to have a more far-reaching impact. The first floodlit baseball game in New England was held in September, 1880. With the field marked out on Nantasket beach and strung with electric lights the players struggled at first, yet as improvements were forthcoming so did such events become more popular.[54]

In Britain the Electric Lighting Act was passed by Parliament in 1882, although it was not until the nineties that the Bristol Corporation was to implement the recomendations. Nevertheless, electric light had been popularized in and around the City some years before. The first floodlit football game was played at Sheffield in 1878, the same year that Wellington and Taunton Rugby Clubs made tentative steps in a similar direction. It was during the season 1881 to 1882 that the Weston-Super-Mare Club, by way of an advertisement stunt, experimented with electric light in a match with Clifton Rugby Club. The game was played on a Monday evening, kicked off at eight o'clock on a field illuminated by four electric lights secured to the top of four high poles, the current being supplied by a twelve horsepower steam engine. Although Weston's population amounted to little more than eight thousand, the novelty attracted upward of four thousand spectators to an exciting game played by two of the country's leading teams. While the attendance was a great success, the spluttering arc lamps were not, as play at times was lost in semi-darkness and, as one of the lights failed a Clifton player recalled that, "the players frequently chased the shadow for the substance, and the experiment was not repeated."[55] The technological revolution has been seen to have had a significant impact on the rise of sport in both Bristol and Boston whether through its democratization or the improvement of playing performance. Perhaps the one innovation that most typified the influence of technology on sport was the emergence of the bicycle, first as a means of transportation, but soon as a form of recreation providing both racing and touring machines for all segments of society and stimulating vast social and economic change within the two cities.

Awheel in Boston and Bristol

In January 1881, the editor of The Bicycling World and Archery Field published in Boston, stated in his New Year's Message that "the two great divisions of the human family, are bicyclers and non-bicyclers,"[56] reflecting the impact that the "iron horse" had on the late nineteenth century city in America and Britain. Originating with the primitive machine which was propelled by pushing with the feet, and named after its inventor, Baron von Draisine in the early nineteenth century, the development of cycling was rapid although interspersed by relative plateaus in popularity.

The earliest account of cycling in the Bristol area occured in the Bath Gazette during the last week of May 1843. The paragraph provided descriptions of three-wheeled self-propelled machines that had been seen in the streets of the Roman city. One of the tricycles was propelled by the rider "rising up and down, after the manner of horse exercise," while another type which had been built by a local craftsman "was worked by treadles which moved a crank close to the small guiding wheel," upon which "the inventor lately came...from Bristol to bath in an hour or so." Bicycles of a kind came into vogue in Bristol during the sixties, and after Pierre Lallement had developed M. Michaux's early design of a machine with pedals, in 1869, the expensive and awkward contraptions spread to England where "Velocipede mania" struck Bristol in the same year. However, during these years the cost of such machines restricted their ownership to "the toys of athletic gentlemen," they were hardly a common sight on the streets of Bristol, and even less so outside of the urban environment, where one dumbfounded Somerset peasant, having viewed their speed and inexplicable mode of propulsion described one group of passing excursionists as being "the cheeribums as Daniel seed."[57]

The pursuit was first witnessed in Boston earlier in 1819 as Draisine brought the "pedestrian curricle" (as it was known in England) to American cities. After a Boston wheelwright by the name of Salisbury started to manufacture the machines their popularity grew in "the Hub" and, as in Bristol, they "attracted the gaze of the crowd from the rapidity of its motion and the singularity of its shape."[58] Nevertheless the life of this primitive machine was short for the poorly kept roads hardly assisted the constitution. The year 1866 saw the emigration of Pierre Lallement, and his settling in Connecticut where he and an American John Carrol received a patent and commenced production of velocipedes. Further promoted by A.D. Chandler of Brookline and popularised by the Hanlon Brothers in Selwyn's Theatre, Boston in August 1868, the sight of the wooden-framed bone-shaker became increasingly common in the City. In 1869 W.P. Sargent and Co., a Boston carriage firm, opened a velocipede riding school in the basement of 155 Tremont Street. The rink had a long, smooth floor with wooden pillars extending its length, wrapped to protect the bicycle. Nearly sixty yards in circumference, between two and four dozen riders circled the room in one direction," to the left, cavalry fashion." Patrons were generally "from the wealthier classes of our society," and paying one dollar an hour they received the services of a velocipedagogue in a private room where the novices crashed and fell "with about as much grace as a flock of ducks whose wings and legs have been broken." For the new enthusiasts, manufacturing companies offerred machines for purchase at between seventy and one hundred dollars while those who preferred could rent a velocipede in Boston for sixty cents an hour. Once more however, the novelty was shortlived, a decline predicted by the Boston Daily Advertiser for March 9th 1869:

> The right machine for our roads is not the present two wheeler; whether it has yet been made at all, I cannot say. But I advise all enthusiastic and hopeful velocipedists, who dream of long excursions into the country, of pleasant toddlings on time, of trips to their office, etc., in so many minutes and seconds, to reserve their money and enthusiasms for the rinks and wait for the machine which will stand alone, as a faithful velocipede should, and which can be made to run up a hill and over frozen ruts with a little less exertion than what is necessary to a man running at full speed on his own legs.[59]

The wait was not to be as long as the previous period of dormancy, as the "penny-farthing", "high wheeler," or "ordinary" was introduced from England at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. The first importer of bicycles in the subsequent American revival was Timms and Lawford of Baltimore claiming among its customers Alfred D. Chandler and J.G. Dalton. While the former popularized the new machine by constantly riding it about Boston, Dalton's stock became the nucleus of Cunningham, Heath and Co., who by the fall of 1877 established itself as an importer of foreign bicycles, and opened a commodious riding school in conjunction with the firm at 22 Pearl Street in Boston. The Exhibition at Philadelphia prompted other individuals' interest in bicycling and in the summer of 1877 Colonel Albert A. Pope, the owner of a Boston company that manufactured and sold patented items, had a bicycle made for him which he learned to ride "in the back ways and quiet streets of Newton." That same year saw Charles E. Pratt, a young Boston lawyer take to the "steel and rubber steed" in the hope of improving his health, a justification that led other eminent gentlemen of the City to do likewise. However, the discomfort and danger resulting from riding the "ordinary", together with the cost of the machines, slowed the growth of bicycling for as one enthusiast observed in 1881, "there are only about one thousand bicycles in Boston and its suburbs! Can anybody tell me why there are not ten thousand." Nevertheless, the gradual evolution and improvement of the bicycle continued throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century and when, by the end of the eighties, the "drop frame" or "safety" emerged, possessing low wheels of equal size and pneumatic instead of rubber tires, women joined the cycling fraternity which expanded rapidly. Riding schools grew in size and number in Boston, and one resident of the City recalled:

> Everyone under fifty learned to ride, either at Colonel Pope's bicycle rink on Columbus Avenue or on a quiet side street like ours. Every spring evening there would be fifty to a hundred couples passing our

> door, the girl learning to ride, and the young man running along and holding on to the handlebar or saddle to prevent her crashing...The routine, as I remember it, in spring and fall, was this. From dusk to about 10 p.m., the street was filled with young people learning to ride the bicycle and resounded with tinklings, crashes, squeals, and giggles.[60]

Most of those citizens who could afford to rent or purchase a bicycle had, by the end of the century, mounted the saddle, and even members of Boston's literati, among them Henry Wentworth Higginson, Sylvester Baxter, Charles Francis Adams and other members of Harvard's faculty including Professor Schilling of the German Department whose "flying legs" the students observed as he rode "through the College gate and over the walks to the recitation-room." The streets, parks and any space suited to "wheeling" was strewn with cyclists by the end of the century, most of them riding the "safety." On one Sunday in 1895 the Boston Journal noted, twenty-five thousand cyclists travelled the streets to and from Franklin Park which together with the other links of the "Emerald Necklace" represented the most popular bicycling venue in the City as Sylvester Baxter suggested in 1896:

> The most numerous class in the use and enjoyment of the parks is composed of the riders of the bicycle. The park roads on a pleasant Sunday morning or Saturday afternoon, with their swarms of wheelmen and wheelwomen, representing all sorts of condition, present one of the great sights of Boston. Men and women eminent in the social life of the city may be pointed out on their wheels as they once were on horseback.[61]

The years of the nineteenth century witnessed the remarkable revolution in the mode of public transportation out of the early seeds of Draisine's primitive contraption grew the velocipede, "ordinary" and "drop frame" bicycles, resulting in a safer, more comfortable and rapid machine by 1900, a revolutionary progress reflected in the words of Charles E. Pratt even before the era of the "safety" as he said, "I know several gray and titled gentlemen of this city to-day, who then bestrode the undeveloped steed, which was as different from the one that delights their grandsons as a donkey is from a 2.14 trotter."[62]

The impact of the "bicycle craze" in both cities was marked, the social cohesion it wrought being typified by a funeral procession of the Boston Bicycle Club from Trinity Square to Calvary Cemetary in Waltham, the train of cyclists carrying flowers in rememberance of a "fallen comrade of the wheel." Yet the bicycle was to provide a more utilitarian service to society as a physician discovered after leaping on his bicycle to rush to the aid of a haemorrhaging woman in five minutes, whereas it would have taken him seven minutes to harness his horse and that, a mode of transport that necessitated considerable expense for grooms and stabling. By 1895, the Park Commissioners of Boston decided to furnish their constables with brand new "Columbia" bicycles. In America, and more particularly in Boston, the joy and use of the bicycle became a passion which led one observer to describe America as "a race of Mercurys."[63] In Britain and Bristol the situation was little different as the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club Gazette in 1897 exclaimed, "Bicycling, what visions the word recalls! Viewed in the light of a pastime alone, cycling has opened a new experience to the youth and manhood of the world and by more recent developments the womanhood as well!"[64] In contrast to the Bristol journal which was not first published until January, 1897, Boston as a leading publishing centre produced its first bicycling magazine twenty years earlier. Edited by Frank W. Weston (later the general secretary of the Boston Bicycle Club), The American Bicycling Journal, a bi-weekly periodical first rolled off the press on December 22nd 1877. Later discontinued, it was replaced by The Bicycling World and Archery Field which, edited by Charles E. Pratt and C.W. Fourdrinier first appeared in 1879. The purpose of this journal was for the promotion of a pursuit, the value of which the editors described in its first issue:

> We believe in the permanent future of the bicycle as a means of practical locomotion, as a delightful enabler to rational recreation and a health-preserver, as a refined and human instrument of competitive athletics, and as the subject of a large and useful industry.[65]

The success of Pratt's journal, which was financed by a local stockbroker, reached a peak of 28,760 subscribers in 1892, while Albert Pope's investment of sixty thousand dollars in 1882 toward the establishment of Outing, a journal that, after merging with S.S. McClure's Wheelman (also started in 1882) one year later, recorded an average circulation of 88,148. Although indebted to the invention and promotion of individuals together with the establishment of cycling journals, the rise of the bicycle in Bristol and Boston during the years 1870 to 1900 was largely the product of bicycle clubs formed in various districts of the cities and offering organization of excursions and competition for their members.

The enthusiasm for cycling in Bristol during the seventies and eighties was enough to stimulate the founding of several clubs in the City and incite the editors of Amateur Sport in 1889 to state that:

> Cycling as an organized sport is growing rapidly year by year. New clubs are springing up, and old clubs are increasing their membership...
>
> In Bristol the increase of clubs is remarkable. At present there are not less than twelve, whereas a year or so ago there were only four; and it appears as though most of the new ones have come to stay.[66]

The Clifton Bicycle Club and the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club were formed during the seventies with the purpose of organising meets and races in which they concentrated upon breaking time and speed records. The latter club was formed in 1876 through the merger of two smaller groups, and under the name of The Bristol Bicycle Club, a year later swelling its number through the amalgamation of the Redcliffe Bicycle Club. In 1878, the same year that saw three members cycle to the Paris Exhibition as a club fixture, the Bristol Bicycle Club joined forces with the Clifton Bicycle Club in organizing the first West of England Bicycle Meet which was held at the Zoological Gardens in Clifton and attracted twenty participants. In 1881 the B.B.C. joined the National Cycling Union (formed in 1878 as the Bicycle Union) a local branch of which, together with the Cyclists' Touring Club (also formed in 1878), controlled all formal cycling activities in the City during the remainder of the century. The Bristol Club provided for both competitive and touring cyclists throughout the years 1876 to 1900. After the inaugural meet of 1878, the first twenty-four hour road competition was held in 1884. The sports, held under the auspices of the Club at various sites throughout the City, often included track and field events together with bicycle races. Upon the opening of the cycle track at the County Ground in 1889, upward of ten thousand spectators turned out for the B.B.C., sports held at that location. Five years later the Club was instrumental in organising a sports meeting under the auspices of the N.C.U., which raised over one hundred pounds for local charities, although a similar event held in 1897 at the Bedminster New Athletic Ground resulted in a loss of eight pounds. The Club's excursions, picnics and annual Ladies' Day provided for the aesthetically inclined in organising trips to nearby towns, particularly the resorts of Clevedon and Weston-Super-Mare.

For Ladies' Day in 1889 ninety-seven members and their escorts travelled to Portishead by drag, break and bicycle, after dinner enjoying dancing and even an impromptu game of baseball on the lawns of the Royal Pier Hotel. It seems that the organisation was as much a social club as a bicycle club for whist and skittle evenings were arranged with the losses recorded suggesting that they were not fund raising affairs. Yet the interest in cycling extended beyond the members of the B.B.C. By the end of the nineteenth century, a number of other organisations were formed including the Bristol Jockey B.C. (formed in 1885); the Bristol Bohemian B.C.; the Bristol Crusaders' B.C. (later known as the Bristol Wheelers from 1887); the Bristol North B.C.; the Bristol South B.C. (formed by seventeen members in May, 1893); and the Clifton Crawler's B.C.; together with district clubs in Bedminster (1883), Kingswood and Redland.[67]

Despite claims to the contrary, bicycling in Bristol remained an essentially middle class pursuit throughout the nineteenth century, the expense of time and money as well as the stigma associated with its practice being prohibitive to most of the working classes. This socioeconomic relationship was perpetuated in the "public" schools where bicycles were owned by pupils, and even before the advent of the "safety", as one Cliftonian recalled:

> The craze for bicycles was raising to its height, and H., a moneyed man in the Sixth, bought a "Tangent," with a 52-inch front wheel and solid rubber tyres, whilst I had to be content with a "bone-shaker," which, being indestructible, is now, I trust, in the City Museum. It was made of oak, with iron tyres, and for a long time defied my utmost attempts to tame it. It was a very ugly thing to fall off, or with, or under, and every time I got on I did one or the other, or all three... The hire of the boneshaker amounted to 5s.6d., for a week, which still strikes me as an amazing over charge.[68]

Student organizations were formed a School Cyclists' Club being founded at Bristol Grammar School in 1884 claiming among its officers a vice-captain of tricycles. By 1893, there were sixty cyclists in the School with half of them members of the Club while by 1896 the number had dwindled to "only the courageous captain and a few small boys who do not play cricket."[69]

The first formal organization of cyclists in America was founded at Boston in 1878. Within four years the Boston Bicycle Club's membership had risen from fourteen to one hundred and forty, establishing its headquarters in a five storey brick clubhouse on the corner of Union Park and Tremont Street.[70] The Club was a leader in the development of cycling in America as the President of the Detroit Bicycle Club made clear in a letter he wrote to the Boston B.C., in 1881 and published in The Bicycling World and Archery Field:

> ...all bicycle spokes in this country centre in Boston. We are the tire, you the hub, and when the Boston Club puts its feet to the pedals, the wheel moves all over the country.[71]

The following year saw half of America's leading bicycle clubs resident in the vicinity of "the Hub." The Boston B.C., formed on February 11th 1878 and adopting the motto "Pedibus Bicyclus Additit Alas," was soon followed by the establishment of the Suffolk Bicycle Club on April 8th 1878 and under the presidency of Alfred D. Chandler. Boston's third leading club of these years was formed on February 1st 1879, by Albert A. Pope and being called the Massachusetts Bicycle Club later merged with the Boston B.C., to form the Bossachusetts Club. The expansion continued so that by March 1880, of the forty-nine leading clubs in America, fourteen were to be found in and near Boston. As popularity increased and mass production led to cheaper machines, smaller community clubs emerged, by 1886 those in the City being "numberless, some of which are occasionally heard from, and others never." That year saw the formation of a club named the "Hubclinians" by a group of not so "Proper Bostonians" comprising the more affluent blacks from the West End, boot-polishers, elevator operators, waiters and singers who were able to afford the machines. Appendix C lists thirty-six clubs which existed in the Boston region between the years 1878 to 1893, their numbers increasing so rapidly that in a search for better representation and control the Associated Cycling Clubs of Boston was formed in 1893. Earlier, on May 31st 1880, the League of American Wheelmen was founded at Newport, Rhode Island electing Charles E. Pratt its first president. The Boston B.C., became the first club admitted to the League, on June 12th 1880, while the following year saw the first grand meeting of the organization held at Boston, apparently the most obvious site to one observer as it was "the home of the bicycle," and there were "less wheelmen in the combined cities of Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia than in the one little town of Cambridge, a suburb of Boston." The City was host to the sixth annual meet of the League in 1886, an event attended by over one thousand cyclists and highlighted by a ride about Boston by two hundred enthusiasts. The membership of the League in 1886 had risen to ten thousand, as it continued to fight against rural and urban legislation that classed bicycles along with velocipedes so prohibiting them from public parks and main streets. The League together with the Eastern Roads Association (which was formed by cyclists of Greater Boston in 1887), preached Albert A. Pope's "Gospel of Good Roads," fighting for macadamized roads and was instrumental in the creation of the State Highway Commission in 1893. It was in the interest of the thousands of cyclists that spent their leisure hours plying the country roads in search of good health and tranquility that the clubs devoted much of their time and energy.[72]

> Few cities are so favoured with lovely scenery all round then as Bristol, and a couple of hours any day will give a Bristolian pleasure enough to last him a week.[73]

These words, written by "a Clifton Crawler" in preface to his description of "a quiet spin" to Weston-Super-Mare in 1889 in part explain the popularity and range of "runs" organized by Bristol's bicycle clubs during the years 1876 to 1900. Usually held on Wednesday and Thursday evenings and Saturday afternoons during the summer, the clubs advertized the rendezvous, time and destination in the City's newspapers well in advance, allowing their members to make adequate arrangements to ensure their attendance. Excursion trips were the order of the day, cycling to a chosen point where a meal was sometimes served before turning around to return. On occasion the railway was used to extend the range of destination for as the Western Daily Press for May 8th 1900 suggested, "Enthusiasts for the countryside could quickly reach the remotest areas by using the train out of the large city, stopping at some country station and then bicycling through the lanes."[74] Such was the practice adopted by the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club during its run up the Wye Valley on May 30th, 1897. Meeting at Temple Meads station, members took the train to the Severn Tunnel Junction where, after disembarking with their "trusty steed" they cycled to Gloucester via Monmouth or Ross, a distance of eighty-five miles where they were provided the option of boarding another train for Bristol or continuing awheel for a further one hundred and twenty miles.[75] Nor was the setting any less conducive to rural jaunts in Boston where the words of a City newspaper in 1895 seem to mirror those of the "Clifton Crawler":

> No other city in the United States can boast of a greater incentive to cyclers in respect to delightful runs than can the city of Boston. Today the wheelman can start from the heart of the city, and, via Beacon St., can in a short time, reach the park system; there he can take a run of 28 miles over the most perfect of roads.[76]

Weekly runs were started by the Boston Bicycle Club on March 9th, 1878 and continued until late July before being resumed in the fall. Meeting in the square in front of Trinity Church, the cyclists often found themselves amidst a crowd of two thousand people whose behavior was controlled by the presence of policemen. Runs would vary in direction and distance radiating out like spokes from "the Hub". An idea of the range of rides is provided in Pratt's The American Bicycler, in which the author describes thirteen routes (and forty-five more in his appendix for 1880), ranging from a little less than twelve miles to a fifty-six mile trip to Worcester. Careful to note each obstacle that might confront the cyclist such as hills and prevailing winds, the routes took in all the surrounding townships and even crossed state boundaries on occasion. Boston figures priminently in bicycle touring during the eighties. In August 1883, Thomas Stevens arrived in the City at the end of the first leg of his round-the-world bicycle trip, which had brought him from San Francisco where he had commenced in April, his subsequent delay in "the Hub" being terminated by the offer of financial backing by Albert A. Pope. Six years later an announcement in the Bristol journal Amateur Sport indicated that "Twenty-seven cyclists of the Boston (U.S.) Cycling Touring Club have just arrived in this country. They will tour through Ireland, England, France, Germany and Austria." Cycling had clearly recognized a universal acceptance and popularity by the end of the century and Bristol and Boston society was at the heart of innovation, organization and socioeconomic implication as the bicycle achieved an unprecedented significance to society.[77]

In 1896 Joseph Bishop described the bicycle as "the most revolutionary social and economic force of recent times."[78] In a society typified by urban congestion and industrial pollution, the bicycle represented a release from the dull monotony and evils of city life, a value portrayed in the words of one nineteenth century American poet:

"Whither, on the whirling wheel?
Whither, with so much haste,
As if a thief thou were
"I have the wheel of life;
Soiled from my city's dust,
From the struggle and the strife
Of the narrow streets I fly
To the roads felicity,
To clear me from the frown
Of the moody toil of town."[79]

The idea of an escape, a mainline to the "lungs of the city," was supported by the League of American Wheelmen which viewed the bicycle as bringing "city and country closer together, and places 'green fields and running brooks' where once there were but smoky walls and a heavy atmosphere."[80] However this apparently purposeless value was insufficient to those retaining some traces of Puritan sentiment, for them cycling's greatest contribution was recreative as an extract from an article in The Bicycling World and Archery Field suggested that "The man who goes through ten hour's daily mental fret and worry will in an hour of pleasant road-riding throw off all its ill-effects, and prepare himself for the effectual accomplishment of another day's brain work."[81] The belief that both mental and physical health was enhanced through the rise of the bicycle and the subsequent decline of the horse received support from many directions. To the benefit of fresh air, Sylvester Baxter quite seriously added that the disappearing heaps of manure from the city street would only contribute to the improvement of health. Pratt echoed the feelings of many as he wrote of the value of cycling, "As a means of exercise, it calls every muscle and nerve and faculty into alert and healthful activity, without fatigue, in the open air, the sunshine, and the natural beauties of a rapidly changing landscape."[82] While Baxter afforded recognition to the nebulous and unproven advantages of cycling, its military value; its promotion of temperance and decorum as intoxicants could not be taken before the rides, which represented a family type activity; and the improvement of psychomotor skills such as concentration, balance and reaction, more far reaching benefits were witnessed. To Bishop, the bicycle's influence as "a missionary for scientific road-building" was alone sufficient to entitle it to "the lasting gratitude of the American people," and one that cannot be denied with regard to Boston where lobbies presented by the League of American Wheelmen and the Eastern Roads Association were successful in stimulating scientific road construction which in turn led to the rise of suburbs surrounding the City. The bicycle also contributed to the planning and design of parks as Baxter noted in 1892:

> In such swarms do they frequent the Boston parks that, in planning the great meeting place for promenaders, carriages, and riders in Franklin Park, - a magnificent avenue, called "the Greeting," straight, and with parallel and contiguous drivers, rides, and walks half a mile in length, - it has been deemed essential to lay out a separate way for bicycles.[83]

Yet there were those with more deepset ideological beliefs that still had to be convinced of the value of bicycling. It seems inevitable that in such a period of socio-religious consciousness, cycling should be perceived as possessing a degree of moral fortitude, and to this end Pratt clearly stated that "as a sport, bicycling is manly, innocent, humane, and rational." As an instrument in the facilitation of social interaction there is little doubt and in the provision of a group activity, that democracy might have been enhanced:

> The artisan, the millionaire, the professional man, the labourer, the rich merchant, the lady whose name appears in all the 'society movements' of the day, the shop-girl, the banker and his clerk, - all roll along on equal terms, for a wheel of some kind is within every one's reach and in outward appearance only the eye of an expert can detect any financial superiority of one over another.[84]

So often however, if the working classes did participate in cycling it was in emulation of their social betters for in the same manner that the "scorcher" found out that "the gentleman rides upright like a man, not bent like a monkey," So the urban "rabble" desirious of being classed with gentlemen, took to the wheel if the opportunity presented itself. Although it is clear that bicycles were not within the means of everyone in Bristol and Boston even by 1896, the role of the bicycle in the emancipation of women should not be underestimated, a consideration that will be highlighted later in chapter X. A further influence related, allbeit tenuously, to the increased involvement of women in cycling was the revolution that was witnessed in clothing design and manufacture. In the words of a British historian "games and cycling [were] the main influences which made for shorter, lighter, less cumbrous, and less ugly clothes."[85] In Bristol outfitters and shoe shops advertised an abundant supply of uniforms, shoes and accessories "for the road" and "for the track". In Boston, where G.W. Simmons and Son was appointed official outfitter to the League of American Wheelmen, the head gear in vogue during

1880 attracted attention and even heated debate through the columns of The Bicycling World and Archery Field, the editor criticizing the popular polo cap:

> The miserable patch or rudiment of a cap, called a pill-box or a polo cap, is very taking with boys and young men who want to look nobby. It does not protect their eyes, it is not ventilated, it does not save the neck from the heat or the nose from a burn, and it makes a man look like a monkey. It is easily taken off and put in the pocket, and it looks best worn that way.[86]

In answer to the editor's criticism a letter appeared in the following issue of the journal from an avid wearer of the polo cap drawing attention to the fact that its popularity as compared to the "bean-pot" helmet (which the editor championed) was an indication of the satisfaction that wearers of the former enjoyed. The argument erupted further at the annual meeting of the Brockton Bicycle Club in 1881 when, after the "bean-pot" was voted in over the "pill-box", one member resigned until, after being reinstated, the Club membership agreed to ride "sans chapeau" until headgear agreeable to all was found. Finally, some viewed the bicycle as contributing to cognitive advancement through its increased opportunities for visits farther afield as H.H. Gore, the President of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club suggested in 1897:

> Cycling enlarges the mind and gives us wider views of life. To move among men, to see various phases of life, to note country characteristics, parochial paltriness, national and inter-national traits, and to feel the oneness of humanity is possible to the cyclist more than to others.[87]

The impact of the bicycle on the social framework of Bristol and

Boston was immense. As whole families set out on their Saturday afternoon run, perhaps to Weston-Super-Mare or Nahant the effect of the "iron horse" was witnessed across society. However, there emerged in both cities a secondary component, that of bicycle races.

The Zoological Garden in Clifton was the earliest popular venue on the racing calendar of the Bristol bicycle clubs. Soon after the introduction of the "penny-farthing" in the City, interested individuals began to organize meets at the Zoo. Traditionally, the competitors paraded across the Downs advertising the event in similar manner to the way that circus processions attracted people to the show, before they set about serious competition on the track laid out in the Garden. Cycling around this Zooological raceway was not without its perils as those who were unsuccessful in negotiating the curve near the bear pit found out. Despite ongoing requests from cyclists to improve the track, the directors of the Zoo chose not to heed their words and when a magnificent track was laid out as part of the County Ground complex, Clifton lost much of its attraction to Ashley Down. The year 1888 saw the inauguration of bicycle races at the County Ground and from the start records became important to the City's clubs' members as in that year E. Moon of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club covered over two hundred and thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours mounted upon his solid-tired "safety." The athletic meets held in the City after 1888 attracted relatively large crowds as an article in Amateur Sport of July 24th 1889 suggested:

> The record for athletic meetings just now is held by the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club with the 10,000 crowd at their last sports on the County Ground; but given fine weather, we shall expect to find it beaten next Saturday.[88]

The largest meet of the season was held one month later on Ashley Down under the auspices of the National Cyclists' Union and the Amateur Athletic Association. Comprising both handicap, scratch races and foot events, the National Cyclists' Union West of England and South Wales Championships were held in conjunction with the West of England and South Wales Club Meet on Saturday August 24th 1889. Served by the Ashley Down and Montpelier stations admission for spectators was sixpence, with an additional sixpence being paid for the enclosure and one shilling for the Grand Stand while the entrance fee for cyclists was two shillings for one event or five shillings for three. The Championships included nine events varying in distance from one to three mile cycle races and one hundred and twenty yard, and one mile foot races. Bicycle races were held in classes for "ordinaries," "safeties," (each not to exceed thirty-two pounds), tandem (eighty pounds), together with tricycle races (these machines limited to fifty pounds). Prizes were awarded to the first, second and third place finishers, consisting of medals and monetary rewards ranging from ten pounds to one guinea. In the strictly amateur Club Meet, prizes of two and one guineas were offered to "the Club who shall show the highest total mileage travelled by members present in strict uniform to attend the Meet." The clubs, mustering in Portland Square, formed a procession to the County Ground. Cycle meets maintained their popularity throughout the remainder of the 1889 season with races under the auspices of the Bristol B.C.; the Bohemian B.C.; the Bristol Crusader's B.C., and the County Ground Company, being advertised in the press. The following year saw an open meet held in the City which attracted several of the world's leading cyclists, including A.A. Zimmerman of America. The enthusiasm shown for racing by the Bristol clubs continued throughout the following decade. In 1897, the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club held its jubilee Sports at the Bedminster Athletic Ground, Ashton Gate on Saturday May 15th 1897. The events included bicycle and foot races together with a "Football Goalkeeping Competition" to which invitations were sent to all Western League First Division goalkeepers who were expected to face four shots from a fifteen yard mark and taken by "well-known forwards." Providing tram cars to the ground from Bristol Bridge the meet was not a financial success as Table XVI indicates. Taken from the Club's Minute Book and signed by D. Black and J.T. Wallace, Sports Honourary Secretaries, the Balance Sheet of the Annual Sports shows that the 4,437 admission tickets sold might have resulted in that number or even as few as fifteen hundred spectators attending, the result, an eight pounds and six shillings loss on the day. Such pecuniary failures did not deter other clubs and the following month saw the North Bristol B.C., hold its Annual Sports at the County Ground. The programme which included bicycle, foot, obstacle and fancy dress races, a ten mile bicycle scratch race and "a grand Fire Brigade Competition," together with the lower admission price of threepence appears to

Table XVI

The Balance Sheet of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club
Annual Sports, Saturday May 15th 1897

Revenue	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
Cash taken at gates	83	12	6
Admission tickets sold	27	6	0
Entry fees	21	16	0
Programmer tender	21	10	0
Refreshment tender	7	10	0
Donations	5	5	0
Total	166	19	6

Expenditure	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
Prizes	78	4	6
Printing	21	13	6
Bill posting	20	16	6
Advertising	8	17	0
Hire of grounds	15	0	0
Men at turnstiles and gates	1	13	0
Police	2	10	0
Bristol City Band	4	4	0
Refreshments	1	10	0
Sports supper	1	2	9
Handicapping	4	10	6
Track	9	16	6
Miscellaneous	5	7	3
Total	175	5	6
Balance : Loss on Sports	8	6	0

have been more attractive than the Bristol Bicycle Club's meet, as a "record crowd" turned out to witness the events. While cycle racing in Bristol evolved from informal meets on the rough track of the Zoological Garden to the international meets at the County Ground during the final decade of the nineteenth century, Boston cyclists also expressed enthusiasm for the sport from the formation of the City's earliest clubs.[89]

One of the earliest cycling achievements on record in Boston was accomplished by A.D. Chandler (later a member of both the Boston and Suffolk Bicycle Clubs) who cycled the forty miles from Leominster to Boston in four hours during November, 1877. The following May saw R. Sharp and J. Storer of the Suffolk B.C., ride from "the Hub" to Newport, Rhode Island, a distance of seventy-two miles in a running time of ten and one half hours. As the years passed, enthusiasm grew and technology improved, so too were record times and speeds eroded. Yet it was on the track, in halls and around trotting courses rather than the roads that most performances of speed and endurance were tested in Boston. Unlike the later cinder and gravel tracks witnessed in Bristol, early racing cyclists in Boston found themselves struggling with sinking wheels on the grass tracks or the congestion and sharp corners of the indoor tracks, a favourite of which was located at the Mechanics' Fair Building in the City. During the first year of organized racing in 1878 to 1879, fourteen cycle meets were held in Boston varying in distance from one to twenty miles and under the auspices of the Boston Bicycle Club. With "the Hub" playing host to four of the events, three were run on the Framingham trotting course and others at Attleborough, Bridgewater, Brockton, Cambridge (on Jarvis Field), Concord, Lynn and Taunton. Boston was certainly a leader in cycle racing in these years, a fact evidenced by the National records shown in Table XVII. Of the nine fastest times recorded over varying distances seven were claimed by members of the Boston and Suffolk Bicycle Clubs. It would seem that any distinction between amateur and professional during the early years of the sport was not significant in terms of performance as amateurs recorded the faster times in the two distances that were comparable.[90]

Typical of this auspicious precedent set by the Boston Bicycle Club was a meet staged during November 1879 under a marquee erected at the intersection of Huntington and West Newton Street in the Back Bay, the location and time of the year being hardly conducive to its success as a letter to the editor of The Bicycling World and Archery Field suggested:

> ... with each visit I have become more ashamed of the mean accomodations and opportunities which the Hub has afforded...First of all, a tent! November too, and snowing at that, so that during the morning of the sixty-hour race, the unique spectacle of bicycling athletes whirling round, clad in great coats and thick gloves, was to be beheld by the shivering spectators.[91]

Nevertheless, despite the limited facilities, cycle racing rapidly became one of the City's most popular spectator sports as onlookers flocked to the meets in the hope of witnessing an exciting contest and perhaps the occasional mishap, as money changed hands in the same manner as it did at pedestrian races and prizefights. On July 4th 1881,

Table XVII

The Record Times of American Cyclists in 1879 [92]

	Distance Miles	Name	Club	Time Hrs.	Time Mins.	Time Secs.
Professionals:	1.00	W.R. Pitman	Boston		3	45
	2.00	W.M. Wright	New York		9	54
	3.00	W.R. Pitman	Boston		11	54
	5.00	W.R. Pitman	Boston		21	07
Amateurs:	1.00	George R. Agassiz	Boston/Suffolk		3	21 1/2
	1.17	Russell Codman	Suffolk		3	30
	2.00	J.C. Sharpe	Suffolk		8	05
	20.00	George R. Agassiz	Boston/Suffolk	1	46	45
	100.00	C. Krauskoph	Washington	7	00	00

twenty thousand spectators turned out to a meet on the Common, held on a four lane, twenty foot wide track that had been prepared by cutting the grass and lifting the turf. The season 1879 to 1880 had witnessed a tremendous growth in the number of meets held in America. From a total of seventeen races held across the nation during the previous season, the number grew to twenty-nine professional and seventy-six amateur races in the second year. Of the professional races which varied from the one mile to a six day event, fifty-five percent were held in Boston and the surrounding townships, while amateur enthusiasm through races of one quarter of a mile to three days in duration appeared to be more popular with the states of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, with only thirty-three percent of the events being scheduled in "the Hub" and its vicinity. Despite this rise in interest, the problem of finding a suitable facility for races in Boston remained. It was not until 1889 that the Park Commissioners, under pressure from the Boston City Council, finally agreed to holding the fourth of July races on the Playsted Road in Franklin Park. In 1893, the same year that the World Road Racing Cycling Championships were held at Chicago, a cycle track was built in Waltham by W.D. Bradstreet, the need it fulfilled being evidenced by the fifteen thousand people that turned out for its opening. Yet the role of the City in providing suitable areas for cycling continued. While the leisure riders were provided an abundance of space for their evening runs through the "Emerald Necklace," the "Scorchers" were limited, and with the latter's interest in mind, the

City Council, in 1895, instructed the Park Department to construct a bicycle speedway in either Franklin Park or the Back Bay. Nevertheless, the order was subsequently defeated by Frederick Law Olmsted and his opponents of "exertive recreation" deeming it as nothing more than the encroachment of technology upon nature. By 1896 the Boston Herald estimated the City's bicycling population at one hundred thousand, its popularity prompting plans for the "Colossic," a giant domed indoor arena which would cover a two hundred by three hundred yard track while providing accomodation for five thousand spectators and the checking of two thousand bicycles. The "iron steed" had come of age in Boston as well as Bristol by the end of the nineteenth century, impinging upon all sectors of society as extravagant ideas for new facilities were forthcoming, and as increased organization and structure together with mass production brought the bicycle within the means of the majority of citizens.[93]

As important to society was the new life that the bicycle age instilled into decaying industry. As the bicycle consumer market grew so also did the new industry providing more employment, a new market for raw and manufactured materials together with enhancing a multitude of peripheral industries through the need for components and bicycling sundries. The growth of bicycling, through the popularity of the "penny farthing", had been steady until 1887. After the invention of the "Rover Wheel" by James K. Starley of Coventry, England in that year the "safety", having two wheels of equal size, a drop frame and propelled by pedals and a chain loop, provided the impetus that the industry needed. As more machines rolled off the production line and as manufacturing techniques were refined, bicycles became cheaper and for those still unable to purchase them, there was still the opportunity to hire one for a quiet spin in the countryside. By 1889 the Bristol press was full of competing agencies eager to sell their machines. One, the "Rigid Cycle Manufactory" of W. Edward Roberts in St. James' Square, informed the public that it:

> Has laid down a SPECIAL PLANT to MANUFACTURE throughout the Rigid, Western, and Roberts' Safeties and Tricycles.
>
> The Machines being made of the Highest class of material only, and by a staff of Mechanics specially selected from Coventry, can be guaranteed.[94]

Other bicycles that appeared throughout the advertisement section of that year included the "Quadrant", "Humber", "Sparkbrook", "Kear" and "James" models. As racing became popular bicycle styles were modified to meet the demands of the track, the most successful all-purpose machine suitable as both "path racer and light roadster" was the "Jackson", manufactured in Bristol and selling at nineteen pounds.

In Boston and indeed America, the bicycle industry was led by Colonel Albert A. Pope who had been inspired by a display of English machines at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. Soon after returning to Boston, Pope began to import the "high wheelers", opening a warehouse and a riding school on the premises of the Pope Manufacturing Company at 87, Sumner Street. After two trips to London and Coventry where he familiarized himself with the practicalities, techniques and tools used in the construction of the best makes he returned to New England opening a manufactory in Connecticut. An article in The Bicycling World and Archery Field for 1880 described a tour of the Pope factory which was said to comprise two acres of shops and machine rooms and "in one room, in one chest, $5,000 worth of rubber tires [were] kept near the river so that they may be flung through the window into the water in case of fire." The most famous product of this company was the all purpose "Columbia," equally at home on the road or track, and considered by Pratt to be the "first good American bicycle [entitling] its maker to the name of pioneer manufacturer of the modern bicycle in America."[95] However, considerable variation was witnessed in this model for while the nickel-plated, top of the line "Special" cost between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and forty-five dollars, the less affluent customer could purchase the half bright "Standard", painted in two colours for up to forty dollars cheaper. In terms of dimensions, the pedals were preset to various leg lengths, the price of the machine reflecting an increment of five dollars for every two inches of leg length.

Success soon came to the Pope Manufacturing Company and offices were opened in New York and Chicago as well as Boston, supplying bicycles to six hundred agencies. While Pope is most oft remembered as the leading manufacturer of bicycles in nineteenth century America, his labours in the cause of bicycling were more far-reaching. As President of the Massachusetts Bicycle Club and publisher of Outing he paved the road along which millions of enthusiastic followers were soon to pedal. He brought test cases against city and village ordinances in his crusade against the restrictive legislation on roads and parks with regard to cycling. In his preaching of the "Good Roads Gospel" he was instrumental in persuading the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to teach road engineering, the establishment of the Massachusetts Highway Commission and the Federal Bureau of Road Engineering. During the eighties and nineties other bicycle manufacturing companies took root, among them that of A.H. Overman of Chicopee, Massachusetts who, in 1887, took out a patent on the "Victor" safety bicycle. By 1893 it was estimated by Pope that there were one million bicycles in use in America (as compared to five million in Britain by 1900), its consequence for the economy being explained by the author of an article entitled "The World Awheel" in 1896:

> It is variously estimated that from five hundred thousand to a million bicycles will be made in America this year. It is quite probable that the higher figure is nearer the truth...It may be guessed that in 1896 the public will spend something like a hundred million dollars, directly and indirectly, upon wheeling.[96]

While the leading manufactories in and around Boston relied upon reputation for success, one Charles Metz looked to novelty. Toward the end of the nineteenth century he built a ten-seater bicycle in his Waltham factory. Measuring twenty-two feet and nine inches in length, the bicycle which had cost twelve hundred dollars to build was ridden across America and Europe by ten "bloomer girls" with the intent of publicizing Metz's products. While the revolution in bicycle manufacture and popularity supported an improved economy, its effect upon other financial bases of society must not be neglected as

Bishop suggested, "a new branch of business of such dimensions as this must disturb more or less other kinds of behaviour." The new interest in purchasing bicycles meant that less money was being expended on other luxury items, including jewelry, furniture and books although the worst sufferers were undoubtedly the business concerns of the horse and carriage trades, as horse-riding reached near extinction and proprietors of riding academies were forced to transform their institutions into bicycle schools. While saloon keepers recognized a marked drop in the sale of liquor, the railway and steamboat excursion trade took a sharp drop in the same manner as the trolley and street cars struggled to establish themselves. Perhaps it was this threat to overthrow the nation's economy that eventually led to the relative decline of the bicycle as one prophet in 1896 wrote:

> Only wait, and five years from now you can buy all the wheels you want, and of the best makes too, for five dollars; you may even get one with a pound of tea, or have it thrown in like a colored picture with a copy of a Sunday newspaper.[97]

As the small bicycle manufactories were swallowed up by corporate monopolies as organizations such as the American League of Wheelmen collapsed and as deteriorated country roads and inferior maps tempered the enthusiasm for country runs the bicycling craze gradually found itself in a state of decline. However, one of the biggest problems that the bicycle faced in Bristol and Boston came from public opposition and legislative restriction with regard to its practice. In Bristol, the editor of Amateur Sport expressed deep concern at the criticism levelled at those "blooming bicyclists" by individuals who look on isolated incidents as an excuse for generalization noting that:

> ...there are people who, forgetting that their intimate friends and acquaintances are habitual users of bicycles or tricycles, will not hesitate to hurl invectives at the heads of inoffensive, quiet, and law-abiding citizens who add cycling to their other pastimes, because, forsooth, they once saw a cad with a braided tunic and plated machine misbehaving himself on the public highway![98]

The editor went on to warn his readers to "comply with the law of the land" in not giving such casuists the opportunity to criticize. In Boston opposition paralleled that of Bristol, with even the City's clergymen becoming a target whereupon John L. Scudder explained that:

> Until society is sufficiently instructed as to the value of the bicycle and learns also that the ministers are made of the same flesh and blood with themselves, our clerical brother will certainly be the target of criticism and the occasion of many a smile.[99]

As the number of clergyman cyclists increased so did public criticism become eroded and such sights were tolerated by most members of society. Nevertheless, incidents continued which urged public authorities to enforce greater restriction on riders of the wheel. In 1880 a milkman brought a suit against a cyclist claiming damages for his wagon and contents after his horse, having been scared by the sight of an approaching cyclist, tipped the wagon over and dragged it along the street. In summing up, the judge ruled that the popularity of bicycles and the fact that the cyclist had dismounted before reaching the scene of the incident, led him to believe that there was no need for "crying over spilled milk." Despite the common appearance of bicycles in the cities ordinances discriminating against cycling continued to be enforced. In Bristol riders were prohibited from using the roads across the Downs while during the bicycle's early years in Boston, "the passage of carriages or vehicles over or on the Public Garden, the Common, or any of the parks and squares of the city, [was] prohibited, except by special licence." Whereas in 1879, the town of Brookline allowed the riding of bicycles on the sidewalks, Boston not only prohibited such practice but laid down that bicycles were not to be ridden within ten feet of one another on the street and then at a speed not to exceed seven miles an hour in the central City, and twelve miles an hour within wider urban limits. While such legal restraints slowed the rise of bicycling, it was the advantages discovered in this new mode of urban transport that eventually led to its increased appearance on the streets.[100]

In 1879 Pratt considered the advantages of the "always-bridled horse" over its four-legged forerunner stating that:

> ...it costs nearly as much in the first place, perhaps, as either a horse or a carriage, but it saves one of them; its feed is a pint of oil a years, and its grooming a handful of cotton-waste and ten minutes attention now and then. It never runs away, requires no harness and breaks no carriages.[101]

This economical and rapid practical means of transport was soon popularized in both cities. By 1890 one observer noted in Bristol that "Bicycles and Tricycles may be mentioned now as conveyances. There are several depots where first-class machines may be hired by the hour, day, or week."[102] In Boston too, the bicycle was used "by all classes as an ever-ready and inexpensive horse, a car at one's own command, a 'quick transit' held to no arbitrary rails, available with the utmost of freedom and exhiliration for social and business purposes."[103] The utility of the bicycle as a mode of travel concerned the owners of railroad and streetcar companies alike for if all people took to the wheel there would appear to be little purpose in expanding or even continuing their service. However, such was not the case as Sterling Eliot explained in 1897:

> ...since the successful introduction of electricity as a means of transmitting power, stock in street railway companies averages to be a good investment. Such roads carry a very large number of passengers who, because of age or youth, cannot be riders of the bicycle, while a very large percentage of the fares are paid by people who own bicycles, but who still find the electrics a great convenience.[104]

As the Boston Elevated and other companies increased their network of cheap mass rapid transport in "the Hub" the bicycle's role as a means of transport declined although in Bristol, where public transport never reached out to all districts, the "iron horse" remained the primary mode of public conveyance throughout the latter years of the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century invention of the bicycle took both Bristol and Boston by storm, at first a fad it developed to become an organized sport, a major industry and a significant means of transportation in both cities. Its impact on British society was summed up by Lord Balfour who considered that "there has not been a more civilizing invention in the memory of the present generation...open to all classes, enjoyed by both sexes and by all ages."[105] In America, its importance

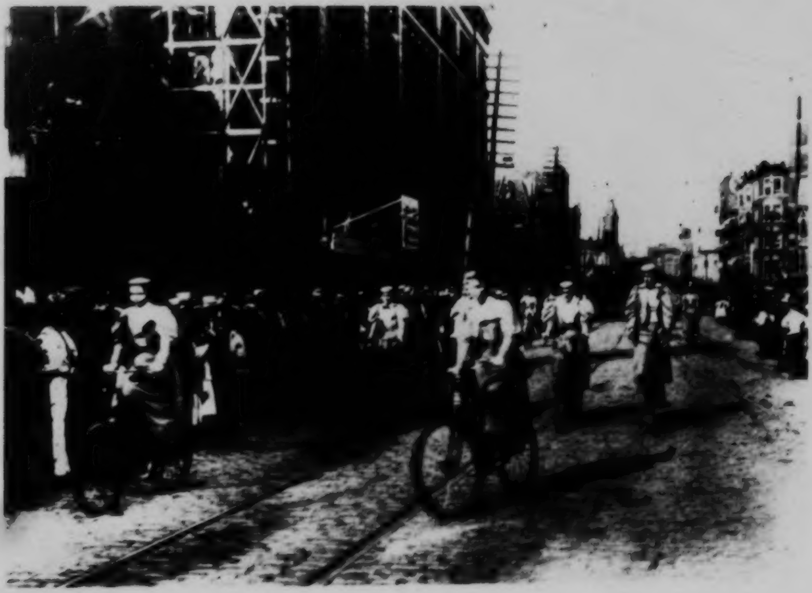


PLATE IX

Cycling in the City

(Above) The Clifton Bicycle Club en route to its Annual Sports in 1886.
(Below) The Boston Bicycle Parade in 1896.

was recognized by the twelfth national census of 1900 which stated, "It is safe to say that few articles ever used by man have created so great a revolution in social conditions as the bicycle."[106] Nevertheless, the years of the mass appeal for the bicycle were numbered as continued technological advance led to the development of the motor car out of the invention of Nikolaus Otto's four-stroke internal combustion engine in 1876 and the appearance of Karl Benz's first automobile in 1885. A.E. Johnson became Bristol's first owner of a one and a half horsepower Beeston motor tricycle in 1896, while two years later he drove the first motor car from Bristol to London. The story of the bicycle however, would not be complete without a consideration of the related industrial and entrepreneurial accomplishments witnessed in Bristol and Boston. Although Charles Goodyear devised the process of vulcanizing rubber during the 1830's, it was some years before solid rubber tires replaced the wooden and steel wheel rims of the early bicycles. However, in 1889 an Irish veterinary surgeon by the name of Dr. John Boyd Dunlop, motivated by his son's vociferous complaints at the discomfort of the "boneshaker," started to experiment and evolved the idea of a hollow rubber tire filled with air. The pneumatic tire, as it became known, represented a further impetus to both cycling and harness racing (in America) for now one could ride the machines without feeling every irregularity of the road or track. Edward Geers, the famous reinsman, applied the pneumatic tire together with an earlier idea of ballbearings to a sulky, first demonstrating his new look machine at the Worcester racetrack in July 1892. The improvements were soon adopted by other leading drivers resulting in significant improvement of performance times. Roller skates had been devised by James L. Plimpton in England during 1863. However, it was with the adaptation of ballbearings that the "rinkomania" of the seventies emerged in Britain. The Zoological Garden became Bristol's most popular rink although toward the end of the century three rinks were opened in Clifton being patronized largely by middle class men and young ladies. The roller skate craze became as important a bi-product of the age of cycling in Boston, where several rinks were built during the eighties. W.H. Fuller of Boston became the first American roller-skate champion, and after meeting Plimpton while ice skating in Central Park, New York, entered into a business partnership, travelling the world performing and promoting Plimpton's skates. By 1885, upward of twenty million dollars had been invested in America's roller-skating halls while the price of boxwood, which was used in the manufacture of skate wheels, snowballed from thirty-eight to one hundred and twenty dollars per ton as the market for roller skates flourished. Other innovations continued to appear as technology improved, one such product known as the "Marine bicycle" utilized catamaran floats, a rudder controlled by a handlebar and an awning which could be used as protection from poor weather or alternatively could be converted into a sail While the age of technology brought with it mechanical advantage in the nature of cheaper, more efficient transportation as well as increased opportunity for participant and spectator sport, no better was the idea of democracy through sport promoted than by the press. As production techniques were refined so cheaper yet more elaborate publications reached the hands of all those who could read, the penny press, periodicals and books disseminating sporting news, values and technical information to the public.[107]

Papers, Periodicals and Publishers

A series of technological inventions in Britain and America assisted the arrival of daily newspapers on an increasing number of urban residents' doorsteps during the years 1870 to 1900. In England the steam press had been developed as early as 1814 permitting The Times to roll off the press at the rate of one thousand per hour, while Daniel Treadwell developed and perfected the power press at Boston in 1822. Facilitated further through the invention of the typewriter by Carlos Glidden and Christopher L. Scholes of Milwaukee in 1868 and of the linotype machine in 1886 which eliminated the laborious and costly task of hand-setting, the process of newspaper production was both speeded up and made more economical. So also did the method of reporting undergo radical changes as first the telegraph and later the telephone enabled reporters to keep pace with events as they occured, eventually leading to the appearance of morning, afternoon and evening editions covering both domestic and international news. The presentation of news stories was greatly enhanced, allbeit slowly at first, by the invention of the camera which, although having first appeared in 1826, is usually attributed to George Eastman who in

1888 popularized its existence by producing the Kodak, a small inexpensive camera which could be used by an inexperienced amateur photographer. These advances in technology resulted in a remarkable rise in the number of newspapers and magazines in England and Wales during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. In 1871 the newspaper, which was essentially a journal of record, numbered one thousand four hundred and fifty while by the year 1900 with its character transformed to one of drama, its number had increased to two thousand four hundred and ninety-one. The magazine was more a product of these years with a total of six hundred and thirty-eight in 1871, it expanded nearly fourfold to two thousand, three hundred and twenty-eight.[108]

The first daily newspaper established in the West of England was the Western Daily Press, an Independent Liberal newspaper founded at Bristol in 1858. There followed a year later the Bristol Observer and other newspapers predisposed to particular political views including the Liberal Bristol Evening News (1877), Bristol Daily Mercury, and Bristol Echo together with the Conservative Bristol Evening Times and Bristol Times and Mirror. Boston on the other hand had established itself as a centre of publishing and printing during Colonial times. Sharing with Philadelphia the label "Publisher of the New World," the "Hub" became a major literary centre and the home of leading publishing houses including, Ticknor and Fields (at The Old Corner Bookstore), Houghton Mifflin, Little, Brown, Ginn and Company, Roberts Brothers, D.C. Heath and Company, The Arena Company and many others. Newspapers in America increased sixfold during the years 1870 to 1900 appealing to a growing literate population. To consider or even list all the nineteenth century newspapers published in the City and suburbs of Boston would be a lengthy task (in a brief survey they were calculated at upwards of fifty in number), made difficult by the fact that many of then continually changed their name. A discussion of the City's leading daily newspapers will suffice in this instance. In 1830, Lynde M. Walter, a graduate of Harvard, founded the Boston Daily Evening Transcript. Although changing its name variously throughout the nineteenth century, it maintained an essentially Conservative outlook supporting the view of Mugwump Republicans during the eighties and nineties. Perceived as a "guardian of genteel tradition" its columns were typified by genealogy articles and accounts of middle-class literary, social and church gatherings, its bourgeois patronage being further reflected in the lives of a limerick:

> There was a young maid from Back Bay
> Whose manners were very blasé;
> While still in her teens
> She refused pork and beans
> And once threw her Transcript away.[109]

Supported by the Orthodox Republican views of the Boston Herald (founded in 1846), once described as the "paper of the bedroom suburbs," the "Proper Bostonians" were provided plenty of opportunity to view sentiments in line with their values published in the City press. Further to the left was the Boston Morning Journal which, founded in 1867, continued its claim to be the cheapest newspaper published in New England throughout the years 1870 to 1900. The parochial Boston Globe, which was established in 1860, maintained a relatively fair and impartial coverage of the news while standing alone and unique in America as the newspaper refused to take a stance during elections, a neutrality due more to its desire to offend none of its readers rather than to its claimed independence. A social reform newspaper, Work and Wealth was first published by George Coolidge in 1870 while the popular press was represented by the Boston Daily Advertiser, founded in 1813. Although the Boston Post (1831) emerged as the organ of the City's Irish community, in effect the "Irishman's Transcript," there remained a pressing need for a mediating press, a reconciliator between Boston's Yankee patriachy and the Irish. As technological advances facilitated graphic representation, the magazine became a more attractive literary investment particularly in the form of the leading three of the late nineteenth century, Harper's Monthly, Century Magazine and Scribner's, while the organ of New England intellectuals, the Atlantic Monthly, founded in 1857 by James Russell Lowell, maintained its status among the leading periodicals of the time, becoming a platform for the presentation of ideas relating to a range of social aspects, including sport.

The growing significance of sport in Bristol and Boston during the years 1870 to 1900 is well reflected in the publications of those years, particularly the space afforded sport in newspapers and the emergence of specialist and general sport journals. In Britain, sports journalism recognized new heights with coverage of the University Boat Race during the first half of the nineteenth century. Periodicals for the sport fraternity appeared, Bell's Life in London (1821), later became Sporting Life, the Sporting Gazette (1862), Sportsman (1865), Sporting Times (1865), Land and Water (1866), Sporting Clipper (1872), and the Fishing Gazette (1877) reflect a growing interest in the sporting press, while the first issue of The Boys' Own Paper in January, 1879 carried a story entitled "My First Football Match." In Bristol, the editors of the City's newspapers responded to the increased demand for sport by devoting more columns to its coverage and eventually laying out sports sections and pages. The Bristol Argus founded five years earlier, decided upon the inclusion of a sports section in 1886 explaining that "for some years it has been felt that the increasing importance of all kinds of manly exercise and recreation amongst the young men of Bristol and the locality demanded some recognition in the press." By the 1888 to 1889 season, the Clifton Rugby Football Club was provided with a journalist at their games, rather than (as had been the practice in all sporting organizations), having to furnish reports of their own accord. By 1890 Bristol's other major newspaper the Western Daily Press initiated a sports page which grew to two and sometimes three pages by the end of the nineteenth century. As sports coverage increased so there emerged a demand for skilled journalists with a knowledge of sport. One of Bristol's leading sports reporters was Archie Powell, born in the City in 1870. A sports enthusiast, he played with the Risely brothers, Arthur and Robert, at the first lawn tennis tournament held in the West of England at the County Ground in 1895. A lifetime worshipper of W.G. Grace, Powell actually played with "the Champion" later co-authoring two books with S. Canynge Caple entitled, The Graces (E.M., W.G., & G.F.), and History of the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club. Employed as a reporter by the Western Daily Press, Powell's first assignment was to report a Rugby match in 1888 which set the tone for a journalistic career of more than fifty years.[110]

Bristol's foremost publisher throughout the second half of the nineteenth century was one James W. Arrowsmith. An enthusiastic sportsman, his organization of the Arrow Bowling Club has already been discussed in Chapter II. As President of the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club, he gained the respect and confidence of the leading players as witnessed by the correspondence of Edward Mills and William Gilbert Grace in 1895. On March 30th of that year "E.M." addressed a letter to Arrowsmith from which the following extract is taken:

> ...and now between ourselves. Do you think I ought to give up attempting to play this year - and leave it entirely in W.G.'s hands - please tell me fairly your opinion and what you think other opinions are about me playing. I shall not be offended with you whatever you say -
>
> I am yours faithfully
>
> //s Edward Mills Grace
>
> I have not mentioned the above to anyone. I cannot quite make up my mind on the subject.[111]

Later that same year it was "W.G.'s" turn to write to the President of the G.C.C.C., expressing his gratitude at Arrowsmith's endeavours toward organizing the testimonial saying "I shall always be grateful to you and others for what you are doing."[112]

It was in the role of publisher that Arrowsmith made his greatest contribution to sport in Bristol. Claiming numerous sport books and The Cliftonian among his publications, the most significant appearing in 1889. On Wednesday April 24th of that year, the first issue of Amateur Sport rolled off the press, and the City's first sports weekly continued publication every Wednesday until October 16th of that year. Costing one penny per week, the journal's cover was illustrated by a scene depicting cricket, cycling and lacrosse (or perhaps tennis?), at the County Ground (which must still have been in a process of construction at the earliest date of publication), bordered by portraits of "W.G.", and a Rugby footballer likely intended to be J.A. Bush. Initially concentrating its coverage upon sports events in Bristol and vicinity, as circulation increased so did the reports become more non-local in character, featuring accounts of the All-England Tennis Championships at Wimbledon, the Henley Rowing Regatta and sections devoted to "London News" and "South Wales News". In emulation of the more established newspapers and sporting journals the owner and editor of Amateur Sport devised competitions of one type or another in an effort to promote sales. The July 10th edition included a rather amusing advertisement for "Our Prize Competition," explaining that:

> Following the example of the best London papers, we propose to offer weekly a prize of the value of ONE POUND for some sort of competition. Our Puzzle Editor has not yet made up what he is pleased to call his mind as to what form the competitions shalll take, and in order that the very best advice may be given him he, as a First Competition, offers the sum of TWO POUNDS for the best suggestion as to the form it shall take. 113

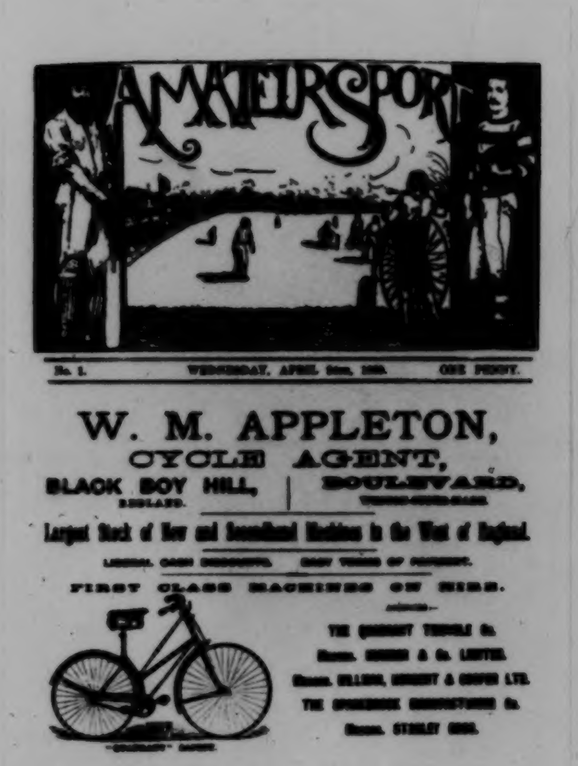
On a more athletic note the journal held a "Grand Athletic Festival" at the County Ground on Saturday July 27th 1889 offering over one hundred pounds in prizes. The events (which necessitated entrance fees of between one shilling and sixpence and half a crown), included bicycle races for "ordinaries," "safeties," and "roadsters," tricycle races, together with foot races, an obstacle race and high jump. The expenditure was easily recovered as six thousand spectators paid the sixpence admission for the enjoyment of watching the events.

While its claims "to give a true and impartial account" of sport in Bristol and further afield were fulfilled, Amateur Sport seemed to appeal more to the middle class and, as the cricket season drew to a close the Proprietor and Editor explained their reason for terminating publication in 1889 with the October 16th issue:

> It was the hope of the Proprietor that he might be able to continue throughout the year; but Bristol, is, unfortunately, not much given to sport during the winter months, and he does not feel justified in attempting it. This number, then, is the last of the season; and the second volume will be commenced in the spring of 1890. [114]

Unfortunately, Amateur Sport did not reappear in 1890 and Bristol's sport enthusiasts were forced to rely on the newspapers for news of Fixtures and results.

Although not in the same category as the City's newspapers and magazines, revolutionary advances in the printing industry saw cigarette cards assume increasing popular appeal by the end of the nineteenth century. Issued by Bristol's leading tobacco company, W.D. and H.O. Wills, these cards (the forerunner of tea, bubble-gum and baseball cards), were originally called "stiffeners" as their purpose was to support the paper packets so

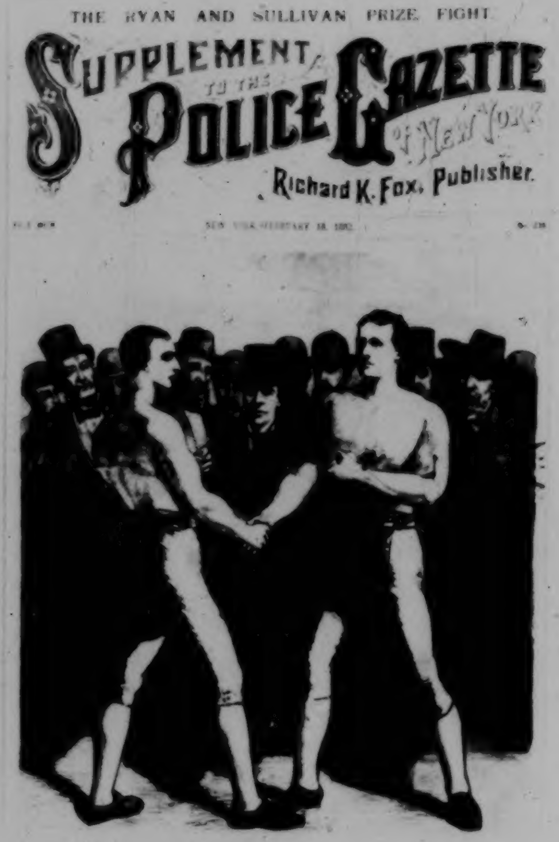


AMATEUR SPORT

W. M. APPLETON,
CYCLE AGENT,
BLACK BOY HILL, | BOULEVARD,

Largest Stock of New and Secondhand Machines in the West of England.

FIRST CLASS MACHINES ON HIRE.



THE RYAN AND SULLIVAN PRIZE FIGHT

SUPPLEMENT TO THE POLICE GAZETTE OF NEW YORK

Richard K. Fox, Publisher.

PLATE X
The Sporting Press

(Left) The first issue of Bristol's *Amateur Sport* magazine.

(Right) America's leading sports paper, *The Police Gazette*.

protecting the cigarettes inside. As their potential for advertising and promotion was recognized Wills' started to issue general interest collector's sets in 1895 which included a set of famous cricketers printed the following year. As well as adopting topical subjects and national events, cigarette cards became a more interesting commentary on the times as they reflected the social life of the city, together with the type of humour in vogue. A popular series of double-meaning sayings was introduced in 1898, one card depicting two cyclists racing held the caption "A Safety Match", while another, showing two skaters losing their balance, bore the title "A Pair of Slippers". While the Bristol Press afforded increasing recognition to sport as the nineteenth century progressed, the situation was little different in Boston.[115]

As was the case with so much of American social life, as Nugent suggests, "The United States learned its first lessons in sports journalism and sports slang from the British Isles." However, once Americans found the appetite for sport, their sporting press flourished on a larger scale than it did in Britain. An unpublished study by B.B. Bouton analyzed the contents of the New York Tribune, the Chicago Tribune, and Boston Transcript on the first day of January, April, July and October in each of the years 1878, 1888 and 1898. While advertising, politics and business articles filled more than half of the papers' pages, sports coverage enjoyed a steady increase from 0.6% of the total newspaper space in 1878, to 3.2% in 1888 and 4.2% by 1898. However, a more careful look at Boston newspapers would seem to indicate greater interest in the sporting press of "the Hub". A study by Henry R. Eliot in 1888 analysed selected newspapers from the nation's six leading cities. Although the methodological approach used in measuring column inches on only two days might lead to a questioning of the study's reliability, the findings are sufficient to provide an indication of the comparative importance of sport in the cities' newspapers. Taking the Boston Herald and Boston Advertiser as his samples, Eliot found that the five and one-half percent that the Boston newspapers afforded to sport was greater than that devoted to sport in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, or Cincinnati, concluding that:

> At the "Hub"...Boston has an eye for the main chance, as is shown by the high market ratio; but she gives seven percent of her space to religion and four and a half to books, in both cases leading the list. She is also one of the few cities which accord an appreciable position of space to art. Amusements, both of the outdoor and indoor sports, receive careful attention; while crime as a theme sinks nearly to one-third the prominence assigned to it in New York or Cincinnati, and to one-half the ratio of the press at large.[116]

While newspapers and journals (including the Illustrated Police News, 1842, Spirit of the Hub, 1888, Recreation, 1894, Mind and Body, 1894, The Golfer, 1895, and the American Physical Education Review, 1896), published in Boston continued to promote sport throughout the years 1870 to 1900, the seventies brought the advent of sports fiction. These sporting novels included Mark Severance's Hammersmith; His Harvard Days (1878), and Moses Coit Tyler's Utopian sports novel The Brawnville Papers: Being Memorials of the Brawnville Ahtletic Club, in which the author highlighted many of the beliefs and issues pertaining to sport in mid-Victorian America. Set in a fictitious New England town, Tyler disguises such leaders as Horace Mann, Thomas Hughes, Thomas Arnold, Dio Lewis, Catharine Beecher and Thomas Wentworth Higginson in a novel that appealed to a wide readership. Finally, the host of technical and statistical sports books that flooded the shelves of Boston's booksellers during these years lent support to the Englishman, James Bryce's observation at the turn of the century, that Americans had developed a "passion for looking on at and reading about athletic sports."[117]

The idea of sport as business grew out of increasing industrialization and urbanization witnessed throughout nineteenth century Britain and America. The gradual erosion of the agrarian ideal of self-sufficiency was prompted by an increased division of labour in the more complex social framework, resulting in an essentially consumer society. This radical shift in the economic base of society was accompanied by an improving standard of living among the crowded structures and insanitary streets of the cities. As sport was influenced by the improvements brought about by the scientific and technological revolutions, the transmutation from "Informal Sport" to "Corporate Sport" in Britain and America might be viewed as much a product of industrialization as it was a reaction to modernity.

Typified by improved lighting, transportation, communication, and industrial mass production, the increased leisure time and affluence of urban residents precipitated the demand for a greater yet modified provision of sport. While an inter-city railway link appeared in

Bristol ten years before its counterpart in Boston, electrified, rapid municipal transit was far advanced in the American city. As excursions out of the city grew in favour by the end of the nineteenth century, resorts appeared, catering to the wants and needs of the urban residents. The once popular charabancs and other horse-drawn vehicles were replaced by the steamboat, railway and bicycle during the years 1870 to 1900, carrying the urban escapees to Weston-Super-Mare or Revere and the more exclusive retreats of Clevedon and Nahant. Although these new-style coastal watering places grew into lavish commercial enterprises functioning as centres for day trips and extended visits during what became the traditional Victorian holiday, the expanding time away from the work place led to a call for additional entertainment closer to home. In response to this demand, and in partial solution of the urban problems of monotony, toil and anomie, entrepreneurs discovering its pecuniary potential promoted spectator sports to occupy the leisure hours of the urban masses. Similarly, as technological advances were witnessed in manufacturing, publishing and public services so they were adopted by sport which, by the year 1900, could be identified as a highly structured, commercial and significant social institution. This level of "Corporate Sport" was no better reflected in all facets by the rise of the bicycle. Through its evolution from "pedestrian curricle" to "velocipede", to "ordinary" and "safety" the bicycle eventually came within the reach of the majority of Bristol and Boston citizens. Its democratic value was further evidenced by its role in the emancipation of women while the clubs offerred a degree of social cohesion and identification to their members. Through providing for participant and spectator alike the popularity of the bicycle (which waxed and waned in Boston more rapidly than Bristol), led to the emergence of a new industry which, while providing an impetus to related production, resulted in the marketing of safer, more comfortable and cheaper bicycles in the two cities. The commercialization of sport (although more marked in Boston for reasons discussed earlier), was brought about in the two cities by a combination of factors. The increasing time, money and interest in sport of urban residents created a large sport consumer market the satisfaction of which was fulfilled in part by scientific advance, as the experience of Bristol and Boston would appear to reach further than merely support Betts' conclusion that:

> The technological revolution is not the sole determining factor in the rise of sport, but to ignore its influence would result in a more or less superficial understanding of the history of one of the prominent social institutions of North America.[118]

However, it is hoped that a consideration of the foremost social institutions in the city, through chapters III to VII of this study, has provided a more complete picture with regard to the relationship of sport and the late nineteenth century city, in Bristol and Boston. While it is no easy task to isolate the citizens from the urban environment in which they lived, the second part of this study attempts to identify and discuss individual differences among the people of both cities, with particular significance to sport.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SPORT IN BRISTOL (U.K.), AND BOSTON (U.S.A.), A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON, 1870-1900

by

© RALPH C. WILCOX

A THESIS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART TWO

SPORT AND THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER PAGE

VIII "EDUCATION OF THE PHYSICAL." PIONEERS AND PROGRAMS 472

Physical Education in Bristol 473

Physical Education in Boston 481

IX "EDUCATION THROUGH THE PHYSICAL." SPORT IN ACADEME 553

The English "Public" School in Transition 556

The Schools, Headmasters and Their Dilemmas 562

Games in the Life of the Schools 575

Muscular Christianity - The Soldiers and Disciples 589

Muscular Christianity - The Heretics 599

Games and Idealism in the Life of the Universities 610

Problems, Prohibitions and Professionalism in College Athletics 617

Intercollegiate Athletics at Harvard 627

X FEMALE FREEDOM AND SPORT 653

Physical Education for Girls 660

"Anyone for Tennis?" - The Emergence of the Sportswoman 680

XI THE CITY GENTLEMAN AT PLAY 703

Conspicuous Leisure and the Gentlemen 710

CHAPTER PAGE

"At the Races" - Equestrianism and Boating in Bristol and Boston 715

Athens, Athletes and Their Clubs 740

"The Great Outdoors" - Life at Country Club and Golf Club 755

XII THE POPULACE AND PROFESSIONALS AT PLAY 785

Sport for the Working Man 799

Gentlemen and Players 810

XIII BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS AND SPORT 832

Strangers in the City. Causes, Conditions and Reactions 833

Black Bostonians and Sport 851

From the "Maid of Erin" to "King" Kelly 857

Englishmen and Scotsmen at Play 888

German Turners Around "The Hub." 904

Forgotten Foreigners and Sport 912

XIV ACHILLES AND HERCULES. PRIDE OF THE CITY 930

W.G. Grace. Bristol's Champion of Cricket ... 931

John L. Sullivan. The Boston Strong Boy 945

XV THE RISE OF SPORT. A TALE OF TWO CITIES 983

BIBLIOGRAPHY 1007

APPENDICES 1079

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
XVIII	The Location of Boston's Metropolitan Population in 1850 and 1900.	709
XIX	The Success of Boston's Athletes at the First Modern Olympic Games at Athens in 1896.	749
XX	The Nativity of Bostonians in 1900.	836
XXI	The Parent Nativity of Bostonians in 1900.	838
XXII	Social Class and Nativity of Bostonians in 1870 and 1885.	841
XXIII	The Black Population of Boston, 1850 to 1900.	853
XXIV	The Sporting Affiliation and Contribution of Some of Boston's Leading Irish Citizens.	876-879

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHIC PLATES*

Plate	Description	Following Page
XI	Sport at School.	585
XII	Cricket at College.	588
XIII	Athletes in Academe.	594
XIV	Athletics at Harvard.	629
XV	Harvard Athletic Teams.	632
XVI	Bourgeois Bristol and Boston at Play.	712
XVII	Conspicuous Leisure.	714
XVIII	The Boston Athletic Association.	744
XIX	Achilles and Hercules.	930
XX	Outside the Arena.	944

* Notes on the plates will be found in Appendix J.

PART TWO

- SPORT AND THE PEOPLE -

CHAPTER VIII

"EDUCATION OF THE PHYSICAL"
PIONEERS AND PROGRAMMES

The broad division made within this study, between the city and the people, is in part reflective of the perennial debate among behavioural scientists as to the role played by environmental and hereditary factors as determinants of Man's action, and in this case Man's relationship with sport. Although not providing a necessarily clear and reliable distinction due to the frequently complex and inextricably entwined nature of the motivating forces underlying human action, such an approach does, in Part One, consider philosophical, political and religious sentiments generally viewed as a product of the environment while individual differences of a genetic nature, such as sex, race and nationality, are found in this section. Whereas most chapters in this study fail to fit neatly into either part, selection is based upon the relative importance of the institution or concept to the individual or group level of society.

The role of educational institutions in the promotion of sport in Bristol and Boston during the nineteenth century provides an interesting contrast and one which may be viewed as representative of national trends. Whether through the innovatory provision of physical education and sport programmes; the emergence of pioneering individuals in the field; or in support of a particular perception of the Body-Mind relationship, schools and universities played a central role in the sporting life of the cities during the years 1870 to 1900.

Physical Education in Bristol

Bristol can lay claim to a fine reputation in education, emanating primarily from the halls of the private schools within the City's boundaries. With early established schools continuing on through the nineteenth century, Grammar School (1532), Cathedral School (1542), Queen Elizabeth's Hospital (1590) and Red Maid's (1634), the rolls of honor of Colston's (1708) and Clifton College (1862) include many men and women who have contributed extensively to the betterment of mankind, whether through science, literature or politics. While structured education had been a reality in Bristol since the early sixteenth century, it was only for those who could afford the fees or who were the fortunate target of City philanthropists like Hannah More. At the outset dependent upon endowed charities and voluntary associations for their very existence, the Education Act of 1870 paved the way for a more extensive provision of elementary education to all socioeconomic classes in Britain. Allowing for the establishment of School Districts and Boards, Society Schools maintained their existence often with the assistance of government subsidy. Elementary education to the age of twelve years was made compulsory with the weekly fee of ninepence, with exemptions for poor parents, eventually leading to free, compulsory elementary education in 1891. The legislation incurred by Forster's Education Act of 1870 was strongly opposed by Bristol Conservatives who viewed the sole manifestation of such action as being increased taxes and rates. Nevertheless, the first School Board elected in Bristol appeared in January 1871 and was comprised of seven Anglicans, seven Non-Conformists and one Roman Catholic. An educational census for

1870 listed the number of elementary schools in the city as 236, of which all but thirty-eight sent in returns. Divided among Anglican, Non-Conformist, Roman Catholic, endowed, ragged and industrial Schools, they recorded an attendance of 23,286, which represented a mere two-thirds of of the City's juvenile population aged between five and twelve years. Nor did immediate plans for increased accommodation offer encouragement, for although eleven new schools were in the process of construction there remained a deficiency of nearly seven thousand places as laid down by the Act of 1870.[1] While the situation improved during the remaining thirty years of the nineteenth century, doubt was nonetheless levelled at the effectiveness of the 1870 Act. Figures provided by the Fabian Society in 1891 showed that "About two-thirds of Bristol's children attend schools over which the citizens have no control," as only nineteen of the City's seventy-three elementary schools were administered by the Bristol School Board.[2] However, by the end of the century a change was being witnessed with forty-seven of ninety-five elementary schools being controlled by the School Board and providing education for nearly two-thirds of the City's elementary school population. As school attendance rose sharply during the years 1870 to 1900 so also did the City's involvement in the provision of free public elementary education increase. However, even by the end of the nineteenth century, few opportunities existed for education beyond age twelve. For those unable to afford attendance at one of Bristol's "public" schools, provision was made for ongoing education by various political and philanthropic organisations of the City.[3]

The Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society was founded in 1884. Under the presidency of the Reverend John Percival the Society was formed for the purpose of "assisting and supplementing,... the efforts that are already being made... for the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of Boys and Girls, from the time of their leaving the Elementary Schools."[4] For a man who is quoted as saying, "The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you,"[5] it is not surprising that Percival, who supported the practice of sport while headmaster at Clifton College, eventually succeeded in incorporating physical education and sport into the Society's programme which were so markedly absent in the previous statement of objectives. By the year 1890 "manual instruction, suitable physical exercises and drill," were recognised subjects although less than four pounds of a ninety-two pound budget was expended toward this end. After Mark Whitwill became President of the Society in 1892, it appears that the status of physical education improved for in that year games were freely provided at the nine centres scattered throughout the City while drill was taught at the Barton Hill centre by a Sergeant Flynn. One year later Swedish drill was being taught at each of the nine centres and the total expenditure on games and drill had more than doubled. As the success of the Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society was realised, so the Bristol School Board provided similar institutions which in turn sounded the death knell of the Society in 1895. During the following year, the Evening Class Committee of the School Board provided twelve evening schools with an enrollment of nearly two thousand students. While the study of hygiene was quite common, only the Newfoundland Road Evening Continuation School for Women and Girls offered any form of physical exercise, and that, under the direction of Miss A.M.M. Fowler, the Headmistress. While the experience of the middle class "public" schoolboy is discussed in the following chapter, concern over the neglect of sport by the Board School must nonetheless be considered.[6]

During the 1870s eleven to twelve year old pupils of the "public" schools averaged five inches taller than boys of the same chronological age who attended industrial schools. This retardation in physical growth, which was ongoing throughout the teenage years at a difference of three inches, was doubtless a reflection of the poorer nutritional and living standards of the working classes although likely a consequence of limited if any, opportunity for the sons of artisans to participate in sport. In considering Britain's faltering status in the world with regard to providing physical education for the people, Lord Brabazon reasoned that " it is because our middle and upper classes hold such a high place amongst the athletes of the world, that we are blind to the deficiencies in this respect of their brothers of a lower station in life." Concerned with the deteriorating physical condition of his nation's urban population the author concluded that:

> This question of Physical Education is one therefore which all classes of the community should support: the working men for their own sakes and for that of their children; military and naval men for the reputation of their country's arms; philanthropists and divines for the love of their fellow-men; employers and capitalists for the sake of improved trade; and statesmen lest they find that the Britain which they profess to govern is sinking before their eyes... undermined through physical causes which might have been avoided...[7]

The question of education, - intellectual, moral and physical - for all socioeconomic classes had been taken up by concerned political and socio-religious groups long before the Education Act of 1870. In 1852 the Industrial and Provident Societies Act permitted the use of Co-operative

Societies' funds for educational purposes. After Bristol's Societies accepted the Model Rules of the Co-operative Union, they set aside two and one-half percent of all profits for "educational purposes", a term which encompassed children's sports and festivals, swimming and dancing classes. Echoing, in part, the words Lord Brabazon, Hugh Holmes Gore stood for election to the Bristol School Board in 1889. A staunch Socialist in a traditional Conservative/Liberal stronghold, Gore presented pure Socialist sentiment in addressing the electorate,highlighting his belief in free and compulsory education for all, without direct cost to parents. Shifting his emphasis to physical education, the candidate viewed " Food for the mind without food for the body" a waste, and expressed his desire to see children " trained in perfect exercise and Kingly continence of mind and body." To this end, Gore provided the assurance that:

> I shall endeavour to have the playgrounds opened for the children to play there after school during the hours of daylight, and throughout the holidays, and gymnasiums put up in every playground to develop fully their bodily powers.[8]

In conclusion he reminded Bristol's citizens that the Board School is used by the children of the working classes, " it is not good enough " for the upper strata of society, and that " some day I hope it will be good enough for all. " In being elected with the second highest vote, Hugh Holmes Gore became the first Socialist to sit on the Bristol School Board, and while his thoughts and ideals were frequently blanketed by the five Conservative and six Liberal Board members, his new found status afforded a fresh realisation and hope to the working classes of Bristol.[9]

Despite increased opportunity for the education of all,precipitated through the endeavours of various social agencies and the Education Act of

1870, physical education fell far short of becoming an integral part of every school's curriculum. The Forster Act made no provision for physical education, although a revision made by the Education Department in 1871 for the purpose of financial grants, permitted "attendance at drill under a competent instructor for not more then two hours per week and twenty weeks in the year," to count as school attendance. Such legislation must be viewed as merely "permissive," allowing boys to partake of military drill while at no time making it mandatory for schools to provide physical education programmes. Statistics provided for the years 1872 and 1880 suggest a growth in the number of schools where military drill was conducted. However this increase of nearly one third is negated, as the number of schools inspected all but doubled.[10]

Military drill, as practiced in both "public" and Board Schools, emphasized discipline, obedience, smartness, order and cleanliness, characteristics identified by Mathias Roth as contributing toward military enthusiasm and strength, resulting traits that ensured a return for the expenditure necessitated by its provision. Add to this ideal the realistic advantage of being able to lead a large group in drill within ever-shrinking confines, and it was hoped that military drill would represent a valuable and practical means of physical education in school. However, such was not to be the case as the repetition of exercises fraught boredom as one Cliftonian recalled in a poem entitled "Recreation":

> Behold where we stand, an illustrious band!
> decrepit or feeble or ill,
> Now forming in rows, now touching our toes,
> enjoying our "physical drill."
> Despairing of hope, since they won't let us "slope,"
> we stand in the wind and the rain,
> While the onlookers scoff, and we can't "leave off,"
> though we've tried it again and again.[11]

Nevertheless, drill had undergone many changes from its early days in Bristol's schools. Until 1878, its practice in elementary schools had frequently been open to individual interpretation, yet with the arrival of Miss Concordia Löfving in that year, to take up her position as Lady Superintendent for Physical Education of the London School Board (and bringing with her from Sweden the ideas of Per Henrik Ling, who had opened the Institute of Gymnastics at Stockholm in 1814), a systematic form of Swedish gymnastics was introduced into the nation's Board schools. Impressed with the success of the London authority, the Bristol School Board followed suit in appointing a supervisory instructor of physical education. Within three years Miss Löfving was succeeded by Miss Martina Bergman who later became known as Madame Bergman Österberg. Remaining with the London School Board until 1885, she introduced the Swedish System into Whitelands Training College and later,in 1895,founded Dartford College. After finishing her duties with the London School Board she travelled to Bristol on Friday nights to conduct teacher-training courses in the West of England. While the popularity for Swedish drill flourished the Education Department remained firm in refusing to enforce mandatory physical exercise in its schools. As added concern was levelled at the deterioration of the peoples' physical state, an ongoing call was echoed for the introduction of obligatory physical education. In 1887 Lord Brabazon asked for:

> ...the compulsory training of all children attending Board and National Schools in gymnastics and calisthenics. In order that the physical training given in the schools shall be efficient, it is necessary that it should be included in the Code of education,

> and that grants should be given for proficiency, just as is done in the case of intellectual training. It should never be forgotten that the mind is not likely to be healthy unless the body is in a sound condition,...
>
> I hope that within a short time there will be no school within the United Kingdom which will not teach gymnastic exercises to its boys and Swedish drill to its girls...[12]

The idea of including physical education in the "payment by results" scheme was not a new one and had been presented by Mathias Roth as early as 1870. However both Roth and Brabazon had to wait until 1895 before physical education was made eligible for granting as a subject of instruction. Unable to see a way to including the subject in the "payment by results" scheme, the Education Department issued the statement that "after 31st August 1895 the higher grant for Discipline and Organisation will not be paid to any school in which provision is not made for instruction in Swedish or other drill or suitable physical exercises." In this way the Education Department excluded those schools failing to provide physical education, from receiving the higher per capita grant, while stating the primary aim of discipline through drill. The final decade of the nineteenth century saw other critical changes being made as greater structure to physical education was brought about through the establishment of the British College of Physical Education in 1891, responsible for the education of teachers, and the formation of the Ling Association in 1899. The year 1900 saw the establishment of the newly constituted Board of Education and a new complexion placed upon the physical education curriculum of schools as sports, or "games" as they were more commonly referred to in British Schools, were deemed an acceptable alternative to Swedish drill and physical exercise as long as they were supervised by a member of staff "who should teach the most skilful method of play, and should encourage orderly behaviour and stop quarrelling."[13]

Games had long been an integral part of "public" school curricula, promoting the very ideals that were presented by the Board of Education. Previously unrealistic in Bristol's Schools, due to the lack of open spaces, the new financial incentives and status afforded sport by the Board promised a replication of the highly valued sporting life of the City's "public" schools a phenomenon which will be discussed in the following chapter. In Boston the story was to be somewhat different. Relatively free of federal direction or legislation with regard to education, the State of Massachusetts and City of Boston were left virtually open to suggestions for private and public provision of education and the role that sport and physical education should play in the educative process.

Physical Education in Boston.

The City of Boston is often viewed as the educational capital of America. The first free public school in the country was established in "the Hub" during the seventeenth century. With Philemon Pormont appointed its first teacher, the Boston Public Latin School was opened on April 23 1635 and is still in existence, claiming such men as Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy among its alumni. By 1642 Massachusetts had passed a law directing the officials of each town to ensure that parents and teachers alike were fulfilling their educational duties. Within five years the "Ould Deluder Satan Law" was passed compelling all towns of fifty or more families to appoint a teacher of reading and writing and all towns of one hundred or more families to provide a Latin Grammar School. The State of Massachusetts maintained its lead in educational innovation in 1827, as it first required towns to provide high school education, and ten years later appointed Horace Mann the first Secretary of a State Board of Education, (a Federal Department of Education not emerging until 1867, which within one year had been replaced by the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior). Massachusetts was the only state to pass a compulsory attendance statute prior to the Civil War although the law of 1852 was infrequently adhered to as children and parents alike were more concerned with the wage earning potential that hours away from school promised. Therefore despite the State's ongoing concern at educational improvement, further witnessed by Boston becoming the first American city to racially integrate its public schools in 1855, and the ever-growing supervisory and teaching staff in the City, attendance at schools was considerably lower than expected. In 1875, over sixty thousand children of school age in Massachusetts were without any form of schooling, yet while the factory and labour demand had made a mockery of compulsory education it was not the sole problem facing administrators. In 1872, one hundred and seven primary, grammar and high schools had provided accomodation for more than forty-five thousand pupils in Boston, yet before very long the shortage of space had increased with nearly three thousand registered schoolchildren being turned away in 1882, and the situation deteriorating still further until the turn of the century. In 1882 a Massachusetts law abolished school districts (wherein institutions had frequently comprised an aggregate of all grades), in favour of consolidated schools necessitating daily travel, particularly by rural children, to a central graded school.

Two years later, the financial burden of public education was eased on behalf of the pupils and parents by making the provision of free textbooks obligatory throughout the State of Massachusetts.[14] Boston's public education programme during the years 1870 to 1900 represented more than the schools already mentioned. While affluence bought private education from primary to tertiary level, the Free Evening High School, the first in New England, opened in 1870; the lecture series; and multiplication of public libraries afforded increased educational opportunity for all socioeconomic classes and all ages.[15]

As Boston's traditional Yankee heritage became threatened by immigration, industrialisation and urbanisation, the City's educational leaders looked to the schools in the hope of preserving the social and moral homogeneity that had once been embedded in "the Hub". Community fragmentation; a decline in literacy and patriotism; the break-up of the family unit; and a decreasing adherence to the values of hard, honest labour, were viewed as social and moral ills which might be remedied through education. Adopting the thoughts and ideas of John Dewey, Charles W. Eliot and other liberal reformers, the Boston School Committee instituted changes in the City's educational programme in seeking to reach its goal, that being "the training of the entire being for what it has to do and be in after life."[16]

Physical education played a major role in the Boston system of education during the nineteenth century. The belief that "a man is in the prime of his physical power long before the maximum of his mental strength is reached,"[17] and the realisation that youth was the time for the development of physical potential, encouraged the City's fathers of

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education to pursue a programme of physical education in search of their valued end of a well-rounded being. During the first half of the eighteenth century Benjamin Franklin became one of the earliest proponents of including physical training in the educational curriculum of the City's schools. Nevertheless, it was not until the third decade of the nineteenth century that any real evidence of a sytematic programme of physical education was found in the schools of Boston. While the earliest gymnasium was established at the Latin School in Salem, Massachusetts in 1821, it failed to provide instructors, the first generally recognised programme of school gymnastics being conducted by Charles Beck at Round Hill School, Northampton, Massachusetts in 1825, two years after it had been founded by Joseph Cogswell and George Bancroft. Included in the School's first prospectus was the explanation that:

> We would also encourage activity of body as the means of promoting firmness of constitution and vigor of mind, and shall appropriate regularly a portion of each day to healthful sports and gymnastic exercises.[18]

Remaining at Round Hill for the following five years, Dr. Beck, a German, ordained minister and disciple of Jahn, went on to initiate gymnastic programmes at Yale in September, 1826 and Amherst in 1828, before moving to Phillipstock Academy in New York during 1830 where he remained for two years before being appointed Professor of Latin at Harvard.

Although Round Hill and Beck have commonly been attributed the pioneers of organised physical education in America, a nineteenth century author contends that the honour might well be claimed by "the Hub." In 1823 William B. Fowle established his "Monotorial School for Young Ladies" at

Washington Court, Boston. Two years later during the early spring of 1825, and upon being prompted by a series of lectures delivered by Dr. John G. Coffin, a leading physician of the City, Fowle introduced a programme of gymnastic training into his school, as the following extract from a letter written to Coffin by Fowle and dated October 1826 recalls with an accompanying note of optimism:

> The very day after the delivery of your first lecture, I procured two or three bars and as many pulleys, and after I had explained the manner of using them, my pupils needed no further encouragement to action. The recess was no longer a stupid, inactive season. All were busy and animated. My chief difficulty was in the proper exercise for females. You know the prevailing notions of female delicacy and propriety are at variance with every attempt to render them less feeble and helpless...I have finally succeeded in contriving apparatus and exercises enough to keep all employed in play hours. Besides the ordinary exercises of raising the arms and feet and extending them in various directions, we have methods of hanging and swinging by the arms, tilting, raising weights, jumping, marching, running, enduring, etc. Many weak and feeble children have at last doubled their strength. Some very dull ones have become more animated, and some over sprightly ones have found an innocent way of letting off their exuberant spirits. I do believe that no child has been made worse, while many, very many, have been essentially benifitted. The children of today are engaged in the health-destroying business of committing books to memory and filling the mind with indigestable food, that it may be a suitable companion for its dyspeptic envelope. I hope the day is not far distant when gymnasiums for women will be as common as churches in Boston.[19]

Whether or not the credit of conceiving America's earliest physical education programme is conferred upon Fowle, the intervening period between the Boston School's programme and that of Round Hill School could only have been a matter of months. However, greater and more radical advances were to come in 1826 as Harvard emerged as a leading light in physical education.

Upon the request of President Kirkland of Harvard, the aforementioned Dr. Warren wrote to an acquaintance, William Amory, a student at Gottingen University, requesting his assistance in acquiring the services of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn for the Harvard gymnasium. A reply from Amory, dated January 22 1826, read:

> Dr. Warren - Dr. Sir,
> I have to day received an answer from Mr. Reimer of Berlin, to whom I wrote immediately upon my arrival at Göttingen, concerning his friend Professor Jahn, explaining to him the intention of the Government of Harvard University to institute a Gymnasium at Cambridge & their desire to know upon what terms Prof. Jahn would go to America to teach the Gymnastic Art & the German Language... He says Prof. Jahn could not receive less than two thousand dollars a year & that he required his travelling expenses to be paid;...he is ready at any time that the gentlemen to who you refer his terms think them reasonable enough to be accepted...[20]

Jahn's demands were apparently deemed too exhorbitant by the Governors of Harvard as Charles Follen (1796-1840) was selected for the position. By May of 1826 "one of the unoccupied common halls was fitted up with various gymnastic appliances and other fixtures were erected on the Delta."[21] The latter represented a triangle of land equipped as a gymnasium and described by Thomas Wentworth Higginson as comprising "high uprights and crossbars, with ladders and swinging ropes, and complications of wood and cordage...Beneath some parts of the apparatus there were pits sunk in the earth..." The work of Follen in introducing German gymnastics to the students of Harvard together with his work at the Tremont Gymnasium or Turnplatz in Boston, combined with the innovatory efforts of Beck and later Lieber(already discussed in Chapter V), led Edward Mussey Hartwell to conclude in 1886 that "the germ of such physical training as exists at present in many of our colleges came from abroad, and was planted by German exiles in New England Soil."[22]

Although the earliest physical education system did not appear in Boston until 1825, the attention of the City's residents to the value of such a programme had been brought by Dr. Coffin in 1818 when he published his introductory lecture on bathing entitled, "Cold and Warm Bathing." While Coffin delivered a series of lectures on physical education in Boston during the years 1820 to 1825, it was during the first that he underscored his perceived value of such a programme, in the following extract:

> Let us remember, that the great purposes of physical education are to superintend the infant body, to favor its development and progress in childhood and youth, till it is completed in the man,--and then to preserve in health this complicated machine fitted and prepared for all the duties, labors, and enjoyments of the animal, intellectual, and moral life.[23]

Fitting neatly into the Boston School Committee's later definition of education, Coffin, ably supported by Dr. J.C. Warren, continued to promote the cause of physical education after becoming the owner and editor of the Boston Medical Intelligencer in October 1826, a journal which represented the major informative source with regard to physical education in Boston during the years 1826 to 1830.[24]

As the popularity for physical education waxed in Boston, so other schools of the City integrated such programmes into their curriculum. Mr. G.F. Thayer founded a private school in Boston during 1820, which increased in size after relocating at Harvard Place in 1823. Comprising sixty fulltime pupils aged between seven and fourteen years old, Thayer described the role played by physical education in the overall curriculum during 1826:

> In the course of the morning while certain classes are still busied with their lessons, the remaining boys form a line in the aisle, and taking such apparatus as may be designated, move out of the school in company, for gymnastic exercises. When the weather is suitable they go, accompanied by the principal, to the common, where they engage for about fifteen minutes in running, hopping, jumping with poles and without, leap frog, drawing---as pulling by classes at the opposite ends of a rope; and returning to the school, one of the teachers takes out such of the remaining boys as have been found correct in their lessons, for similar physical exercises in the open air. When the weather is not suitable for this, the boys go into the yard about the school, a class at a time, and take exercises by themselves as well as the space will allow. We have a plank placed edgewise and raised about eighteen inches from the ground, on which we require them to walk to strengthen their legs and ankles and gain power of preserving equilibrium in narrow paths;...[25]

While the schoolboys enjoyed their hours of exercise, the physical education programme was not for all,particularly those "found deficient in lessons or deportment during the morning." The Thayer School also provided for extracurricula physical education as "the principal,sometimes accompanied by an assistant,... [invited] boys to meet him early in the morning, on the common or in the mall where they [engaged] in their usual sports..."[26] The growing consciousness of physical education, described by Edward Everett Hale as a "drift for athletics," swept through other City schools. The Boston Latin School was fitted up with all measure of gymnastic equipment, including a vaulting-horse and parallel bars. However, as the fad for public and private gymnasiums and gymnastics died out by the beginning of the 1830s, so also was a decline observed in the physical education programme of schools. Although the importance of gymnastics and related exercise in schools was seen to wane, it would be incorrect to consider the middle third of the nineteenth century as a period of dormancy with regard to physical education in Boston.[27]

Although development was slow during these years, physical education was frequently discussed by various school authorities in Boston and represented a subject supported by such prominent men as Nathan Bishop, the first Superintendent of the Boston Schools and Horace Mann, the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Further evidence for the gradual rise of physical education is witnessed by a series of legislative actions brought by the Boston School Committee. In 1833, a committee chaired by Samuel A. Eliot recommended improvements in the heating and ventilation of school houses in the City together with other various alterations, all contributing toward the improved health and comfort of pupils and teachers alike. Three months later, a more important report by The Primary School Committee of Boston recommended periods of relaxation during school hours.[28] The findings and further recommendations of J.D. Fisher and William C. Woodridge as addressed to the Committee bear witness to the increased realization of such needs:

> As the natural result of the situation of the room and the want of a spacious yard or play ground, it is impossible to relieve the children from the effects of confinement and bad air, by suitable recesses. We found that two-thirds of the schools allow no recess; and only permit the children a few minutes of relaxation in the school-room. Where it is allowed we were sorry to find that except in a single instance, five to ten minutes was the utmost time granted, in a session of three hours. We are grateful that the committees have urged the necessity of recesses, and we hope that this important improvement will be adopted. We believe, however, that thirty minutes in each half day, would contribute to the progress, as well as to the health of the children, and we know that the best medical authorities claim this indispensible to their safety.[29]

On November 5 1833 "Rule 10" appeared in the "Rules and Regulations of the Primary School Committee" providing for a daily period of relaxation and though falling short of prescribing an ordered system of physical education read:

> It shall be the duty of the instructors to attend to the physical comfort and education of the pupils under their care; and to this end the ordinary duties and exercises of the school shall be suspended for a portion of time, not exceeding fifteen minutes each part of the day... This time shall be taken together or divided, at the discretion of the teacher, and occupied in conformity with the state of the weather, the season of the year, and the situation and convenience of the school-room; and in such manner as each instructor shall judge best adapted to relieve weariness, strengthen the physical constitution, excite love of order, and associate with the school ideas of cheerfulness, as well as improvement.[30]

Two major problems had been overcome by Boston's School authorities in accepting and justifying the need for an organised programme of physical education and through providing the time necessary for its practice. Nevertheless, there were still valleys to bridge along the road to instituting physical education into the City's school system as certain difficulties needed to be overcome. Together with the design and implementation of suitable programmes, the more fundamental difficulty of inadequate space and facilities became problems which fell into the hands of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

Possibly the foremost educator of antebellum years in America was Horace Mann, the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1837 to 1848. A pioneer of physical education in the nation's schools, Mann pointed out the need for school yards and playgrounds in his First Annual Report. Quoting from an earlier report published in 1833 he emphasized that:

> As the situation should be pleasant and healthful, so there should be sufficient space around the building. With the number who ordinarily attend these institutions, not less than a quarter of an acre should ever be thought of as a space for their accomodation; and this should be enclosed from the public highway, so as to secure it from cattle, that the children may have a safe and clean place to exercise at recess and other times.... Every schoolhouse lot should be large enough for the rational exercise which the children ought to have, and will take. It would be well to have it large enough to contain some ornamental and fruit trees, with flowers---borders, which we know children may be taught to cultivate and enjoy; and by an attention to which their ideas of property, and common rights, and obligations, would become more distinct.[31]

The report went on to illustrate how many of the school grounds in existence fell outside of the above guidelines while Mann concluded that due to limited space and poor location of the areas, "healthful and vigorous exercise is restrained..." Despite such pleas for improvement the situation witnessed little change for as a report of Boston Schools completed in November 1842 noted, they "are at a great disadvantage by having rooms with unplastered walls and no room for children to play."[32] While the improvement of surroundings occupied much of Mann's energy, his belief that "soundness of health is preliminary to the highest success in any pursuit " led him even deeper in his crusade for physical education. He considered the apparent disinterest shown toward physical vitality by clergymen, lawyers, mothers and writers as rather unusual, a pursuit seemingly restricted to "the wrestler, the buffoon, the runner, the opera-dancer" and continued in expressing concern that "there are ten professors of pugilism in our community to one of physical education in our seminaries of learning."[33]

With regard to time for the practice of physical education, the Secretary reiterated earlier recommendations that adequate hours in the day be set aside for recreational purposes. In his Fourth Annual Report, published in The Common School Journal for 1841, Mann included letters from three of the many qualified respondents whom he had contacted regarding the most suitable length of the school day and related periods of recess. The three men all agreed upon a four hour day as being most suitable for children under the age of eight years, with two of them feeling that a break should follow each hour in the classroom, while the third further recommended a short period of relaxation every half hour. An extract from Dr. Samuel B. Woodward's reply serves to better explain the generally agreed upon feelings that:

> Children under eight years of age should not usually be confined to the school-room more than one hour at a time nor more than four hours in a day. These hours should afford condiderable diversity of employments, so as to enable the child to change his posture frequently, and to be more or less upon his feet;... If a child exhibits any symptoms of precocity, it should be taken immediately from books, and be permitted to ramble and play in the open air, or engaged in manual labour and such amusements as will give rest to the mind, and health and vigour to the body.
>
> The recess at school, for children of eight years and under, should be long, the play active and even, noisy, for the lungs acquire strength by exercise, as well as the muscles; every child should be required to unite in the sports of play time.
>
> Fifteen minutes are a short time for recess; half an hour is better, particularly in summer.[34]

Woodward continued to emphasize the schools' ignorance of physical education. With regard generally being afforded to "mental and moral improvement only," he concluded that "it is of little use to make great acquirements, if, in doing so, we sow the seeds of disease that will destroy the happiness and usefulness of life." Mann's Sixth Annual Report, in 1843, recommended the inclusion of exercise time in each school day and that physiology be considered as a public school subject. Though falling short in extending the 1833 rule pertaining to time out of the classroom, the Massachusetts Legislature passed a law in 1850 authorising school committees throughout the Commonwealth "to make physiology and hygiene a compulsory study in all the public schools."[35]

Physical Education began to realise a new found status in Boston during the 1840s. In 1842, during a visit to "the Hub", Charles Dickens recalled visiting the Perkins Institute where he saw blind boys actively engaged in gymnastics and sports. The year 1846 saw the publication of John C. Warren's second book entitled Physical Education and the Preservation of Health, an extension of his earlier work The Importance of Physical Education in which the Boston physician recommended the practice of ambidexterous ball games, exercises on the triangle, dumb-bells and parallel bars as well as walking and dancing.[36]

Horace Mann is the name best remembered as a pioneer of physical education in schools during the 1840s, while Nathan Bishop, the Superintendent of Boston Schools made greatest strides during the subsequent decade. In his Second Annual Report of 1852 Bishop outlined his foremost belief with regard to physical education in the City's schools:

> In addition to the exercise allowed at the time of recess each half day, all the younger children need provision for some gentle exercise as often as once in every half hour, such as riding, walking, marching accompanied with such motions of the arms as would tend to give fullness and erectness to the chest.[37]

The following year saw the adoption of the first legislation of the Boston School Committee providing for compulsory organised exercise time, requiring the schoolmasters,ushers and teachers in the grammar and writing schools to "So arrange the daily course of exercises in their respective classes that every scholar shall have daily in the forenoon and afternnon, some kind of physical exercise."[38]

By 1858 the Boston Public Schools had their second Superintendent in the form of John D. Philbrick. With the 1853 rule seldom being enforced by the School Committee, Philbrick's concern centred upon the Schools' "one great and radical defect,... the want of physical training." Distressed at the deteriorating state of health of the City's schoolchildren, Philbrick recommended "the introduction into all grades... of a thorough system of physical training." Furthermore, Superintendent Philbrick suggested that a part of each school day be devoted to the compulsory practice of calisthenics and gymnastic exercises which could "be practiced without costly apparatus, and without a room set apart; [and] contain all that either sex needs for the perfect development of the body."[39] Although these recommendations were neither adopted nor instituted immediately, the Boston School Committee, on September 11 1860, ordered:

> That the Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools be referred to a Committee of five, with instructions to consider and report, what, if any action should be taken by this Board in relation to the same, and the suggestions therein contained relating to the subject of Physical Training.[40]

Appointed to the Special Committee on Physical Training were Messrs. Bates, Cobb, S.K. Lothrop, Thayer and Tuxbury. Reporting on October 1st 1860 the Committee, by way of introduction, stated that:

> No one will deny that a healthy, vigorous, and active physical system is an inestimable blessing... Hence it is of special importance that the training of the young should be such as not only to fit them mentally for the struggle before them, but also to render them physically able to endure the wear and tear.[41]

Maintaining the same strand of thought, the Committee perceived physical education as the "care and cultivation of the body," and "the foundation of the whole edifice of education." In the search for improvement of health and development of the physical faculties, the Committee recommended the Swedish system of gymnastics as the most desirable and practical with regard to introduction into the Boston Schools. Further, the following recommendations were made:

> 1. That a Standing Committee on Physical Training be appointed, who shall have the general supervision of the sanitary provisions and arrangements of the schools.
>
> 2. That this Committee be authorized to appoint and nominate to the Board, a suitably qualified person to aid and instruct the teachers in the training of their pupils' physical exercise---the system of exercise to be practiced in all the schools to be prescribed by the person so appointed and approved by the Committee on Physical Training.
>
> 3. That the time devoted to these exercises shall not exceed half an hour each half day, nor less than a quarter of an hour.[42]

Although none of the recommendations were adopted by the School Committee on the basis of the increased bureaucratization, staffing and pupil responsibility necessitated by such a change, by the time of his Fifth Semi-Annual Report in 1862, Superintendent Philbrick expressed a tone of optimism with regard to the path that physical education was taking in Boston. Encouraged by the seventy primary school teachers that had undergone special training in gymnastic instruction, Philbrick looked to the future, and the status of special teachers explaining that:

> The rate of the Board has never yet been taken as the direct question of employing a special teacher of gymnastics, and I hope the time is not too distant when it will be again considered, thoroughly discussed, and decided upon its merits.[43]

However, for the present it seemed that the action of the School Committee to ignore the recommendations of the Special Committee on Physical Training in 1860, presented a plateau in the gradual progress of physical education in antebellum Boston.

While limited support for physical education was generally witnessed throughout Boston's schools during these years there were exceptions, led by enthusiastic teachers with a deepset belief in the value of a structured programme. Physical training had been an integral part of the Eliot School curriculum since gymnastic instruction was started by S.W. Mason in 1860. Two years later, on May 17 1862 a large group of teachers congregated in the School Hall to witness an exhibition of gymnastics, which were becoming popular with the publication of Mason's Manual for the Use of Teachers also in that year. A report in The Massachusetts Teacher for 1862 described the scene:

> The scholars occupied the center of the Hall, arranged in four files, about two feet apart. The first and third files were one pace in advance of the others, so that there might be room for the free play of the arms between the boys of the adjoining files. The various arm, head, trunk, and leg movements were then executed with great precision to music which was furnished by two boys of the school, one playing upon the violin, the other upon an accordian. Then followed exercises in breathing, explosion of the vowels,...[44]

The characteristics of discipline and precision so evident throughout this method of physical training represented the true value of such programmes, to many of the citizens of Boston. At a meeting of the Board of Education November 3 1863 two petitions, each asking for the introduction of military drill as a part of the public school daily routine, were presented. The first was signed by a group of Bostonians, among whom were James M. Beebe, Edward Everett and Charles G. Loring, all of them being "interested in the preservation of public order and the protection of property."[45] Support for military drill by the second group of petitioners (citizens representing nearly all professions), was based on the belief that:

> ...the hygienic effect of a thorough military training would prove it to be, not only the best system of physical exercise for the schools, but, at the same time, would inculcate a more manly spirit in the boys, strengthen and extend their faculties, invigorate their intellects, make them more graceful and gentlemanly in their bearing, and render them competent at the age of sixteen or eighteen years, to enter the field as privates or officers in any regular military organisation.[46]

In response to these requests and prompted by the realisation of Civil War, a committee comprising Edward H. Brainard, Haynes, George Hayward, Lothrop and chaired by George S. Hale was established and charged to report on the expediency of introducing military drill into the programme of public school instruction. With unanimous agreement the committee accepted the plan of introducing military gymnastics and drill into Boston's public schools for boys, both as a means of physical training and of national defence. With Captain Hobart Moore engaged as drill instructor, military drill was experimentally introduced into the Public Latin, English High, Eliot and Dwight Schools for one half hour on each of three days a week. Subsequently eliminated from the Eliot, Dwight and other grammar schools, military drill was by 1886, introduced into all the high schools of the City wherein "two drill a week, of an hour each, [were] required of all boys able to carry a musket."[47] While the aforementioned represents the earliest introduction of a plan of compulsory physical training into the public schools of Boston, the credit of pioneer in military drill must go to the Chauncy Hall School, founded by G. F. Thayer in 1828, which obtained fifty muskets in the summer of 1861 to be utilised in the successful introduction of drill. In an extract from an article in The Massachusetts Teacher for June 1864, Messrs. Cushing and Todd, proprietors of the School, provided a full account of their philosophy and work:

> The military enthusiasm prevalent in the early part of the year, afforded a favourable opportunity to accomplish an object that we had long had at heart; namely, to introduce some form of physical discipline and exercise, which could be practiced under the eye of the teacher, and which should be at once safe and physically beneficial, and have some influence upon mental habits and discipline and possible future avocations or necessities. Military drill affords these advantages to an unusual degree. It gives safe and moderate exercise, without danger of overstraining or accident; it cultivates erect, manly, and graceful positions and carriage of the body; it develops physical hardihood and endurance, and the habit of meeting trifling inconveniences unshrinkingly; it requires that self command over the muscles and nerves that enable one to maintain a position without fidgiting or wiggling, to preserve immobility.[48]

Following the success of the experimental introduction of military drill into four Boston schools toward the end of 1863, a meeting of the School Committee on December 27th 1864, resulted in the adoption of several orders critical to the advancement of physical education in the City. It was resolved that a Standing Committee on Gymnastics and Military Drill be appointed to administer the programme of physical training in the schools and to hire an Instructor of Vocal and Physical Gymnastics whose salary should not exceed fifteen hundred dollars per annum. With not less than twenty minutes daily in the grammar schools, and a minimum of thirty minutes daily in the primary schools in addition to the regular recess, the time devoted to vocal and physical gymnastics was the responsibility of the Instructor, The Standing Committee on Gymnastics and Military Drill comprising J. Baxter Upham, M.S., Robert J. Burbank, H. Brainard, William B. Fowle and George Hayward, M.D., Chairman, was appointed early in 1865 and took little time in selecting Professor L.B. Monroe as Instructor of Vocal and Physical Gymnastics. Two years later A.E. Sloane was appointed Assistant Instructor at an annual salary of eighteen hundred dollars which increased, a year later, to twenty-five hundred dollars, Professor Monroe's own salary being increased from fifteen hundred to three thousand dollars. While Sloan's responsibilities were generally confined to the primary schools and classes for teachers on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, Monroe conducted regular classes at the Girl's High,Normal, Highlands High and Training Schools with additional visits beig paid to most of the City's grammar schools. Like Sloan, Monroe also provided instruction for teachers on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons together with Monday evenings. In July 1870, Professor Monroe's position was elevated to Superintendent of Vocal and Physical Culture, his duties being:

> ...to devote three months of each year to the training of the masters and teachers of all our schools, for the personal fulfillment, in their various divisions, of the work heretofore assigned to the instructor and his assistant...with the aid of the excellent little manual which he published can in three months see that all our teachers are qualified to do the work themselves.[49]

Within a year Professor Monroe's services were terminated being replaced by W.J. Parkerson and Moses True Brown before the Department was abolished in 1876.

Military drill continued to represent the most prominent style of physical training in schools during the decade 1865 to 1875 its popularity being reflected in the folowing extract from an educational advertisement appearing in a Boston newspaper of 1871:

> Special attention is given to Physical Culture, Gymnastics and Calisthenics and Military Drill by an experienced Army officer.[50]

The end of the Civil War sounded a swift decline in military drill in Boston's schools, only to be replaced by emerging innovatory programmes. However, as late as 1885, a report by John D. Philbrick (formerly Superintendent of Boston Public Schools), noted that:

> The present school regulations provide that instruction in military drill shall be given by a special drill officer, in the high schools, to boys of good physical condition who are thirteen years old or more, the time not to exceed two hours per week...[51]

Nevertheless, Philbrick's closing acceptance and recommendation of military drill in schools was not necessarily representative of sentiments towards its practice during the 1880s. One of the leading opponents of military drill in Boston's schools was Dudley Allen Sargent. In an article published in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal for 1886, the first Director of Harvard's Hemenway gymnasium considered his criticisms of military drill. In Sargent's opinion the exercises were practiced with insufficient force and rapidity to ensure energetic muscular contraction necessary to a beneficial functioning of the circulatory and respiratory systems. Hindered by the nature of the clothing worn, the muscles were tetanized and contraction maintained stunting their cooperative and coordinating potential. Further, the design of the exercises tended to an imbalance in muscular development and sometimes even injury. Based upon his measurement of Boston schoolchildren who had participated in military drill from the age of nine or ten, Sargent was able to state that such exercise increased postural defects and malformation. Beyond the physiological ramifications of military drill, Sargent considered that rather than tend to the development of such traits as coolness, courage, presence of mind and responsible judgement, the programmes more readily produced obedient, patient, fortitudinous and forbearing individuals. While not totally denying the value of military drill, Sargent continually reemphasized the need of a broadly based athletic and gymnastic experience to which drill might possibly constitute a part.[52]

Despite such criticism, military drill found continued support from educational leaders. In 1889, and speaking before the Conference on Physical Training held in Boston, Dr. J.G. Blake of the City's School Board lent his support to such programmes. In partial contradiction of Sargent's views, Blake maintained that, during fourteen years of service on the Boston High School Committee, he recalled not one report of injury to a pupil through participation in drill. Claiming that "the boys enjoy it, and it is a rare occurrence to have an application for release from the drill", the former Chairman of the School Committee reiterated the belief that military drill contributed to good mental and moral discipline and the formation of desirable character traits, "patriotism, chivalry, love and defence of country and home." On a more practical note, military drill represented a systematic form of exercise that might be practiced by a large number of boys within limited bounds of time and space. Yet military drill was merely one and the earliest form of physical education to be accepted by the Boston Public Schools. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the introduction and refinement of a variety of physical regimens developed by a number of pioneers emanating from "the Hub", several of whom have been considered earlier in Chapters IV and V.[53]

George Winship (1834-1876) had achieved some popularity in antebellum Boston through his system of heavy gymnastics which comprised primarily of weightlifting. Hardly suitable for introduction into the City's schools, the call went out for a more moderate alternative, for as Thomas Wentworth Higginson explained "Dr. Winship had done all that was needed in apostleship of severe exercises, and there was wanting some man with a milder hobby, perfectly safe for a lady to drive." Dioclesian Lewis was that man and his hobby, the "New Gymnastics."[54]

Born of Welsh parentage in Cayuga County, New York in 1823, Lewis was but fifteen years of age when he first started teaching. At age eighteen he organized a select school in Fremont, Ohio, an undertaking which he subsequently gave up through his desire to study medicine. After a spell in the office of the physician at Auburn State Prison, Lewis entered Harvard Medical School in 1845 and, after failing to complete the course, established himself at Buffalo, New York in 1848 where he began editing a monthly publication called The Homeopathist. One year later, Lewis married Helen Cecilia Clarke, the daughter of a physician and, after his wife showed symptoms of consumption, gave up his practice, moving to Fredericksburg, Virginia in 1852. During the next eight years Lewis spent his time lecturing on health topics, although both the A.M., and M.D., degrees claimed in many of his publications were honorary degrees. As a member of the Sons of Temperance, abolitionist, and advocate of women's rights, Lewis' energetic and forceful personality served him well in a variety of addresses and articles presented with regard to the social problems of the day. Concerned also with the declining physical state of Americans, his leisure hours were occupied in developing a new system of preventive gymnastics, an enterprise that eventually took him to Boston.[55]

Feeling "that Boston would prove more hospitable to an educational innovation than any other city in the country,"[56] Lewis arrived in "the Hub" during June 1860. Commencing his work through the organisation of evening classes in West Newton, Newtonville, Newton, Newton Upper Falls, and Watertown, Lewis eventually relocated to a large military hall situated at 20, Essex Street in central Boston. Abiding by his belief that those needy of gymnastics "are fat ones, and persons of soft, feeble muscles," together with those "excluded from institutions where the apparatus...is in vogue,"[57] Lewis' gymnasium was open to men, women and children, allowing for the mingling of sexes which represented a fundamental premise to the sucess of his programme. In an early account of his classes at the West Newton Gymnasium, Lewis provided the following assessment:

> I may say that, of the one hundred and twenty ladies and gentlemen members who have been in constant attendance now nearly three months, everyone is more interested and fascinated than during the first week, everyone laughs and shouts more than at first; and it will so continue for ten years. The strongest man and the feeblest woman stand side by side, both equally interested, having each adapted to their respective strength and endurance.[58]

The Thirty-First Annual Convention of the American Institute of Instruction, held in Boston during August 1860 provided Lewis the necessary platform for popularising and disseminating his ideas. Lecturing, and demonstrating his gymnastics to a committee at his public gymnasium on Essex Street, Lewis, as one contemporary scholar has noted,"captured the enthusiasm of his audience as his pupils tossed beanbags in a variety of formations, and then moved with precision to command in dumbbell and wand drills..."[59] The similarity between Winship's static, heavy weightlifting and Lewis' dynamic, light gymnastics might be compared to night and day. With bells, wands, Indian clubs and rings constituting a major portion of Lewis' musically accompanied movements, they are perhaps no more imaginatively and colorfully described than by Thomas Wentworth Higginson who viewed them as:

> ...a series of rather grotesque movements which supple the body for more muscular feats:...A series of windmills, -- a group of inflated balloons, -- a flock of geese all asleep on one leg, --a circle of ballet dancers, just poised to begin, -- a band of patriots just kneeling to take an oath upon their country's altar, -- a senate of tailors, -- a file of soldiers, -- a whole parish of Shaker worshippers...[60]

This system of "New Gymnastics" was in essence an adaptation of earlier exercise regimens with the critical distinction that they were free of large and fixed apparatus.Emphasizing comfort and cardiovascular conditioning, Lewis designed clothing permitting maximum freedom throughout exercise, and various light equipment including an iron crown for the head which was patriotically decorated with the stars and stripes. In short, Lewis' proclaimed purpose had been "to present a new System of Gymnastics. Novel in philosophy, and practical details, its distinguishing peculiarity [being] a complete adaptation, alike to the strongest man, the feeblest woman, and the frailest child."[61]

One of Lewis' prime motivations in coming to Boston was his desire to establish a normal school of physical education. Opened in 1861, the Normal Institute for Physical Education provided the first teacher training course of its kind in America. With President Cornelius C. Felton of Harvard consenting to serve as its first President, the initial faculty members included Dio Lewis, M.D., Professor of Gymnastics, Thomas H. Haskins, M.D., Professor of Anatomy, Josiah Curtis, M.D., Professor of Physiology, and Walter Channing, M.D., Professor of Hygiene. In addition to the aforementioned disciples, the course of instruction included the principles of the Swedish Movement Cure focussing upon the remedy of various postural defects. Certain particulars of the first session commencing on July 5 and lasting ten weeks were made public through a letter written to The Massachusetts Teacher by Lewis and dated May 20 1861:

> Each pupil on being received into the institute, will be critically examined with

> reference to strength, form, and health; and any deficiency thus disclosed will be at once placed under the most thorough treatment, for the double purpose of illustrating the process of such treatment, and for more fully preparing the pupil himself for the duties of his profession. Tickets for the course $75; Matriculation fee $5; Diploma $10. Ladies will be charged 25% less than these prices. The Board of Directors number twenty-eight, many of whom stand foremost in this Commonwealth, by their position and learning. Address T.C. Severance, Secretary, Bank of the Republic, Boston.[62]

The second session of the Institute opened on January 2 1862 and boasted the added attraction of guest lectures by the Honorable George Bradburn, ex-President of the American Institute of Instruction, the Reverends Warren Burtin and Thomas Wentworth Higginson together with D.B. Hagar. The relative success of this innovatory venture continued with similar courses being offered twice annually until the Normal Institute of Physical Education finally closed its doors in 1868. Although the home of Lewis' ideas no longer existed, the seeds of the New Gymnastics had been sown during the 1860s and continued to bear fruit into the following decade as an advertisement in the Boston Morning Journal of 1871 serves to illustrate:

> Exhibition By a Class of Ladies and Gentlemen, of the Dio Lewis System of the New Musical Gymnastics. To be given in Tremont Temple under the leadership of Prof. Welch of Yale College, Wednesday Evening, August 23, Admission 50 cents.[63]

The pioneering years of Lewis were paralleled by an era of gymnasium building in many of New Englands' colleges and schools. With Amherst College, Yale and Harvard laying claim to the earliest construction during the year 1859 to 1860, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Phillips Andover Academy and St Paul's School soon followed one year later. The erection of these, often magnificent "halls of health" precipitated the need of not only a structured programme of physical education for practice within their walls, but leaders to ensure the full, safe and valuable utilization of each facility. In this regard, the first Professor of Hygiene and Physical Education in America was hired by the Governors of Amherst College, Massachusetts, in 1861. The appointee, Dr. Edward Hitchcock (1828-1911), was a graduate of the Harvard Medical School, Class of '53. Although Hitchcock's compulsory programme of gymnastics and anthropometry was unique, it failed to influence the growth of such programmes in other institutions of higher education. Indeed, it was not until Dudley A. Sargent was appointed Director of the Gymnasium and Assistant Professor of Physical Training at Harvard in 1879 that faculty recognition came to be accepted within the nation's halls of higher learning.

Dudley Allen Sargent (1849-1924) has been considered "one of the most pervasive influences in the history of American physical education."[64] Of the New England Yankee mould, Sargent's ability and achievements in the field of commercial enterprise lent much to his lifetime cause described by a biographer as preaching "the gospel of sound physical education and hygienic living."[65] An accomplished gymnast presenting mesomorphic frame and acrobatic innovations fashioned during his youthful years in Belfast, Maine, Sargent went on to tour and perform publicly as "Sargent's Combination," and during the late 1860s as part of a circus that included the famous Goldie Brothers. His early years in physical education bore little encouragement for Sargent. First appointed Director of Gymnastics at Bowdoin College in 1869, the nineteen year old fledgling received a mere five dollars remuneration per week. A subsequent accident resulted in his move to Yale University in Connecticut for the dual purpose of studying medicine and performing the role of Director of the Gymnasium. Against his wishes, Sargent forsook his hopes to continue in physical education and moved to New York City in 1878 to embark upon clinical practice. However, his belief in physical education and hygiene appeared to outweigh that of medicine, a value reflected in his opening of an institute of hygiene and public gymnasium in the City during the year of his arrival. His involvement with this enterprise was shortlived for within a year President Eliot invited Sargent to become Director of Harvard University's new gymnasium.

A Harvard graduate of the Class of '75 and son of Mrs. Mary Hemenway, Augustus Hemenway furnished a gift of $110,000 to his Alma Mater. The money was utilised in the construction of the Hemenway Gymnasium a magnificent and complete structure designed by Messrs. Peabody and Stearns of Boston and costing four thousand dollars to equip. Considered to be the foremost gymnasium in the world upon its completion in 1879, the Hemenway Gymnasium comprised a main hall (113' x 85'); a running track; a swimming pool; rowing, fencing and weight rooms; and cages for baseball, lacrosse and tennis together with adequate changing and bathing facilities; all of which were lavishly furnished. A list of apparatus at the Hemenway Gymnasium compiled by Edward Mussey Hartwell in 1886 is included in Appendix D. Comprising heavy apparatus reminiscent of Jahn's gymnastics, Sargent adopted both German and Swedish Systems combining their exercises to form his own characteristic approach which frequently utilised a variety of innovatory development and measurement machinery.

At the invitation of Charles Eliot, President of Harvard, Sargent finally accepted a position at Harvard, in a letter dated September 2, 1879 adding that "I have no hesitation in saying that I can make the Hemenway Gymnasium the most complete in the world." Eliot's reply included the terms of Sargent's five year contract as Assistant Professor of Physical Culture, and Director of the Gymnasium. At an annual salary of two thousand dollars plus locker fees, the conditions included Sargent's own selection of his staff and an agreement of one hour each day to be put aside for private practice in Boston. While the contract was renewed in 1884, Eliot's later nomination of Sargent for a full Professorship in 1889 was turned down by Harvard's Board of Overseers.[66] In addition to the principles expounded by Jahn and Ling, Sargent unquestionably adapted the work of other leading individuals, from the necessary similarities between exercise and "actual labour" drawn by Archibald Maclaren at Oxford,[67] to the exercise machines developed by Dr. Gustaf Zander, founder of the Medico-Mechanic Institute of Stockholm in 1865, and the anthropometrical and strength tests advanced by W.T. Brigham, a graduate of Harvard. One year after Sargent's appointment, the Harvard Catalogue carried the following description of the new programme of physical education:

> The attendance is voluntary, and the system adopted is one designed to meet the special wants of each individual. Realizing the great diversity in age, size, and strength, as well as in health, of the students who attend the University, the Director makes no attempt to group them into classes which pursue the same course of exercises.
>
> Upon entering the University, each student is entitled to an examination by the Director, in which his principal proportions are measured, his strength

> tested, his heart and lungs examined, and information is solicited concerning his general health and inherited tendencies. From the data thus procured, a special order of appropriate exercises is made out for each student, with specifications of the movements and apparatus which he may best use. After working on this prescription for three to six months, the student is entitled to another examination, by which the results of his work are ascertained, and the Director enabled to make a further prescription for his individual case.[68]

Such a definition provides a clear indication of the personal philosophy underlying the design and practice of Sargent's programme, principles which may be identified as education, hygiene, prevention, recreation and remediation. In an article entitled "Academic Value of College Athletics," Sargent expressed his belief that "The grand aim of all muscular activity from an educational point of view is to improve conduct and develop character." This value, not unlike the primary aims of the earlier programmes of military drill, was further extended by the introduction and cultivation of a particular cognitive component into the programme, an aspect designed to produce a better understanding of the ingredients necessary to the aquisition of various physical skills. Related to this, was a need for appreciating the anatomical structure and physiological function of the individual, including a knowledge of how good health might be maintained and even improved through attention to exercise, rest, diet, bathing and clothing, so preventing deterioration of the physical being. To those students who slipped below Sargent's norms, the programme offered a remedial hope for "the restoration of disturbed functions and the correction of physical defects and deformities."[69] A return to the recreative value of physical education led Sargent to reiterate the beliefs of his Puritan forefathers in the renovating quality of physical exercise, providing the student the opportunity to clear his mind and replace the vital energies so necessary in his return to the library or laboratory. In this regard, the programme was seen to provide an invaluable regulatory and control mechanism for the cathartic release of pent-up emotions, for as one observer suggested in an article written in 1890, all students should participate in a compulsory physical education programme during the first two years of college because:

> Everybody knows that the time when college boys, as well as others, incline to mischief, is the evening and night...if these hours can be tided over, if the exuberant impulses can be turned to other uses, if the physical energies can be cared for and satisfied in some well-regulated way, a great moral end will have been observed. And this is just what the gymnasium is admirably adapted to do.[70]

Continually emphasizing and reemphasizing this "moral" value of the gymnasium, the author further explained that "the boy that has had to keep his arms and legs a-flying for an hour is in no mood to do what used to be called 'making night hideous.'" In short, Sargent's search was for fitness, "fitness for work, fitness for play, fitness for anything a man may be called upon to do." While the new programme of physical education at Harvard fitted in neatly with President Eliot's new, more liberal curriculum, Sargent's innovation was not without problems.[71]

The number and nature of students participating in the new programme set within the College's Hemenway Gymnasium was an issue of critical concern to the Director. In his book Physical Education, Sargent noted that of the total student enrollment, less than ten percent showed any interest in his programme while not even six percent participated in it on a regular basis. Of even greater concern to Sargent was the fact that the majority of his patrons were members of the athletic teams, an ongoing problem of tradition against which he fought throughout much of his career and summarized in an article entitled "Competition and Culture" in which he pleaded, "Let us give less attention to the exploitation of the strong, and more attention to the instruction of the weak."[72] Yet within a short time the nature of Sargent's programme at Harvard began to bear fruit. Unlike the group orientated programmes of Jahn and more particularly Ling and Lewis, Sargent presented a characteristically individual programme emphasizing self motivation and exercise in relation to personal need through the utilisation of adjustable apparatus. By 1887, an account of "Social Life at Harvard," provided by an instructor and later Professor of English, included the following assessment of Sargent's impact:

> ...Since the opening of Hemenway gymnasium and the careful preparation of the grounds behind it, physical exercise has ceased to be the special course of training for athletic honors that it was ten of fifteen years ago. At present the average student, with no thought of training for any contest, devotes an hour or so a day to exercise in the gymnasium, or to whatever may be his chosen game: lawn tennis is now the most popular. So marked is this that the physical type of the Harvard student is visibly improving. The unwholesome book-worm once described as the long-haired grind is becoming, although his name survives, almost as obsolete as hazing.[73]

This apparent democratization of physical education was extended about 1891, as Sargent introduced a programme of free movements and light gymnastics intended for the general development of those students who were neither members of athletic teams nor in need of a special, individualized regimen. So popular had physical education become by 1895 that, coupled with the University's increased enrollment, the Hemenway Gymnasium was enlarged. Despite the growing interest and appreciation of physical education witnessed at Harvard, and largely precipitated through the endeavours of Sargent, it was not until 1898 that a recommendation for a three hour weekly freshman requirement in hygiene and athletics was first presented to the University Senate. Perhaps sparked by the Spanish-American War, the recommendation was nevertheless quashed and Harvard had to wait until 1919, Sargent's last year at the University, until a physical education non-credit requirement was instituted for all freshmen. The achievements of Harvard's first Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium and Assistant Professor of Physical Culture were indeed, pioneering in the evolution of American physical education, yet encompassed much more than the "Sargent System" developed for the students of Harvard.

Anthropometric measurements and strength tests became an integral part of Sargent's programme. Recognisably influenced by Maclaren and the anthropologist, Brigham, Sargent developed a sophisticated and complete system of measurement which he continually refined and improved utilising Harvard students as his subjects. With the years 1885 to 1900 described as "the golden age of anthropometric measurements," all Harvard athletes faced a strength test requirement in order to qualify for competition as early as 1890, Sargent's experiments in the field of tests and measurements had been initiated soon after his appointment at Harvard. Edward Mussey Hartwell includes statistical information pertaining to the "Strength and Development of the First Ten" at Harvard during the years 1880 to 1884, in Table 8 of his review of physical training in American Universities. With characteristic accuracy, metric values were provided for the girths of head, chest (natural and inflated), waist, thighs, arms, forearms, and strength of lungs, back, legs, arms and chest, and forearms. In addition to age, weight and height, total strength and ranked "condition" were calculated for each individual, providing an indicator of anatomical and physiological systems requiring improvement, together with a measure for comparison. Although Sargent's system of measurement was utilised by the students at large, observing improvements resulting from their participation in the physical education programme through graphic and tabular representation on various charts, the most common use of the system appeared to be by elite athletes.[74]

Sargent conducted such an examination on the "the Hub's" own heavyweight boxing champion of the world, John L. Sullivan on August 13th 1892. His findings, published in the "Boston Strong Boy's autobiography, Life and Reminiscences of a 19th Century Gladiator published by a former patient of Sargent's, James A. Hearn, (and subsequently by leading New York and Boston newspapers), was the cause of great dismay among Sargent's fellow professionals. Appearing only two weeks before Sullivan's fight with Corbett, accusations of financial incentives impinging upon professional etiquette were levelled at Sargent as it became known that he received one thousand dollars from the New York Herald for the rights of publishing the article and that, ten days before the book rolled off the presses. Convincing President Eliot of his purely scientific and educational intentions, Sargent had also to face his colleagues in physical education who, in their alarm, issued the following statement of diplomacy:

> We all expect so much from Dr. Sargent, both on account of his position at Harvard, his personal ability and standing that we can hardly believe that he knew where this article was to be placed. No one in the country has stood more firmly than has Dr. Sargent in opposition to all that would lower the profession in the eyes of the public. It was surely due to a misunderstanding.[75]

However hypocritical Sargent's sudden concern for elitism may sound, he quite definitely knew of the future publication of his findings for it later emerged as a condition of him measuring Sullivan. Despite the criticism and doubt levelled at Sargent's professional integrity he continued with his profile of leading athletes, completing an analysis of Eugene Sandow, "the Prussian strongman," in 1893. While colleagues found difficulty in accepting Sargent's apparent shift into the realms of business, there seems little doubt that financial returns forthcoming from the publication of his measurements and charts, represented the results of a conscious profitable enterprise conducted by an entrepreneur of peculiar commercial ability, and one which would be extended through his invention and manufacture of gymnastic equipment.

A hallmark of the "Sargent System" of gymnastics was the individualized nature of the programme necessitating a wide range of performance throughout various exercises. With this in mind Sargent developed, rather than invented, equipment comprising bars, pulleys and weights which, designed for use with particular muscle groups could be adjusted to meet the needs and abilities of a wide range of individuals. Prohibited, by his contract with Harvard, to enter into patent or production of his machines, requests led him to commission local companies to manufacture the equipment on his behalf. However, this professional barrier to commercial prosperity failed to prevent the problems that it intended to, an example being the law suit brought against Sargent by the Boston Gymnasium Supply Company operated by a man called Howard. The first that Sargent heard of Howard was a letter written in 1881 from Akron, Chio requesting permission to visit the Hemenway Gymnasium. Within a short while Howard was manufacturing and placing patents on Sargent's apparatus. A subsequent law suit brought against Sargent was broken as he established a prior use of the apparatus. After serving as apparatus advisor to the Narragansett Machine Company of Providence, Rhode Island, in which capacity he doubtless received payment, Sargent eventually took out a patent on the Inomotor, a machine that combined the most valuable components of rowing and cycling.[76]

Described by William Blaikie as "this Edison of the gymnasium," Sargent's inventions reached beyond the equipment of the gymnasium, for although seventy percent of all such "halls of health" constructed during the years 1881 to 1893 utilised some of Sargent's apparatus, his name is also remembered for the introduction of a rowing shell, for the purpose of "static" rowing, into the pool he had designed at Harvard, together with the emergence of "Battleball," "Crossball," "Curtainball" and other games developed by him. Through the ongoing invention of various equipment and development of the physical education programme, his ideas spread leading to an increased demand for teachers of the "Sargent System."[77]

Influenced by a visit to Chautauqua in 1879, Sargent opened a summer school at Cambridge on July 5th 1883 for five weeks duration and with the intent of educating both men and women pupils in the theoretical and practical aspects of health-promoting exercises, in part satisfying the demand for teachers of the "Sargent System." By the Fall of 1884 this early venture had reaped such success that Sargent established a Physical Training School for Teachers on the corner of Church and Palmer Streets in Cambridge. In a circular issued by Sargent, he set forth the purpose of the new institution through stating that, "The object of this school will be to drill pupils in the theory and practice of physical training, and to prepare them to teach in this much neglected branch of education." The two year course included instruction in anatomy and physiology during the first year and "inquiries into the relation of body and mind" during the second year. In addition to the practical aspects which included massage, vocal and physical gymnastics, weight training, athletics, the major gymnastic systems and even carpentry, reading and summer course alternatives were offered, all for a full course fee of two hundred dollars. For those pupils fortunate enough to boast a medical degree, completion of the course led to the awarding of a full certificate while others received certificates indicating the time spent at the School, the work completed, and the nature of service that each teacher was capable of performing.[78]

Despite the early success of this venture, the demand for competent teachers of the "Sargent System" continued, so much so that the Director of Hemenway Gymnasium opened a Summer School of Physical Education at Harvard in 1887, the aim of which according to the Harvard Catalogue for that year being "to qualify men and women as instructors in the Harvard system of physical examination and training." Following a sylabus not unlike that of the Physical Training School for Teachers, distinguished scholars were hired to teach in their speciality area as the Harvard Summer School of Physical Education became a nest of innovation in the field. With relaxation exercises, and Delsarte movements being introduced in 1890, aesthetic dance (1894), track and field for women (1896), eventually, in the year 1901, came the arrival of field hockey from England. The nature of the pupils was important to the future of the "Sargent System." During the first two years, one hundred and sixty-one pupils enrolled representing a variety of professional backrounds described thus:

> The most of them were teachers in physical exercises at colleges and secondary schools in different parts of the country. Among the list were several physicians, thirty-two college graduates, army officers, school superintendents and principals, and many teachers and professors in other branches, who attended for their own improvement or in the interest of the institution which they represented.[79]

Indeed, interest and reputation, with regard to the Harvard Summer School, spread far and wide. Of 206 men and 378 women who graduated by 1895, forty-three different states and countries were represented, with nearly half (225) coming from New England, nineteen emanating from the western Pacific States and thirteen from England. Annual enrollment during the nineteenth century varied from forty-five in 1888 to 124 in 1897 with a two summer minimum attendance instituted in 1899. By the turn of the century Sargent's pedagogical experiment, initiated at Harvard in the Summer of 1887, was receiving increased recognition from the University's Governors and acclaim from his fellow physical educators the world over. Through the summers spent in the confines of Hemenway Gymnasium and on the fields of Cambridge, the principles of the Sargent System of Gymnastics became popularised the world over and new ideas in physical education continued to ebb forth. It was perhaps in this manner moreso than any other that the name of Dudley Allen Sargent became recognised as one of the leading lights not only in America but in the world of physical education, while he maintained his activity in professional and legislative circles.

Founded in 1885 by William Gilbert Anderson (1860-1947), himself a graduate of the Roxbury Latin School in Boston, the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education developed into the leading professional body of its kind in America. Sargent was elected one of three vice-presidents to Edward Hitchcock, the Association's first President. Followed by presidential terms in 1890, 1892 and 1893, together with a two year term from 1899 to 1900, Sargent was unavoidably perched in the midst of advances made by the Association. Although elected President of The Society of College Gymnasium Directors in 1900 (an organisation which had also been founded by Anderson, in 1897), Sargent's greatest energy was seemingly expended at a more local level, as a Committee member of The Boston Physical Education Society which was founded in 1896.[80] Due largely to "the Hub's" leadership role in physical education throughout much of the nineteenth century, the Boston Society became the most powerful district branch of the A.A.A.P.E. during its early years. The editor of the Y.M.C.A. sponsored magazine entitled Physical Education expressed optimistic hopes at the formation of the Society:

> It is likely to exercise an enlightening and humanizing influence in the future upon the somewhat crochety and short-sighted partisans of rural schools and systems of doctrine, who have been wont to vilify and oppose one another in rather amusing and ungracious ways in the past.[81]

As expected, positive steps were taken by Sargent and the other committee members Edward Mussey Hartwell and Colonel Thomas F. Edmonds, although to some, the replacement of muskets with quarterstaff, bar-bell and gymnastic wand during exercises spelled the downfall of military drill. By 1898, the Boston Physical Education Society had swelled to 179 members and its influence upon the City's schools and related institutions was becoming all too apparent.

After the initial impact of gymnastics in Boston and American life during the 1820s and 1830s, came a relative decline in popularity, its practice nevertheless being maintained by isolated believers in its value to education. As has been seen, it was the years immediately preceding the Civil War that witnessed a renewed interest in physical training across all levels of education both formal and informal. With the ground excavated, and the foundations laid through the endeavours of Dio Lewis and others, American physical education rose up in the form of the Hemenway Gymnasium looking toward its Director as a plant to sunlight, for as the historian Charles F. Thwing has suggested "it is probable that to Dr. Dudley A. Sargent of Harvard College belongs greatest credit for the whole gymnastic revival." While an accurate assessment of the contribution of the "Sargent System" is made difficult through its adaptation and refinement of so many other systems, it would appear that whether through the strength tests and anthropometric measures;

the machines, numbering nearly sixty, that were developed by Sargent; through his founding of the Sargent Physical Training School for Teachers and Harvard Summer School of Physical Education; or his activity within professional organisations, the importance of Dudley Allen Sargent's work is without equal, a conclusion so perceptively worded by James C. Boykin in 1894, through stating that:

> If the work of Dr. D.A. Sargent, the director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, were expunged from the field of gymnastics it would be found that America's original contributions to the cause of physical training have been lamentably few.[82]

Neither does this brief review of Sargent's life achievements encompass the totality of his contribution to physical education. Active also, in the institution of America's first degree programme in physical education at Harvard University's Laurence Scientific School in 1891, the greatest direction in the planning and design of the course must be attributed to a graduate of Harvard Medical School and likely former pupil of Sargent's, George Wells Fitz (1860-1934). A teacher of anatomy and physiology at Sargent's schools and later an instructor of physiology and hygiene at Harvard, Fitz established a physiology laboratory together with a four year Bachelor of Science degree in anatomy, physiology and physical training at the Laurence Scientific School. With pedagogic assistance from Sargent and James Lathrop of the Hemenway Gymnasium, instruction comprised six required units, Elementary Physiology of, and Hygiene of Common Life, History of Physical Education, Physiology of Exercise, Anthropometry, Applied Anatomy and Animal Mechanics, Gymnastics, and Athletics. The purpose of the degree programme was set down in the course description for

1894 to 1895 as being:

> ...to afford a training for those who expect to take charge of gymnasiums as well as for those who wish to obtain a general education preparatory to the study of medicine.[83]

Fitz was deeply concerned at the petty jealousies issuing from the ongoing debate over the relative value of the different systems of physical education. Affording recognition to the advances made by Sargent and others in measurement, prescription and instruction, Fitz centred upon the need for a more scientific approach to the physiological and psychological effects of exercise. More concerned with the former, Fitz considered the major role of his physiology laboratory to be the solution of some of physical education's complicated yet real problems stated as:

> What is the real need?... What are the tests we can apply?... What is it the awkward boy lacks, and how may he be trained into grace?... Why is one boy a better catcher behind the bat, or able to hit the ball surer in tennis and baseball?... What will give the best muscular development?...[84]

In search of answers to these questions, Fitz developed various equipment to assist his work, including the multiple camera and labelling device utilised in taking photographs at Harvard students' medicals, a scoliometer to measure curvature of the spine, a footprint instrument, an indicator and measurement device for flat footedness, and a location reaction apparatus which measured reaction time and accuracy. The year 1893, saw the Governors of Harvard confer a Bachelor of Science Degree with cum laude honours in "Anatomia, Physiologica, Corporis Culta" upon James F. Jones, the first graduate of physical education in America.

Fitz, who had been instrumental in the establishment of the American Physical Education Review, utilised his status as President of the Physical Education Section of the National Education Association in 1899 to echo his greatest concern at the path of physical education in America, and hopefully awaken the nation's leaders to his cause through stating:

> As a result of this diversity of claim, school officers and superintendents are beginning to hesitate about the introduction of physical training, overwhelmed by the necessity for a careful consideration and just valuation of the various systems, each one of which in its struggle for supremacy claims to be alone in its completeness and adaptation to the needs of the schools, and too often does not hesitate to condemn its rival as ignorant, careless, poorly equipped, blind to the great underlying principle of gymnastic progression...
>
> We must be students of the problems of physical education, not merely exponents of fixed systems.[85]

Fitz was referring to the numerous systems provided by various agencies in Boston and throughout America, among them heavy German exercises developed by Jahn and practiced with such enthusiasm by the Turners, military drill, Winship's heavy lifting, Lewis' "New Gymnastics" and the Swedish system of gymnastics.

The introduction of Ling gymnastics into Boston's schools may, in large part, be attributed to the generosity of a private benefactor, Mrs. Mary Hemenway. A prominent and wealthy citizen of "the Hub", her son had already financed the construction of Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard when, in 1887, she established the Boston Normal School of Cookery intended to provide the necessary teachers for the introduction of domestic education for girls into the Boston school system. Prompted by her philanthropic desires and convinced of its value by Baron Nils Posse, Mary Hemenway provided the financial backing to train a class of twenty-five invited teachers to see if Swedish gymnastics were a practicable consideration for inclusion in Boston's public schools, in October 1888. The early success of this experiment led Mary Hemenway to approach the Boston School Committee in April 1889 with the idea of opening a Normal School of Gymnastics in the City, offering to train one hundred teachers at her expense starting on September 1st 1889.[86]

Mary Hemenway's interest in physical education grew out of her aim to improve the opportunity for domestic education throughout the City's schools. Realising how few mothers were able to lift and handle a heavy child with the ease of a strong nurse, she contemplated the human advantage of a systematized programme of physical education. It was to Nils Posse that Hemenway turned for assistance. A practitioner of Swedish Medical Gymnastics, he became initially the sole instructor of a course comprising both theoretical and practical components and which was held in a room on Park Street at a cost of one hundred and fifty dollars for tuition. Described in a catalogue for its third year:

> Its object is to supply the best opportunities in America for men and women who desire to prepare themselves to conduct gymnasia, or to direct physical training, according to the most approved modern methods. To this end thorough and scientific instruction is provided, not only in the Ling, or Swedish, system of gymnastics, but also in those general principles of physiology, psychology, and the hygiene of the human body, upon which sound physical training must always depend... The Swedish system of pedagogical gymnastics is especially valuable because it is a work of physiological and hygienic engineering.[87]

A graduate of the Royal Central Gymnastic Institute, which had been founded by Per Henrik Ling in 1814, Baron Nils Posse (1862-1895) emigrated to America, arriving at Boston in 1885. In considering the relative shoft duration of his life, including the final decade spent in Boston, Posse's contributions to the cause of Swedish gymnastics in America are all the more remarkable. He spread the word and benefits of Swedish educational and medical gymnastics through a variety of publications starting with Medical Gymnastics, first published as an English edition in Boston during 1887 and followed by, The Swedish System of Educational Gymnastics (1890); Handbook of School Gymnastics (1891); and The Special Kinesiology of Educational Gymnastics (1894), all published by Lothrop, Lee and Shepard of Boston. Although Posse resigned from his position at the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics in January 1890, the groundwork had been laid and the School's work was continued immediately through the employment of Claes J. Enebuske, another graduate of the Central Gymnastic Institute, who remained at the institution until 1898. The year 1890 also saw another major change as the School moved premises to the Paine Memorial Hall on Appleton Street and later in 1897, to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association building on Huntington Avenue. The early success of the School was maintained through the endeavours of Enebuske and Amy Morris Homans (1848-1933), an early friend of Mary Hemenway, Professor and later Director of the School during the years 1889 to 1918 (which included the Schools later relocation to Wellesley College in 1919).[88]

Neither did "the Hub" lose the benefit of Posse's knowledge and skill, for one month after resigning he opened his own gymnasium on Irvington Street. In preaching and developing the ideas of Ling, Posse laid emphasis upon two particular values of the system notably the need for skill development, in part achieved through "the education of attention for correct repression, impression, and expression,..." and the need to encourage natural prevention of abnormal development so often representative of "the evil effects of our modern civilisation."[89] The Posse Gymnasium was modeled on the Royal Central Gymnastic Institute in Stockholm and organised into three departments. The Department of Pedagogy emphasized teacher training while the Education Department afforded greater consideration to the physical education of men, women and children. The Department of Medico-Gymnastics centred upon the treatment of diseases and the training of medical gymnasts who upon graduation found employment in many of Boston's hospitals. As had been the case with his initial venture in Boston, Posse's gymnasium enjoyed continued success with ninety-six women and six men graduating from its programme during the last six years of his life, while a leading publication emerged in the form of the Posse Gymnasium Journal. Although the work of Ling had been recognised in America during antebellum years it was not until the philanthropic disposition, wealth, knowledge and enthusiasm of Mary Hemenway and Nils Posse were combined during the late 1880s that the true value and potential of the Swedish System was realised, particularly by one observer, Granville Putnam who in 1890 felt that:

> Boston has made a grand beginning in the introduction of the Swedish System. Let her not slacken her hand nor relax her efforts till she is able to bestow this inestimable blessing upon all the pupils intrusted to her public schools.[90]

Within a year, Hartvig Nissen had been appointed Assistant Director and later Director of Physical Training for the Boston Public Schools, a position that he retained until 1900. Having arrived at Washington D.C., in 1883, Nissen worked as Instructor of Physical Culture and Gymnastics at the Catholic University, Washington D.C., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore as well as becoming Director of the Swedish Health Institute in Washington D.C. The year 1891 saw his relocation to Boston where, together with accepting a position with the Boston Public School Board, he taught at Harvard Summer School of Physical Education and the Sargent Physical Training School for Teachers. In his book entitled, A.B.C. of the Swedish System of Educational Gymnastics. A Practical Hand-Book for School Teachers and the Home, also published in 1891, Nissen defined gymnastics as "systematic bodily exercises" and identified four types, medical, educational, military and esthetical. Viewed as a necessity "Since the Swedish System of educational gymnastics has been introduced into the public schools of Boston," the handbook describes the objectives of educational gymnastics as being threefold:

> First. By movements suitable to the human organism, and, step by step, leading out from each other to develop the body and to produce strength and health.
>
> Second. By increasing the strength of the body and by endurance and skill to develop freshness of mind, powerful will, resoluteness, and courage.
>
> Third. To assist the school in its educational work, by making the pupil accustomed to strict attention, quick and exact execution of given orders; to master his own will, and to subordinate himself as a part of a great totality.[91]

Further, Nissen considered the "Day Order" and progression of the programme through marching exercises, introductory movements, principal movements and gymnastic games without the use of apparatus, to be of great benefit to the City's schools, and indeed subsequently became realised as the leading system of physical education in Boston's public schools during the final decade of the nineteenth century.

While the growth and popularity of Swedish gymnastics, first in Boston and then throughout America, during the latter years of the nineteenth century, may be attributed to the work of Posse, Enebuske and Nissen, who had brought the ideas and practices to America from their homeland, the contribution of Mrs. Mary Hemenway cannot and was not forgotten. At the Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education held in Boston during 1891, Mary Hemenway's role in the promotion of Swedish gymnastics was recognised as she became the only woman in a group of four honorary members elected to the Association. She died on March 6th 1894 her life's philanthropic endeavours being reflected in the following extract from her will highlighting some of her many actions in pursuit of her fundamental aim:

> ...the Trustees shall continue to carry on the archaelogical work, the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, and the Boston Normal School of Cookery, and said work with the Old South Meeting Home...in the manner, on the scale, and to the extent carried on and approved by me...to promote a higher physical, intellectual, and religous life among those to be benefited, since the building up of character has been my aim in all my undertakings.[92]

That Boston may be viewed as the "Seedbed of American Physical Education" is a conclusion that has received ample support throughout this chapter. From the early introduction of Jahn's principles and system of gymnastics at Harvard, and the contrasting programmes promulgated by Winship and Lewis in antebellum Boston, to the innovatory programmes, publications and pedagogical institutions associated with the names of Sargent, Fitz, Posse and Nissen among others, "the Hub" provided the guiding light for the physical education curricula of the nation's schools. Neither was the Boston School Board tardy in forging a path ahead in the cause of physical education. Although perhaps slow at first, the early work of the Board's directors opened a new acceptance of the value of such programmes and bearing in mind its disciplinary value, together with the practical considerations of pupil numbers and limited space, military drill enjoyed an initial and primary focus during the 1860s and, despite a decline after the Civil War, was practiced in the City's schools throughout the turn of the century.

By the year 1870 the Boston Public School Board had afforded a new status to physical education, evidenced by the appointment of its first Instructor of Vocal and Physical Gymnastics, five years earlier. J.D. Philbrick, Superintendent of Boston Public Schools retained the office, to which he had first been appointed in 1858, as debate arose over the length of the school week in 1871. Supported by the Reverends E.E. Hale and J. Freeman Clarke a lobby led by Dio Lewis promoted the idea of a five day week in stating that:

> I believe that making Saturday a day of mental rest and of physical exercise and recreation, thus rendering the Sabbath following a better day for bodily rest and devotional duties, will make stronger and better men and better scholars, and I cheerfully join in the petition.[93]

While this group endeavoured to increase time and opportunity for sport outside of school, educators continued their quest toward an improved programme of physical education. In considering the progress made with regard to physical training in the Boston School system upto the year 1872, Philbrick added:

> Still I feel bound to say, and to say with emphasis, that there is still great room for improvement in physical culture. We ought to aim, not merely to avoid injuring the health of pupils while carrying on their instructions in our schools, but to increase their health, strength and beauty.[94]

In reviewing the advance of school hygiene during the previous twelve years the Superintendent of Schools concluded that the conditions in 1872 were "far, very far from being what we can safely accept as a satisfactory finality." The following year saw Philbrick travel to Europe and, after observing the methods and results of a variety of national physical education programmes, he expressed the feeling that "I am more than ever anxious that it should receive greater attention in America."[95] Nevertheless the 1870s generally showed another plateau in the progress of physical education throughout the public schools of Boston. After Professor Monroe, the City's first Superintendent of Vocal and Physical Culture, had been relieved of his services in 1871, and following the eventual termination of the Department of Physical Culture in 1876, the School Committee became increasingly aware of the need for improvement particularly in the elementary school. In reaction to Philbrick's report on "School Hygiene" in 1876, the Committee made the following critical yet in part, optimistic statement of regression, progression and needs noting that:

> Now every scholar must have each session 'not less than five minutes' of physical exercise; whereas, previously the requirement was ten minutes each session... On the other hand, special provisions were made for the regular and systematic training of the pupils of the Latin school, in a well furnished gymnasium, by one of the masters who had enjoyed the benefit of the excellent system of physical culture at Amherst College. The Girls High School has a good gymnasium, and the pupils have received a limited amount of regular instruction in it. A Swedish lady thoroughly qualified, both practically and theoretically to teach the Ling system of free gymnastics, was employed in this school for a time... No school rooms in the world are better adapted than our own for free gymnastic exercises as they are all seated with single chairs and desks, which afford ample space for the free movement of the pupils while standing in the aisles. But besides the frequent brief periods of exercises in the school rooms, a longer and different drill should be given once or twice a week in a gymnasium, such as any of our grammar school rooms would make, and I should be glad to see one of the school rooms in each of the grammar school buildings set apart for this purpose. Where the school yard or play-ground is enough for the purpose. Where a portion of it should be set apart and provided with apparatus for outdoor gymnastic exercises in pleasant weather.[96]

Despite this stated realization of the need for gymnasiums in the City's schools, improvements were slow. Indeed, it was not until the unveiling of the first indoor school gymnasium at the new Public Latin and English High School building in 1881 that any significant notice of the School Committee's earlier findings was taken. Considered larger than "the great Turnhall, of the city of Berlin," the gymnasium was eventually equipped in accordance with the principles of the "Sargent System." To Philbrick such attempts at improvement were totally insufficient as he made clear in a report written in 1885 stating that "I have long been impressed with the lamentable defect of our city systems of schools in respect to physical education... Some progress has been made...but as yet our provisions...are very inadequate."[97]

The Boston School Committee eventually elected Dr. John B. Moran as Instructor of Hygiene in September 1885 after initial approval had been granted for appointment of such an officer in June 1880. Prompted initially by a letter from Boston's Society for Medical Observation received in March 1876, the Committee finally agreed upon the expediency of creating the office with the power to:

> ...instruct the teachers, and as far as possible the pupils, in the schools, in the proper methods of teaching and studying elementary anatomy, physiology and hygiene. Personal inspection to sanatary conditions of schools and pupils and teachers. Upon direction he is to prepare a brief code of the common laws of health, relating to exercise, posture, ventilation, light, heat, voice, etc.[98]

In his first annual report as Instructor of Hygiene in 1886, Dr. Moran stressed the need for the establishment of a Department of Physical Culture to replace that which had been lost in 1876. Although accepting that present prescription of physical education for schools existed, he felt that "the movements and exercises lack in amount, system, uniformity and regularity."[99]

By 1889, Moran had convinced the Committee on Hygiene of the need to decide upon a system of physical education suitable for introduction into Boston's schools and as an alternative to military training, the practice of which the Instructor vehemently opposed on the basis of spinal deformity. The "Report of the Board of Supervisors on Physical

Training in the Public School" which was presented by Ellis Peterson on behalf of the Board of Supervisors in 1889, was likely the most significant document forthcoming, to that date, with regard to the introduction of a systematic physical education programme into the City's schools. Apparently for the first time, significant consideration was made of the aims and objectives of such a programme, among the questions being asked:

> 1. Is it the purpose of the system to develop the whole body and its parts symmetrically and harmoniously; to preserve, increase, or produce bodily health, strength, and proportion; and to maintain and promote physical activity, dexterity, and efficiency?
>
> 2. Is the system founded upon the facts, laws, and needs of the human organism?
>
> 3. Are the principles of the system so simple, the classes and progression of exercises so plain, and the method of conducting them so easy, that the average teacher may be able, after proper study, drill and directions, to understand the system and to carry it out safely and effectively?
>
> 4. Will the system of exercises interest the pupil? In other words, does the system present such a diversity of exercises in progressions and in unity as to attract, and at the same time to train the pupil?
>
> 5. Are the requirements of the system such as to allow the classroom to be used instead of a gymnasium, and to enable the teacher to accomplish the main objects of the system without much additional expense, and without making unreasonable demands upon the school hours?[100]

Quite why it had taken so long for a body, concerned at the adoption of a programme of physical education suitable for the public schools of Boston, to ask such fundamental questions is difficult to answer, although it is likely that the subjective jealousies described earlier by Fitz accounted, in large part, for the delay. In suggesting that a system presently in practice would most likely be "sound, safe, practicable and efficient," Peterson proceeded to apply the aforementioned battery of questions to the national systems of Germany, France, Belgium and Sweden, concluding in favour of the latter on the basis of its scientific, comprehensive, simple and safe nature.

At a time when Baron Nils Posse and Mary Hemenway were actively promoting the Ling system of gymnastics in Boston, it is not altogether surprising that the Committee on Physical Training of the School Board which was appointed January 16 1890, recommended the passage of the following orders:

> Ordered: That the Ling or Swedish system of educational gymnastics be introduced into all the public schools of this city.
>
> Ordered: That the appointment of one director of physical training and four assistants, be authorized.
>
> Ordered: That the salary of the director of physical training be $2,640 a year and that the salary of each assistant be $1,080 a year.[101]

Upon the motion of William A. Mowry, Chairman of the Committee, the first order was passed with the second and third substituted by one that read:

> Ordered: That a director of physical training and one or more assistants be employed, that total salaries for the same not to exceed the sum of five thousand dollars per annum and that the committee on physical training be authorized to nominate suitable persons for these positions, to commence at the beginning of the next school term.[102]

The story of physical education in Boston's public schools during the last decade of the nineteenth century is very much the story of one man, Edward Mussey Hartwell (1850-1922). The son of a Harvard Latin professor and lawyer, he graduated from Boston Public Latin School and Amherst College before returning to teach at Boston Latin School in 1874, at which time he conducted light gymnastics in the nature of the system at Amherst. Elected Director of Physical Training for Boston Public Schools on November 25th 1890 at a salary of $3,000 per annum, Hartwell entered office on January 1st 1891 becoming the first such Director in America. Assisted by Hartvig Nissen, who was appointed on March 10th 1891 at a salary of $1,680, Hartwell proceeded to visit all of the City's schools while circulating a questionaire to the principals with the intent of receiving an accurate assessment of the extent of physical training then being practiced in the schools. In summary, the replies showed that:

> Upwards of 1,100 teachers were giving gymnastic instruction, for some seventeen minutes daily, to their classes. In some schools the old memorized gymnastic drill had been conducted, but the greater number of teachers, in the grammar and primary schools, were engaged in an honest attempt to teach the "Ling free standing movements."[103]

While the Swedish system was to occupy most of his time, Hartwell was well versed in a variety of systems, knowledge evidenced by his historical consideration of the Grecian, Medieval, British, German and Swedish systems contained within the last of a series of six Hemenway Lectures on physical training presented at the Old South Meeting House on May 9th 1891 and entitled "The Principal Types of Physical Training Compared."[104] By the year 1895, Hartwell reported that the Swedish free standing movements were "taught and practiced throughout the primary and grammar grades" with special mention of the progress made by the Charlestown High School, due to the fact that "it has been provided with a fairly complete set of Swedish apparatus which was imported from Christiana in Norway" at a cost approximating six hundred dollars.[105]

Hemmed in by the constraining ideas and principles of Ling, Hartwell was nevertheless receptive to the value of other systems of sport and physical training in the educative process as he observed that "no provision has been made for instruction outside of the single branch of 'free-standing movements'... Free movements alone do not fully meet the bodily and mental needs." Hartwell went on to state that in his opinion it was a combination of "out-of-door games, athletic sports, and systematic gymnastics" that yielded the best results in the physical training of schoolchildren.[106] However, the requirements laid down by the Committee on Hygiene and Physical Training, included in Hartwell's report for 1896, did little to encourage the practice of alternate systems of physical education for:

> 1. Teachers in each of the grammar classes shall devote sixteen consecutive minutes to Ling gymnastics at or about the middle of each afternoon session.
>
> 2. In classes I and II of all primary schools, teachers shall devote six consecutive minutes to Ling gymnastics at about the middle of the period between the opening of school and recess, in the morning session, again six consecutive minutes at about the middle of the period between recess and the closing of school, in the morning session, and again, six minutes at or about the middle of the period between recess and the closing of the school, in the afternoon session, making a total of eighteen minutes a day.
>
> 3. In class III in all primary schools, teachers shall devote four consecutive minutes to Ling gymnastics at or about the time set in (2) for classes I and

> II of the same class of schools, so that each third primary class shall have twelve minutes of gymnastics each day.[107]

Yet concern at the narrowness of the programme instituted in Boston's public schools continued, prompted by a recommendation from the Boston Homeopathic Medical Association to extend the nature of physical training in the City's schools. Eventually, on June 8th 1897 the Joint Committee on Examination and Hygiene and Physical Training submitted a report that further advocated supplementing the Swedish system of free movements with other exercises. More particularly the Committee suggested the need for properly equipped gymnasiums in all high schools. By July 1st 1897, Hartwell had presented a plan for broadening instruction in physical education which included the equipping of gymnasiums in the Washington, Allston and Bennett Schools together with the purchase of balance bars, jumping stands, stall bars and other portable apparatus to be placed in halls and corridors of the grammar schools. In addition, a supply of soft rubber balls, quoits, rings and sticks were to be purchased at Hartwell's request. The acceptance of his recommendations and subsequent institution into the schools apparently met with success, for in his last report as Director of Physical Training in 1897, Hartwell observed that:

> The most noteworthy feature of the year is found in the expansion and improvement of the course of gymnastics in the case of certain high schools, which have been provided by the School Committee with gymnastic appliances for the first time.
>
> The total number of high school girls, in 1895-96, who received instruction in Swedish apparatus gymnastics scarcely exceeded 250. During the year 1896-97, their number increased to 820. Counting the boys belonging to classes VI and V

> of the Public Latin School, about 150 in number have had two hours weekly since Christmas, of gymnastic instruction in their refitted gymnasium, nearly 1,000 of our high school pupils now have apparatus gymnastics.[108]

On September 1st 1897, Edward Mussey Hartwell resigned his position as Director of Physical Training for Boston Public Schools to become Secretary of the newly formed Department of Municipal Statistics and leaving Hartvig Nissen to continue the work of Director. Yet Hartwell's professional contributions continued as he was elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education during the years 1891-1892 and 1895-1897. In a final report to the United States Commissions of Education (1897-1898), Hartwell, while recognising the role played by German and Swedish gymnastics in the physical education programmes of the nation's schools, was adamant in stating that "neither the colleges nor the athletic organisations of the country have earned the right to speak with authority on the question of what constitutes a well-ordered and practicable system of physical training for elementary and secondary schools." Hartwell's seven years as Director of Physical Training with the Boston School Committee had certainly been a period of unparalleled advance with regard to the institution of a systematic, proven programme of physical education into the City's schools. While the steps taken were indeed great, Hartwell continued to search for the perfect blend of programmes that would satisfy the needs of all.[109]

The years 1870 to 1900 were pioneering and critical to the development of American physical education and Boston was the focus of innovation. Together with the contribution of individuals and institutions in "the Hub", the significance of particular meetings must not be overlooked. A "Conference in the Interest of Physical Training" was held on the campus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology during November 1889. Attended by two thousand delegates, among them Pierre de Coubertin speaking as Secretary of the French Educational Reform Association and other leaders in the field, the methods and merits of various systems of physical education were discussed and debated in seeking to reach a common base for future development. A resolution of thanks was offered by Luther Halsey Gulick, Director of the Physical Department of the Young Men's Christian Association at Springfield, Massachusetts, to Mary Hemenway who, with the assistance of Amy Morris Homans had promoted and financed the Conference, the value of which was echoed by Gulick in his concluding statement that "not only the Boston public schools, but the whole cause of physical education in America, has received a great impetus from this meeting..."[110]

The following April saw the fifth Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education held in Boston and Cambridge, while the Association's First Annual Convention was held in "the Hub" during April 4th-6th 1899. The second and larger gathering was reported in the American Physical Education Review and spread across a variety of locations including the Girls' Latin School, Brookline High School, Boston Y.M.C.A., and Harvard University where the delegates were addressed by Professor William James and President C.W. Eliot.[111]

The growth of education in Bristol and Boston during the nineteenth century, but more particularly the improving status of physical education in the cities' public schools, provides an interesting comparison and one indicative of differing societal values. Although Bristol lays claim to well established schools founded prior to the birth of "the Hub," the Boston Public Latin School represented America's first public school in contrast to the Bristol Grammar School (more than one hundred years its senior!), which was the first of the English City's private educational establishments. These private schools were to dominate English education in the years upto 1870 when the Forster Education Act allowed for the establishment of School Districts and Boards.

While formal education in Boston emerged some years behind that of Bristol, its progress was marked in comparison to the traditionally and economically constrained English education system. Relatively free of federal involvement and restraint, education in Boston and Massachusetts lay open to private and local innovation during the nineteenth century, an opportunity that the State capitalised upon especially after the appointment of Horace Mann as first Secretary of Education for Massachusetts in 1837, and the subsequent formation of the Massachusetts Board of Education and the Boston School Committee. Neither was physical education forgotten in this rise of education. Early programmes pioneered by such men as Franklin, Beck, Fowle, Follen, Coffin, Warren, Thayer and others in and around Boston, paved the way for a new acceptance of the needs and values of physical education, ideas which were later built upon by the contrasting programmes of Winship and Lewis in antebellum years together with Sargent, Posse and others during the final two decades of the nineteenth century. Generally supported by the education authorities and leaders, among them Mann, Bishop, Philbrick, Moran, Hartwell, and Nissen, Boston became, without question, the very seedbed of American physical education during the years 1870 to 1900, a status further reflected in its choice as the site for a number of landmark conventions toward the fin de siecle.

In contrast, Bristol's educators appeared disinterested and even resistant to the need for physical education in the City. So often dominated by Conservative sentiment, classical education remained in favour way beyond the years of industrial towns to the north. Eventually, and after the Education Act of 1870, liberalism began to creep into the curricula of Bristol's schools, yet still direct provision of physical education was ignored. While the rise of physical education in the City appears somewhat nebulous, due to the inaccessibility of records, it would seem that the Bristol School Board's action in favour of military drill and later introduction of the Swedish system of gymnastics was prompted by the related success of the Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society. In a federally oriented system of education the Bristol School Board was not solely at fault in its comparative neglect of physical education, for not until 1895 did such activity qualify for government support at which time it became eligible for a higher grant. The remaining years of the nineteenth century sounded the rise of Ling gymnastics in Bristol's schools paralleling the programme of Boston's schools. However, as the American City maintained such interest into the twentieth century, the Swedish system was shortlived in Bristol as "games" became accepted as a suitable system of physical training and, partly in replication of the City's private schools, board schools introduced a programme of sports which was already a hallmark of British education, a characteristic which was increasingly adapted throughout America from the middle of the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER IX

"EDUCATION THROUGH THE PHYSICAL"

SPORT IN ACADEME

For working days or holidays,
And glad or melancholy days,
They were great days and jolly days
At the best School of all.

- "The Best School of All," by Sir Henry Newbolt.

While physical education found limited acceptance in the English schools and universities throughout the nineteenth century, the pioneering work of scholars and institutions, particularly in Boston, paved the way for an increasing realization of its value to American education. However, from English "public" schools of the mid-nineteenth century sprang a characteristic contribution to the world of sport in the nature of team games and their attendent ideology, variously described as "athleticism," or "muscular Christianity," in short, an ideal of moral value which was laid down as both justification and foundation for amateur sport participation beyond the halls of academe.

At first perplexed by the lassitudinous behaviour of children engaged in physical training and drill, the teacher of the late nineteenth century English Board School soon discovered that the revelry and smiling faces witnessed in the playground might be replicated through the adoption of games. Born and nurtured in the once classics-constrained corridors of the elite "public" school, the value of games was soon internalised by education as the author of an article published in The Saturday Review for 1860, and entitled "Mind and Muscle," serves to suggest:

> At all places of education there used to be the rowing or fast set, and the reading or quiet set. Now, those who are accustomed to exert their brains, and who carry off the highest intellectual honours, not only partake of a great variety of out-of-doors amusement, but talk without any affection as if cricket, rifle-shooting, and boating were the primary subjects of their thoughts, and the centre of all their interests... It is athletic exercises and athletic contests that now chiefly attract the educated public.[1]

While this apparent return to "Mens Sana in Corpore Sano" was indeed the experience of the emerging middle class, sporting pursuits were slow in finding acceptance with the working class. Even after the Education Act of 1870, priorities were such that Board schools failed to encourage, or even provide facilities for the practice of sport, although in Bristol a voluntary Physical Recreation Society was established in 1890 for the purpose of assisting the promotion of sport in these institutions. Slowly, and often in emulation of the "public" schools, Bristol's Board schools introduced games into their curriculum and in 1898 a man by the name of Cooper (who had been responsible for a similar scheme in Leicester), was invited to the City to set up the Bristol Schools' Rugby Union under the aegis of the Bristol Football Club.[2]

In similar manner, Boston's schools provided limited access to sport in their curriculum until the end of the nineteenth century. While a graduate of the Roxbury Latin School recalled that, during the 1860s, "In the way of sports and games, we were on our own. We played football at recess, with a rubber ball, spherical in shape...,"[3] George Wright, a founder member of the Boston Red Stockings, had other ideas and wrote critically of the neglect shown to sport by the City's schools, suggesting that:

> Our school management- we are very sorry to say- has, in too many melancholy instances exhibited the mens sana in corpore sano rule as a practical fallacy; but the time is close at hand, we hope, when it will be otherwise, and when a schoolboy expert at baseball will have his marks of merit regularly and properly assigned to him on that account.[4]

Perhaps such censure may have been partially unfair, for a report in the Boston Morning Journal some four years earlier recorded the defeat of the Alphas (Boston Highlands), comprising boys from the Roxbury Latin School, by the Eurekas of Boston in a game of baseball played at Boston Common. Nevertheless, baseball and other sports continued to represent extracurricular activity in schools as they became increasingly organised during the years 1870 to 1900. In June 1888, an Interscholastic Football Association was formed in Boston. With a membership made up of Boston Latin, Roxbury Latin, Cambridge High and Latin, and other preparatory schools, Harvard stood in the forefront of the Association as its students acted as team advisors and the College donated a cup for competition. Playing games in Franklin Park, the success of this organisation led to the birth of the Junior Interscholastic Football Association which comprised Dorchester High, Cambridge Manual Training School, Newton High and several private schools. The popularity for sport was growing as the City's Interscholastic Athletic Association was formed in 1890, and by the year 1895, the City's football championship game, in which English High defeated Boston Latin, attracted four thousand and five hundred spectators, as both teams received the financial support of organised student athletic associations. What had once represented an unstructured and informal pursuit intended for the hours of recess and after school entertainment had, by the end of the nineteenth century, became a highly organised competitive event carrying with it many of the characteristics of professional sport including spectators en masse, media coverage, financial incentives, and a growing emphasis on winning, an institution divorced of its roots and ideals of the English "public" school.[5]

The English "Public" School In Transition

The label "public" school is often misleading to those living outside of the United Kingdom. At a time when education in England was reserved only for those who could afford it, the institutions were considered "public" in nature despite being very different to either the "common" or "board" schools that developed later. In essence, the English "public" school is akin to the private school found elsewhere in the world. In search of a clearer identification of these institutions one may turn to the Reverend Sidney Smith who, in 1810, suggested that:

> By a public school, we mean an endowed place of education, of old standing, to which the sons of gentlemen resort in considerable numbers, and where they continue to reside, from eight or nine, to eighteen years of age... The characteristic features of these schools are their antiquity, the numbers and the ages of the young people who are educated at them.[6]

It would seem fair to add that their system of education was similarly based upon antiquity as the classics, Latin and Greek literature, represented a major portion of the curriculum. There is no question that the student body comprised, essentially, the sons of the aristocracy and landed gentry at the outset. The characteristic nature of these schools was such that cynics have been led to suggest that they are called "English" because they teach Latin or Greek, "Public" because they are private; and "School" because they devote themselves largely to the cult of athletics, the latter a somewhat later development of the once strictly classical institutions. Whether or not one agrees with this viewpoint, it is possible to identify certain characteristics which appear common to all such institutions. They are expensive, and as such represent "class" or "select" schools since they cater to the wealthy; as well as being non-local and predominantly of the boarding type which means that the pupils spend many long days and nights away from home. Finally, in most cases they are independent of the State and of local government, yet are not privately owned or run for profit. The impact of these institutions on both English and international education is incalculable as one scholar has suggested:

> The Public School is certainly the most celebrated contribution the English have made to educational practice. Its fame, or notoriety, has aroused a somewhat mystified interest far beyond the British Isles. In the Dominion and the United States, it has been copied...[7]

The oldest "public" school in England had a religious affiliation, Kings School, Canterbury, established in 600 A.D., although the first of the Great English "Public" Schools is more frequently identified as Winchester College, established in 1382 by William of Wykeham. Although growth was slow initially, the nineteenth century witnessed an increase from 115 to 200 such schools. Up until the early 1800s the "public" schools were patronised solely by an aristocracy intent on maintaining the social order as their sons were moulded into and treated as little adults. However, during the third and fourth decades of the century, and accompanied by social changes wrought by industrialization and the swift rise to power of the bourgeoisie, an educational reformation was witnessed, so providing the opportunity for the children of professional men in the church, law and medicine, as well as the sons of middle class parents, shopkeepers and farmers, to attend the schools. Becoming the home of Waldegrave major, minor and minimums, the "public" school became the crucible in which family tradition and reputation was forged. With a steadily emerging liberal curriculum, the schools struggled for prestige to ensure their future while no less important in this search for status was the changing nature and value of physical pursuits.

Whereas previously, the limit of physical activity was a replication of their parents' traditional and often brutal field sports such as hunting, shooting and fishing, together with hare and hounds and a rough and tumble form of mob football, the students were, by the middle of the nineteenth century, witnessing a feeling that team games, in particular football and cricket, were ideal ways in which to inculcate worthwhile character traits. The increased codification and self-regulation of the games was in part a direct response to the upsurge of deviance in the "public" schools. Typified by homosexuality, cruelty to animals, bullying, riots and brutality, the incidence of violence, while lowered was not stemmed as evidenced by the following incident that occured at Clifton College, Bristol on November 6th 1882 and was reported by the local press in the following manner:

> The Rev. J.M. Wilson, the Head Master of Clifton College has, we understand, narrowly escaped an awkward mishap. It appears that a young boy who had been sent up for a serious

> misdemeanor [betting] fearing that he was not to be expelled on which he had lately unaccountably set his heart, suddenly stabbed Mr. Wilson in the shoulder with a large knife. For some time past the boy has been regarded as of doubtful sanity, and he has been placed at once under medical care. We are glad to hear that Mr. Wilson is not prevented from attending to his duties.[8]

Fortunately, such occurrences appear rare in the history of Clifton College, as life in the "public" schools showed a marked shift toward civilisation during the second half of the nineteenth century.

This transformation of the "public" school, from the hostile "Barbarian" era, to the active encouragement of the "Philistine" era, is frequently attributed to Dr. Thomas Arnold, appointed headmaster of Rugby School in 1828. To Arnold, the "public" school represented a microcosm of the world and he was well aware of its potential in directing behaviour, a fact reflected in a sermon preached to his charges:

> Unquestionably, the time of life at which you are arrived, and more particularly the younger boys among you, is, in itself, exceedingly dangerous. It is the time, beyond all others in life, when temptation is great, and the strength of character to resist it exceedingly small... It is a great matter, too, that your bodies, at your time of life, so far outgrow your minds; -- that your spirits and bodily strength are so vigorous and active, while your understandings are, in comparison, so feeble.[9]

The qualities that Arnold looked for in his pupils were religious and moral principles; gentlemanly conduct; and intellectual ability, a hierarchy which led to accusations of his support for anti-intellectualism. George Orwell's conclusion that "Dr. Arnold, generally regarded as the founder of the modern public school looked on games as simply a waste of time,"[10] receives support from Thomas Hughes' novel Tom Brown's Schooldays wherein the Doctor watches a football match for a brief half hour, and then again at the end of the story, the Doctor cannot be bothered to wait for Tom's last match, instead he escapes thankfully to the Lake District. However, such an assumption may be a trifle unfair for Arnold's appreciation of games was not unknown, particularly when it came to cricket. He had played football and cricket while at school and was very fond of bathing. While a young master at Laleham he was known to practice and promote bathing, pole-leaping and other gymnastic activities within the school. Upon his appointment as headmaster at Rugby he wrote:

> The Rugby prospect I contemplate with very strong interest; the work I am not afraid of if I can get my proper exercise; but I want absolute play like a boy, and neither riding nor walking will make up for my leaping gallows and bathing, when the youths used to go with me, and I felt completely for the first time a boy as they were.[11]

In 1835, he mentions in a letter to W.W. Hull, "Indeed the work is full heavy just now, but the fry are learning cricket and we play very nice matches sometimes, to my great refreshment." Further, it has been suggested that the Puritan strain was just too deeply embedded in Arnold to permit his simple enjoyment of various pastimes, there had to be a goal, and he had to feel that there was a positive benefit involved, "The evil that is in the world makes it a sin to resign ourselves to any enjoyment, except as a permitted refreshment to strengthen us for duty to come." Perhaps it is this last statement which best provides the answer to Arnold's recognised appreciation of games yet apparent neglect in promoting them at Rugby. Nevertheless, it was through games and a feeling for muscular Christianity that one was exposed to the Arnoldian belief that "a moral struggle takes place at every point in life."

Whether or not Arnold was the sole instigator of reform in the "public" school continues to draw heated debate, for while his contributions were manyfold, the transformation might best be viewed as not so much a personal crusade, but a more widespread one which included many other upstanding educators, among them Butler at Shrewsbury, Sanderson at Oundle and Thring at Uppingham. Perhaps as important were those boys and assistant masters who were exposed to Arnold's ideals and practices, later carrying his influence to all corners of the world? Such men as C.J. Vaughan, a favourite pupil of Arnold's who later became headmaster of Harrow School; G.E.L. Cotton, an assistant master under Arnold at Rugby where he taught for fifteen years and subsequently being identified as the young master in Tom Brown's Schooldays, was later appointed headmaster of Marlborough School; and John Percival who arrived at Clifton College in 1862.[12]

The reformatory measures introduced by Arnold at Rugby permeated the international labyrinth of private education in succeeding decades as the ideals of muscular Christianity and the game of Rugby football spread to all corners of the world. Nowhere else are the ideals of athleticism more clearly reflected than within the dusty and browning pages of the schools' magazines. In preface to the first issue of The Cliftonian for November 1867, the editors provided the assurance that "University honours, cricket matches, football, all the woof and warp of our stirring life in this place will find here its chronicle." The centrality of sports to the school magazine was later emphasized by an article that included the following extract:

> But what need was there to fill the pages of The Cliftonian with the familiar fact? Because perceiving what the origin of an epoch of literature really is, we seem to ourselves to be justified in asking, where is the literature of this great School? Contests we do have: football and cricket and athletic sports, House striving against House, and School matched against School. Although to say that our annals can record a Marathon and Plataea would be to mock heroic in the extreme, yet we too have our Olympic games. They are contests which fill the whole community with hope, fear, exultation, determination, and thrills of almost painful doubt or expectancy.[13]

In the same way, other "public" schools of Bristol furnished lavish accounts of their athletic programmes between the covers of their school magazine, so offering a ready made tool for subsequent assessment of the significance of sport to the school community.

The Schools, Headmasters and Their Dilemmas

The foundation of the Bristol Grammar School in 1532 is oft attributed to Robert Thorne. While the school later closed, it reopened in 1848 with the resurgence of private education and by the year 1875 claimed an enrollment of three hundred pupils, rising to a nineteenth century peak of four hundred and eleven in 1880. Although considered the City's first, the Grammar School is predated by evidence that suggests the existence of a Grammar School which flourished in connection with the Abbey of St. Augustine, founded at Bristol in 1142. Nevertheless the year of 1542 is more generally accepted as the date of establishment for the Bristol Cathedral School. The foundation of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in 1590 by John Carr a merchant and alderman of Bristol, and intended for the schooling of poor children and orphans, provided the City with no fewer than three endowed schools for boys by the end of the sixteenth century.[14] While the intervening years witnessed the rise and fall of numerous private educational institutions in the west of England City, it was in 1860 that the earliest move was made toward the establishment of a school in the mould of the nation's great "public" schools. At a meeting held in Clifton on May 16th 1860 and presided over by Mayor Bates, it was resolved that a company be formed with the purpose of establishing "a first class public school for education of the sons of gentlemen." The result, was the opening of Clifton College in 1862 which, only ten years later according to one historian, "had almost made out her claim to be added to the then small circle of 'Public Schools,' defined a few years before by Lord Clarendon's Commission as consisting of but nine schools, all pre-Jacobean." Within one year of opening, pupil enrollment had increased from seventy to two hundred, four hundred by 1870 and six hundred by 1879, at which time numbers were limited to six hundred, and fifty in the preparatory school.[15] To a school that, along with others, became labelled a "daughter of Rugby" came John Percival, himself a former assistant master under Thomas Arnold. A graduate of Oxford University, Percival brought with him a marked tradition of "public" school life. It was due to an episode pertaining to sport that the Headmaster affectionately became known as "Percival of the Knees" for when, in his concern at the boys becoming overly excited at the immodest exposure of one another's knees or, perhaps more accurately, as an anti-hubristic ordinance (for as in Tom Brown's Schooldays only the "Caps" wore shorts as distinguished from the white flannel trousers worn by the other boys), Percival insisted that those pupils who played football should wear trousers down to and buttoned at the calf. Despite this restriction, games continued to flourish at Clifton College as one observer noted:

> It is almost unnecessary to remark that the system of compulsory games is in full swing at Clifton, to the enormous benefit of all, especially of the physical indolent and the morally soft, and certainly too in most cases of those precious tender plants, the boys of precocious intellect, who in the old dispensation used to be seen "on half-holidays walking round and round the school-close, arm-in-arm, discussing their mutual confidences, whilst the games went on."[16]

It was not long before the image of the English "public" school spread to other countries as overseas private institutions recruited their headmasters and staff from England, many of whom were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge University. The preparatory boarding schools of New England were no exception as they perpetuated the "public" school phenomenon in utilising a characteristic vocabulary of "forms," "masters" and "praeposters," all somewhat alien to the American education system. Frequently led by clergyman headmasters, the schools sought to replicate the great English "public" school. While Dr. Henry Coit, the first Rector of St. Paul's School visited Rugby and Westminster in 1868, Endicott Peabody, Headmaster and Founder of Groton in 1885 was a former pupil of Cheltenham College in 1876 where, no doubt, he learned an appreciation for sport which became a central part of school life at Groton.[17] If not possessing first hand experience of the English "public" school, New England's headmasters expressed a deep understanding and appreciation for them as Dr. William Poland, Headmaster of Worcester Academy from 1868 to 1870 demonstrated in recalling:

> I had read with deep interest the "Tom Brown at Rugby" and the "Tom Brown at Oxford" of Thomas Hughes; and I said to myself: "An American Rugby, so far as differing conditions allow, is our ideal for Worcester Academy."[18]

As part and parcel of the nineteenth century transplantation of the English "public" school on American soil came the practice of games and not always of the American variety, for while it is true that baseball and later American football were played on the fields of New England's private schools, the wielding of the willow and the scrummaging of Big-Side would likely have been more common sights.

In an environment characterized by imperialism, militarism and athleticism, protagonists of the "private" school curricula and ideology frequently resorted to casuistry in an attempt to justify customary practice including the playing of games which, to some critics, epitomised the aristocratic trait of conspicuous consumption. The Clarendon Commission Report on Public Schools, published in 1864, highlighted a moral value in stating that "The cricket and football fields...are not merely places of exercise and amusement: they help to develop some of the most valuable social qualities and manly virtues..."[19] While debate continued to rage over the excesses of athletic exercise in the "public" schools, other parties concerned themselves with the relative values of the English system of games-playing and of Swedish and German gymnastics and military drill. Matthew Arnold, the eldest son of Thomas Arnold, showed little hesitation as to where his sentiments laid, writing that:

> Nothing... will make an ex-schoolboy of one of the great English schools regard the gymnastics of a foreign school without a slight feeling of wonder and compassion, so much more animating and interesting do the games of his remembrance seem to him.[20]

Perhaps it was a mixture of patriotism and self-confidence which led the masters at Clifton College to resist the introduction of military drill and gymnastics into the school, both of which were viewed as a threat to the preeminence of cricket and football. In a school renowned for moulding its pupils for a military career, Clifton College had made football compulsory as early as 1868, for team games were perceived as the most effective means of impressing patriotism and inculcating the qualities of leadership necessary in time of war, a belief no more artistically etched than in the words of "Vitai Lampada" written by Sir Henry Newbolt, himself an Old Cliftonian.[21]

Clifton College's first gymnastic competition was staged on December 19th 1868. Considered to be "a decided success" by the organisers, fifteen pupils competed for two prizes, a gold and silver medal. Comprising exercises on the vaulting horse, row of rings, horizontal bar, vertical rope, parallel bars, bridge ladder, dumb bells, and bar bells, the event was won by P.W. Cruttwell, major, amassing 569 points out of a possible 600. It appears that subsequent concern over the value of gymnastics led to a suspension of such activity until the first term of 1873. The construction of a new gymnasium one year later prompted a resurgent criticism of gymnastics and drill, and drew an attempted justification for its practice through an article entitled "In Corpore Sano" appearing in the school magazine for that year. Introducing the issue, the author suggested, "it is very curious to see how conservatism in games sternly eyes the new upstart," and considers that the question to be addressed is, "has the new thing any right to hold a high place among other recognised games?" Using examples from ancient Greece and Rome the author clarifies the misconception that gymnastics and drill are synonymous, concluding that the value of the former is "to produce complete development of the whole frame, to turn to the very best account every germ of growth and strength in the body."[22]

The impact of the article seems minimal for not until 1883 was a House Competition in gymnastics organised after which time activity in the gymnasium flourished with a representative team sent to the Public School Gymnastics Competition (held in conjunction with the boxing and fencing contests), at Aldershot in 1884 and subsequent years, winning the event in 1889, '90, '98 and '99.

With regard to combat activities, Clifton College remained firm in favour of the potential shown by team sports for developing militaristic character. Nevertheless the School sent its first representative team to the Public School Boxing Championship in 1890, with medals being won by Cliftonians in that and each remaining year of the nineteenth century, excepting 1897. Shooting however, enjoyed a much longer and fuller life at the school than did either the manly pursuits of boxing or gymnastics. With the first rifle team being formed in January 1876, the following year saw the School's first match with the officers of the 2nd G.E.V.C. The year 1878 saw the first interschool shooting match with Marlborough College followed by Clifton College's first appearance at Wimbledon, shooting for the Ashburton Shield, while matches with Glenalmond, Rugby, Rossall, Wellington, Malvern, Cheltenham College and other "public" schools followed. Winning both the Ashburton Shield and the Spencer Cup at Wimbledon in 1884, the returning team "were received in triumph in the Quadrangle," as indeed they were the following year, upon retaining the Shield. The School's success in shooting continued throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century and with the Ashburton Shield being won again in 1888 and the Cadet Corps Challenge Trophy travelling to Clifton in 1880 and 1886, only Charterhouse and Bradfield could claim a better record than Clifton College in "public" school rifle shooting.

The platform presented by Clifton College in resistance to gymnastics and drill appears to have had some influence upon other "public" schools of the City. The appointment of Robert Jackson a master at Clifton College, to the office of Headmaster at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in 1879, brought the uncharacteristic introduction of a new daily routine to the school related in the following account, "At 8:45 there was a parade in the lower yard and some simple Swedish drill movements were then taken by the marshal if the weather was fine."[23] However, such apparent enthusiasm was shortlived, games triumphed while military drill and rifle shooting were not reintroduced until the twentieth century. At Bristol Grammar School a Cadet Corps was established under the command of J.C.S. Muschamp in 1881 although, as one historian has noted, "It did not last many years; for this was still that golden Victorian age when it was difficult to take military activities on British soil very seriously."[24] Although the Bristol Cathedral School did decide in favour of drill and gymnastics as a more liberal curriculum was introduced in 1882, it appears that the feeling among the City's "public" schools was that games fulfilled the perceived values of physical activity and that drill, gymnastics and various combative pursuits had a limited role to play in school life.[25] Neither was the discussion reserved for Bristol's "public" schools as the debate over the relative merits of gymnastics and games was witnessed among the elite schools of Boston. Along with the dilemma over introducing military drill into Boston's public school system discussed in Chapter VIII, the following extract from the Boston Latin School's magazine in 1890, reflects sentiments reminiscent of Bristol's "public" schools, with the editor suggesting that "surely, a baseball game or a tennis match is far more interesting both to participants and spectators, than the efforts of a gymnast to jump half an inch higher than his opponent."[26]

While the war was waged between proponents of the new gymnastics and drill, which was being successfully introduced into the common and board schools of Bristol and Boston, and the conservative supporters of the games-playing tradition of the English "public" school, so often the final decision was reserved for the School's headmasters. Almost without exception, these headmasters were themselves products of Rugby, Harrow, Eton, Marlborough and the like, and finding themselves relatively free of the constraints of money, space and pupil numbers (problems which faced the common and board schools), these paternalistic, patriotic and resolute leaders, not surprisingly, came down in favour of games.

The story of headmasters at Clifton College is both interesting and one that explains, in large part, the games-playing tradition of the School. Appointed first Headmaster of Clifton College in 1861, Charles Evans never entered office as he resigned upon appointment to the headmastership of King Edward's School, Birmingham, before the Bristol School opened its doors. In search of a successor, the Governors of Clifton College looked to Rugby School, and selected an assistant master, John Percival,for the position of Headmaster in 1862. Although many felt that his bachelor status and young age (he was only twenty-eight), would go against him, Percival retorted that the first would be resolved in a few months and the second in a few years. Married eight weeks later, the former assistant to Thomas Arnold proceeded to exert a mastery and forceful leadership quite uncharacteristic of a man of comparitively tender years.

From Rugby, Percival brought the "Sixth Form System" wherein all members of the "Sixth" became prefects. A scientist at Rugby, Percival was responsible for many scientific innovations in the "public" schools as he attracted a superlative staff of scientists to Clifton College, three of whom went on to become Fellows of the Royal Society. Yet it was his demands made in regard to games at Clifton College for which Percival is most oft remembered. His stipulation that the "Head Boy" should not only be "Head Prefect" but also "Captain of Football" led to some difficult situations as it meant that the Captain could not always make the team. On one occasion the "Head Boy" selected himself for the football team much to the indignation of the School but, although to that point he had made no name for himself in playing the game, he subsequently justified his action by gaining his university "blue" and later, international "cap." The contribution of the "Percival era" to games-playing at Clifton College was evaluated by Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford and formerly a Clifton schoolboy in 1868, who wrote:

> Clifton early became distinctly an athletic school. The neighbourhood was favourable to this development. Gloucester and Somerset were sporting counties. It was the era of the dénouement of the Grace family. Athletic sports at the Zoological Gardens were fashionable. Percival was an advocate of compulsory games and encouraged athletics in reason. He was very careful about keeping them within bounds, about not letting foreign matches encroach on School hours, and so on. But those who remember the Rugby tradition of Tom Brown, and later of Arthur Butler and C.C. Bowen, a hero of Percival's, will not be surprised that he recognised at once what a healthy element they are in school life. What he had a horror of then, as later was loafing. He did not play our games himself, though he was very fond of skating and golf, but he encouraged the staff to do so, and he certainly came and looked on in his half-interested, half-melancholy, abstracted way, brightening up and unbending on the occasion of any special achievement.

> He very artfully established a School standard that no captain of the Eleven was to go to Oxford or Cambridge without a Scholarship or Exhibition, and he was very proud of the three Tylecote brothers, 'C.B.L.,' 'E.F.S.,' and 'H.G.,' and on one occasion at the Guthrie secured great applause by saying of the then Oxford Eleven, in the course of his speech, "I need hardly tell you that Evans is a much greater power at Oxford than any Head of a House!" He went up with Oakeley to stay in London and witness the first match played by Clifton at Lord's against M.C.C. in August 1871, and no one was better pleased than he by the wonderful performance and victory of the School, winning as it did by an innings and 61 runs.[27]

Although health and circumstance had prevented the Headmaster from pursuing active participation in games, the enthusiasm that he exuded through sermons and observing foreign matches in The Close contributed to a Percivalian spirit which might not be better summed up than through the School motto, "Spiritus intus alit." Nevertheless, the Headmaster's encouragement of his staff to participate in games was coupled with a tempered involvement by Percival himself as a former colleague (probably H.G. Dakyns) recalled that "The Headmaster used to take us up, rowing-stroke, to Hanham... and ... it was Dr. Percival and the present speaker who ran and traced out, on a wet afternoon, the present Horfield run."[28] Percival maintained his love of games with all the vigour that might be expected of an Old Rugbean. On one occasion, while Judge Thomas Hughes (the author of Tom Brown's Schooldays), was staying at the School House, Mrs. Percival remarked that she had received a letter from Ireland written by their son Lancelot, who at the time was an undergraduate at Trinity College, Oxford. Expressing surprise at the young Percival's trip to Ireland in mid-term, Hughes was not appeased by the Headmaster's proud explanation that his son was playing for England in an important football match against Ireland.

During the years 1862 to 1879 Percival sowed the seeds and, as have subsequent headmasters at Clifton College, continued to reap the rewards of athletic success. With a near Puritanical phobia of indolence, and love of manliness, Percival sought to build an environment in which to mould a certain type of individual, a Clifton schoolboy characterizing elements described in the following manner by the Headmaster during a sermon to his young charges:

> In this atmosphere you are expected to imbibe a love for manly tastes and pursuits; something of an active, enduring, persevering spirit, something of a true contempt for effeminacy and indulgence, and torpid do-nothing idleness. The more sickly and morbid elements of character are purged out of men by the discipline of such a life as yours.[29]

Leaving Clifton in 1879 to become President of Trinity College, Oxford, and later Headmaster of Rugby (1887 to 1895), Percival subsequently returned to the west country as Bishop of Hereford, his relations with the church not being considered unusual for Clifton College was not to appoint its first lay headmaster until 1910. Upon Percival's departure, the office of headmaster was filled first by the Reverend James Matthias Wilson and later in 1891, by the Reverend Michael George Glazebrook. Although neither was to be as influential as Percival with regard to games in school life, Clifton College teams maintained a high profile in Bristol throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century.

While Clifton's headmasters and assistant masters established and maintained an exceptional sporting tradition during the nineteenth century years of the School, other institutions and headmasters of the City showed less encouragement and even resistance to the introduction and promotion of games. During the years 1860 to 1883 while John William Caldicott was Headmaster, Bristol Grammar School failed to adopt the trend of athleticism. Convinced that "his school would succeed without playing fields," Caldicott believed that it was "no part of his business as headmaster to know very much about the way in which they [the boys] conducted themselves in their contests with other schools and other clubs in their matches of football or cricket." Indeed, it was not until after the appointment of Robert Leighton as Headmaster (1883 to 1900), that Bristol Grammar School came to accept that some educational and moral value in playing games existed, in addition to its health-giving and discipline potential. Encouraged by the School's Governors and his assistant masters, Leighton proceeded to take steps designed to fully integrate sports into the life of the School. At Prize Day in 1887, the Headmaster explained his intention to introduce games-playing at different venues in the City on Tuesday afternoons. The institution of these "football sets" is best described by the School's Chronicle for November 1887 which observed that:

> ... this season is distinguished by the institution of what we may call a "voluntary compulsory system" of sports. Early in the term papers were sent round to the parents of all boys in and below Form IV, stating that it was intended to establish football sets to play in the field, or on the Downs, on available half holidays. Whether boys joined these or not was entirely left to the discretion of their parents, but once made the engagement was to be kept. A larger number of refusals was received than was gratifying, but out of the ninety who gallantly availed themselves of their privileges, three very fair sets have been formed, two of which play every Tuesday afternoon, and the third on Thursdays.[30]

Although described by the Headmaster as an encouraging success during their first year, within two years it was reported that there would be "no football sets this term as the younger boys do not seem to appreciate them." Financing such activity had presented a problem and, after appealing for increased public spirit and support with little success, Leighton introduced a compulsory games subscription of five shillings per annum, in 1890. With a pavilion being erected the following year, the Headmaster continued his public appeal for funds in the hope of extending and levelling the playing field. Nineteen hundred pounds had been collected by Prize Day of 1892 with another three hundred pounds being added one year later. Although slow, levelling and turfing of the field was completed by 1895 offering a surface available for play "without," in Leighton's words, "unreasonable risks to the players or the public." Readiness of the area could not have come too early, for in 1893 Leighton had introduced a house system, providing a genuine tonic to games-playing at the School manifested in unparalleled enthusiasm for sport, a picture that was becoming increasingly common among Bristol's "public" schools.

Earlier, after the appointment of Robert Jackson as Headmaster of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in 1879, the former assistant master at Clifton College instituted a new system of games-playing into the School. Characterized by games afternoons on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the lower and upper yards, and special grants for cricket, a new importance was afforded sport in the life of the School. In particular, attention was directed at teaching the boys to swim for after the first experiment in 1882 when twelve boys were taught to swim at the Victoria Baths, Clifton and especially upon the opening of Jacob's Wells Baths, few old boys were to be found floundering in water.[31]

Similarly, much of the enthusiasm for games witnessed in New England's private schools was the result of a growing appreciation of the importance of sport to school life by their leaders. While Headmaster Coit of St. Paul's awarded a "beautiful bat" to the highest scorer of runs in an important cricket match as early as 1866, the muscular Christian crusade on the part of headmasters is perhaps no better reflected than in the words of Endicott Peabody of Groton who, in support of games-playing, felt that:

> ... there should be maintained in the school interest in athletics not primarily to defeat any opponent, but as an activity which should conduce to the health of the individual, should increase his physical vigor; that he should learn to merge himself in his team, and above all other things, play honestly and in the spirit of good sportsmanship.[32]

Few of England's "public" schools and America's private schools were immune to the idea of developing moral fortitude through games-playing by mid-Victorian years. Despite the ongoing debate between the relative value of games and drill, and as the classical tradition of "public" schools gradually became eroded, headmasters, governors and parents alike promoted an aspect of education that was increasingly becoming the measure of "public" school respectability. While muscular Christianity constituted the common backbone of athleticism, programmes differed in nature, extent and rate of development, between institutions, cities, and nations.

Games in the Life of the Schools

There appears little doubt that Clifton College represented the foremost educational institution in Bristol during the years 1870 to 1900. Opened in 1862, games were considered an essential part of the educative process from the outset, a truism supported by a chronicler of the School's early history in stating that:

> ... it has always been part of the unwritten constitution of the School to keep games and work so harmoniously combined as to avoid anything like a division into those that work and those that play;... [33]

When on September 30 1862, the buildings were opened to their first pupils only the Big School, School House, and shed or fives court were standing. However, in 1867 a gymnasium of sorts, was constructed with the baths and cricket pavilion appearing the following year. Facilities for games-playing were improved further in November 1890 as the School's Governors resolved to purchase four and one half acres of land facing Canynges' Road, and owned by Alderman Proctor, for the price of 20,375 pounds in order to provide an additional play area for the schoolboys.

The infrastructure of life at Clifton College was typically organised on the "House System." Dividing pupils and masters alike into pastoral groups, it provided the foundation for social, moral, academic and athletic guidance within the School as Clifton Cushlamacree a pen writer in The Cliftonian observed:

> House Patriotism is the mainstay of Clifton... It is House patriotism that leads to School patriotism... and is in some Houses the instrument by which the high standard of the School is kept up, both in work and athletics. [34]

Not surprisingly, each House developed a reputation, whether good or bad, in a particular facet of school life. At Clifton College both School House and Oakeley's were considered fine allround Houses and, while the latter took pleasure in boasting that "the three Old Cliftonians who were Captains of Football, Cricket and Boating at Oxford in 1881,... were all at Oakeley's," the School House went on to dominate the House games-playing honours by claiming fifteen cricket championships between 1869 and 1900 and seventeen football championships during the years 1868 to 1900. Both the first Housemaster of Dakyn's and his successor, Bartholomew, encouraged their pupils to excel in games whereas in comparison, Wiseman's was traditionally perceived as more of a "house of culture" than any of the others. The bond between members of the aforementioned boarding Houses was understandably stronger than that shown within the North Town and South Town Houses provided for those boys of the City who travelled daily to Clifton. Generally however, when athletic rivalry was aroused between Houses, a time when "the 'loafer' would be looked at askance," traditions and past victories were put behind them as each vied for the honours of Cock House in cricket, Rugby-football and track and field. Indeed, it was left to the relative independence of the South Town House to break the School House's hold on athletic prestige as the "day boys" won six of the twelve House track and field competitions held between 1889 and 1900.

Perhaps this idea of House spirit at Clifton College is no more skillfully described than through the words of a poem entitled "Hiawatha's Football" which, appearing in The Cliftonian for December 1899, is reproduced in full in Appendix E. Representing a parody on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1855 epic, "our hero," possessing almost superhuman qualities "cherished one ambition --- To win glory in a House Match." After a fierce struggle, it was Hiawatha that "Forward sped and touched the ball down," winning the match for his House and realizing his one ambition. While the House Matches provided the opportunity for the majority of Cliftonians to savour the spirit of athleticism, the School remained closest to their hearts as interscholastic sports provided an instrument for developing School patriotism and underscoring School respectability in the minds of spectators and participants alike.[35]

Football had been played at Clifton College some years before the institution of a House Competition in 1868 and the annual Cock House versus School encounter which resembled football "en masse" as portrayed by Hughes in Tom Brown's Schooldays. First organised at the School by Wellesley the first Head Boy and "Cap" with the help of Dakyns an assistant master, during the winter term of 1862, it was 1864 before the first foreign contest was witnessed at Marlborough College which, in the words of one of the Clifton team, "had the appearance of a hostile encounter rather than a friendly football match." The School's relationship with the Clifton Rugby Club was reciprocal, for while the Club provided an annual fixture for the School after 1874, Clifton College (and other "public" schools) supplied a constant stream of recruits to the Clifton Club's playing ranks. Organised on the Rugby system at the outset (See Appendix E), Clifton adopted the Rugby Union Rules in 1878, which limited the number of players to fifteen-a-side. In recognition of excellence at football, and in accordance with the system at Rugby School, "House caps" were awarded by the Sixth Form in each House. However, "black caps" were instituted as a School distinction in 1866 although they were abolished within two years, being replaced by jersey badges which disappeared in their turn, in 1873.[36]

While football remained the most popular winter sport in the School, the feeling that "There is nought so enchanting as Cricket," expressed through the stanzas of the "Ballade of Cricket" published in The Cliftonian (and contained in its entirety in Appendix E), supports the idea that the willow served a significant aspect of school life. To Francis Newbolt, brother of the poet and former praeposter at Clifton College, "the summit of [his] ambitions was to be in the Eleven." Started during the summer term of 1863 under the captaincy of J.F. Walker, the School's early opponents included Old Cliftonians, Clifton, Lansdown, Stoke Bishop, Knowle Park, Frenchay, Weston-Super-Mare, Richmond, University College, Oxford, Marylebone C.C., and Incogniti. With the cricket pitch being levelled in 1864, the Sherborne School Eleven was engaged the following summer with other "public" school fixtures including Cheltenham College (started in 1872), and an interesting series against Haverford College of Pennsylvania, commencing in 1896. In all, seventeen other "public" schools were faced by the Clifton College Eleven in the years 1898 to 1903.

With the Tylecote brothers (C.B.L., and E.F.S.) excelling during the early years, the regular appearances of the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club on The Close of Clifton College made it hardly surprising that the Grace family would soon exude some influence upon the School. It was in 1891 that "W.G." Jr. made his mark, scoring 116 runs for the School Eleven against the Old Cliftonians. One year later saw the arrival of Charles Lucas Townsend at the School, playing for Gloucestershire C.C.C., the following summer and gaining his international "Cap" in 1898. An earlier innings of 404 runs not out, scored by E.F.S. Tylecote in a House Match was eclipsed in 1899 by A.E.J. Collins' unparalleled feat recalled in a plaque which now rests on the wall of the North East side of The Close and reads:

> Upon this ground
> A.E.J. Collins
> in a junior House Match
> in June 1899 scored
> 628 NOT OUT.
> THIS INNINGS IS THE HIGHEST
> RECORDED IN THE HISTORY
> OF CRICKET.

With the headlines of the day informing the nation, "Collins Still In," the young schoolboy went on to ensure himself and Clifton College a permanent place in Wisden's Almanack.[38]

Among the other athletic pursuits practiced at Clifton College were track and field, hare and hounds (or harriers), field hockey and, fives and racquets. First held in 1863, a Challenge Cup was presented for the School Sports by the Old Cliftonians in 1867. With events comprising high jump; broad jump; one mile run; half mile; hurdle race; and grand steeple chase, E.F.S. Tylecote became the Cup's first recipient which was no mean achievement, as the latter event was held "over a course all round Big-Side, rendered preternaturally arduous by artificially-constructed hedges and ditches, one of the latter being filled with water for the occasion." While the School Sports continued to represent a significant event in the life of Clifton College, particularly after the institution of Cock House in 1889, it would appear that interschool rivalry was limited as the School only entered the Public School Athletics Competition once during the years 1870 to 1900. Another of the earliest physical activities practiced with initial enthusiasm at the School was hare and hounds. Introduced during the first item of 1863, the runs maintained their appearance as paper chases for the first ten years. In 1873, after attendance was seen to lapse, the pack system was instituted described in the following manner:

> By this system the School, for running purposes, was divided into two packs, an upper and a lower, and each was put under the charge of a huntsman, assisted by two or more whips.

The origin of "The Long Penpole" and "The Short Penpole," these runs became an annual and prestigious event within the School calendar throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century. The demand of these runs (the longer approximating ten miles in duration), was such that those with doctor's orders were excused participation, an alternative sought by many of Clifton's less gifted athletes. In search of a substitute to occupy the "invalids", field hockey was introduced not in 1881, as the Clifton College Annals and Register 1862-1912 suggests, but three years earlier as a "fag" then in attendance at the School recalled:

> We played on the Downs in an unwieldy crowd with primitive round sticks and a ball covered with string. It was the most unscientific game I ever saw. Hockey properly played is one of the best games in the world; but there was a feeling in the school that it was a nursery game for 'crocks', and it was not sufficiently encouraged. Now and then one or two masters played, and things were made more lively; but the rank and file of those who escaped runs by playing hockey were not athletic, and lacked enthusiasm.[40]

The "feeling" alluded to by the author was developed further in an article entitled "Hockey" appearing in The Cliftonian for 1878 wherein the writer, with characteristic manliness, observed that:

> No longer are the tender darlings of anxious mammas allowed to do nothing on five half-holidays, no longer are they able to spend their time and money in loafing in Clifton and paying visits to "Warrens." There is no fear, to be sure, of their being brought home old corpses from "those horrid runs," but at the same time they must exercise their delicate limbs a little in some healthy amusement. The authorities have determined that the aforesaid darlings should play hockey on the Downs on Thursday and Tuesday half-holidays (when such do occur).[41]

There followed a particularly graphic description of the early attempts at playing hockey, the confusion over rules, together with an account of some apparently unsightly injuries incurred as a result of "investigating the end of a stick," incidents which might have been prevented had sufficient attention been applied to the rules drawn up by the School authorities in 1878 (for a national field hockey association was not established until 1886), and included in Appendix E. The history of fives and racquets at Clifton College is very much the history of the facilities provided for the games. After the demolition of the initial facility in 1871, two open fives and one open racquets court were constructed at the School. With growing interest in the game, and through a subscription scheme, two covered racquets courts were built in 1875, the old one being converted to provide three covered fives courts in 1879. As enthusiasm continued to increase, "Small, the professional racquets player (next best to Gray in those days), was engaged to improve bat-fives" at Clifton College. With the addition of a racquets court and dressing room in 1884, the School sent its first team up to Prince's for the Public School Racquets Competition (established 1868) in 1886, returning victorious.[42]

Although not the oldest of Bristol's "public" schools, the promotion and performance of games at Clifton College during the years 1862 to 1900 placed the School in the heart of the City's sporting life. Whether through football and cricket fixtures with local clubs and "public" schools, or through the utilization of the College as a venue for professional sports events, the enthusiasm demonstrated for games-playing at the School went unmatched in Bristol throughout the final three decades of the nineteenth century, although other institutions far from neglected the new trend of athleticism.

The earliest indication of any sort of games tradition at Bristol Grammar School appears to have been forthcoming in 1859 when, at the

School's Prize Day, Headmaster Hudson brought attention to the new gymnasium and expressed the hope that the school would follow the recent path of fives and cricket in affording time to boating while, "At the conclusion of the ceremony a prize pair of foils was contended for at the broadsword exercise, and was won by Hewlett." Perhaps the greatest restriction facing the Grammar School in developing organised games, during these early years, was the lack of suitable facilities. Limited to a playground of 561 square yards and a fives wall beyond which lay the premises of Harvey's wine importers, the boys of Unity Street chose to travel to "the boskey dells of Brandon Hill, not far away," in pugilistic pursuit or to the Downs upon which they played football and cricket. Maintaining the early traditions of "public" schools, games-playing was late considered the responsibility of the boys themselves. With fives matches being played against other "public" schools during the 1860s, the earliest encouragement shown by the Trustees of the School occurred in May 1867 when they ordered "that a tent should be purchased for the use of the Grammar School Cricket Club."

Restricted by the quality of grounds as late as 1881, cricket realised a new life at the School with improving pitches for as the Chronicle for June 1895 recorded, "Cricket matches are now played in Tyndalls Park; and although the wickets are not perfect, they are better than those on the Downs, and have the further advantage of being far from the madding crowd." If it was not the surface, the editors of the Chronicle found adequate reasoning for the loss of their team whether through "two of our best men [being] unfortunately run out, owing chiefly to the length of the grass, which prevented the ball from travelling far" during the Monkton Combe match of 1883, or the case of an opposing batsman, in the season of 1895, who, "although he was out several times, the umpire refused to give him l.b.w." Unlike cricket, Rugby football at the School was not handicapped by the ground although as the "School Notes" plaintively observed in 1880, "football assumes a very trying aspect to those playing uphill." The inauguration of the new classrooms and laboratories on October 25th 1892 was followed by a football match in which the teams competed for the "Sir John Lubbock Shield," named after the visiting dignitary and subsequently presented by the Governors for annual competition.Nevertheless, with a growing apathy toward football witnessed throughout the pages of the Chronicle for the remaining years of the nineteenth century, the game that had been popularised by Tom Brown at Rugby and had received enthusiastic acceptance at Clifton College, fell short of the support afforded cricket at Bristol Grammar School.

As an alternative to football, hockey first appeared in the Chronicle in 1890. Typified at first by similar instances witnessed by Cliftonians in 1878, by December of 1895 the School magazine announced that:

> The Hockey Committee have decided to play the new Association Game in place of the old. This will necessitate the number of players being reduced from fifteen to eleven. All who play in the first eleven will be required to purchase the regulation sticks, as the old ones are unsuitable.

This transition had its advantage as evidenced by the defeat of an opposing Eleven, during the following March, by a score of nineteen goals to nil. Other physical pursuits at the Bristol Grammar School included the Sports which switched from various venues including the Bedminster Cricket Club Ground, Tyndalls Park and the County Ground, Ashley Down during the years

1870 to 1900; Rowing, introduced into the School by an enthusiastic assistant master, "Billy" Beames, in 1892; and the School Bicycle Club already discussed in Chapter VIII. Together with the Cross Country races evolving out of the paper chases first mentioned as an annual feature in 1884; lawn tennis established in 1881; and the founding of a Swimming Club in 1890, these activities contributed to a flourishing games programme at the Grammar School which, although neither compulsory nor as extensive as Clifton College's nonetheless appreciated in popularity, particularly during the final decade of the nineteenth century.[43]

Other of Bristol's schools exhibited games programmes during the years 1870 to 1900 which, for one reason or another, differed in nature, philosophy and degree. The Colston School, founded by Edward Colston in 1708, later in October 1861 relocated to the former Bishop's Palace where sufficient land was retained for the provision of an ample playground. With the River Frome forming the boundary of Colston's property, its turbid waters were utilized to provide a swimming bath. As early as 1865, the Regulations of the Bristol Cathedral School stated that:

> The boys are not permitted to use the playground before or after school hours, but during such times as the boys are in the playground between Morning and Afternoon School the Under Master is not to leave them, but to encourage them in healthy games, and keep them out of mischief.[44]

Possessing a games programme that received scant mention in the press, the highlight of the Cathedral School year was undoubtedly the Sports, held annually at the Zoological Gardens in Clifton. In addition to the usual athletic programme, the Sports included such events as the 150 yard flat race for choristers only, the Old Boys' Bicycle race and the Tug-of-War.

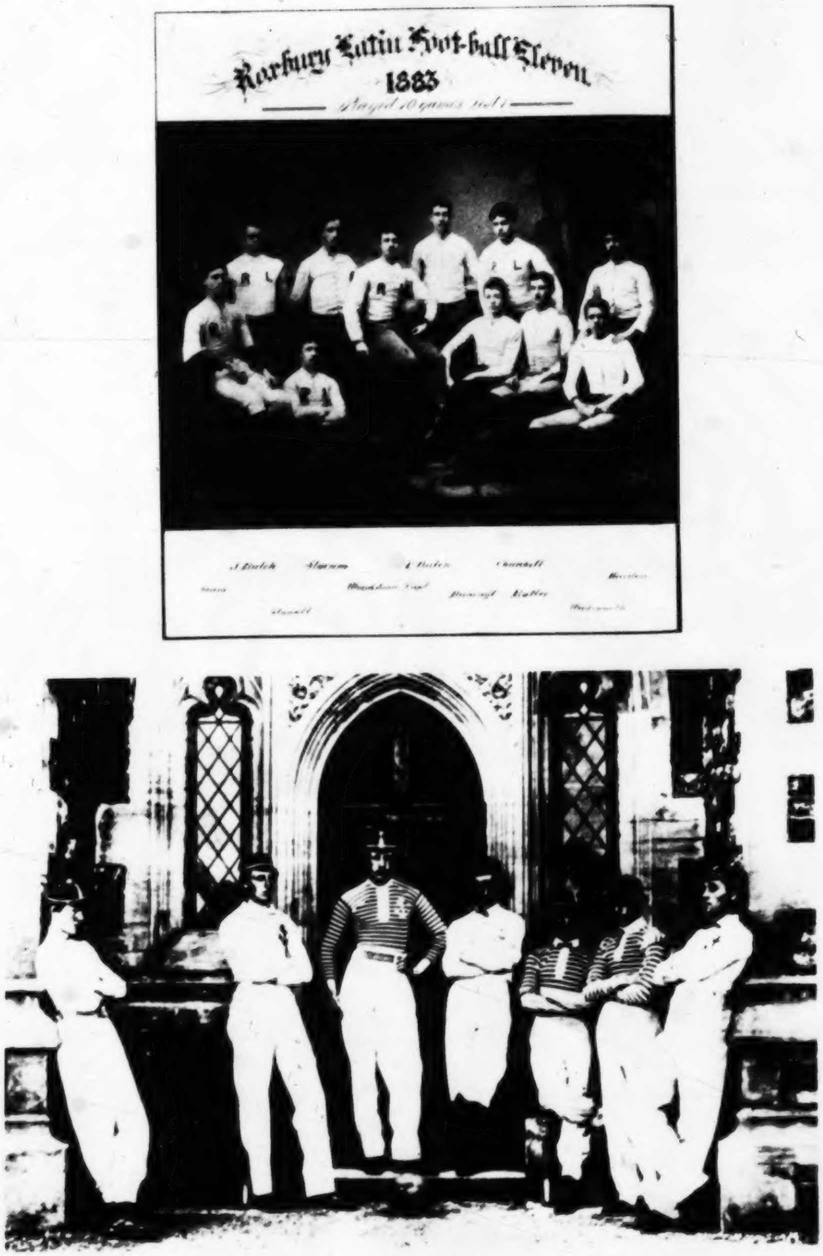
Roxbury Latin Foot-ball Eleven
1883

PLATE XI

Sport at School

(Above) The Roxbury Latin School Football Eleven in 1883.
(Below) The Clifton College Football "Caps" in 1870.

After May 1875, when the Queen Elizbeth's Hospital came under a new scheme of the Endowed Schools Commission, games throughout the School were reorganized. With football and cricket representing the leading interscholastic sports, Swimming, after its introduction in 1889 realized an improving profile in the life of the School. Once again, facilities represented a major stumbling block to athletic progress in the School, further hindered by the philosophic belief of its Governors. While Alderman Jose referred to the need of a gymnasium in an address on Charter Day in 1900, his continued hope was that a generous City philanthropist would see fit to donate such a facility or even a cricket field to the School for "the governors did not feel justified in spending money on these things in their present state of poverty." The increased hours devoted to sport in Bristol's "public" schools during the years 1870 to 1900 is truly remarkable. Out of a system of student administration grew a programme of games-playing that, by the year 1900, represented a central component of School life. In the private schools of New England the situation was little different as they struggled to replicate the life and philosophy of the Great English "Public" School.[45]

Probably the earliest account of games-playing in New England's preparatory schools dates from 1853 when pupils at Phillips Academy, Andover (to the north of Boston), were reported as playing rounders informally. Apparently this was not the only sport practiced, for an 1858 graduate of the Academy recalled the preliminaries to a game of Rugby football characteristic of that played between the School House and School in Tom Brown's Schooldays:

> ...after a hasty supper... little groups of the fellows wended their way... to the field back of the Seminary buildings... Once on the ground the two best players chose sides, by much experience wise to select the most skillful. Perhaps only twenty-five or thirty at first, but gradually augmenting and apportioned until seventy-five or a hundred or more on each side were facing each other.[46]

With enthusiasm multiplying and baseball being selected over cricket as the most preferential summer sport (for reasons outlined in Chapter VI), other private schools were opposed. The Academy later engaged the Tufts College baseball team and, as early as 1866, played the Lowell Base Ball Club on Boston Common.

As Clifton College had built up a formidable rivalry with Marlborough College in football and Cheltenham College in cricket, so an annual encounter between Phillips Academy Andover and Phillips Exeter Academy grew out of their initial meetings at football and baseball in 1878. The Phillipian of Phillips Andover describes the scene following the School's victory in the first football fixture (apparently of the Association variety):

> Every Phillipian was jubilant over the well-earned victory of our eleven in the game with Exeter. They showed their appreciation of our men by coming out in a strong force and taking both elevens to the depot in good style, and then escorting the victors to the residences of teachers where enthusiastic speeches were made.

The introduction of tennis and, track and field in 1884 and 1889 respectively, paved the way for further athletic competition between the two Schools. Together with the Groton-St. Mark's rivalry established in 1887, the Phillips Andover-Phillips Exeter meetings represent one of the oldest interscholastic contests in America.[47]

Other schools followed suit in the growing enthusiasm for sport. Promoted initially by the pupils themselves, a report in the Rural Record, a daily log of activities at St. Paul's School, noted that the eight boats on the pond belonged to various individuals, assumed schoolboys since there were no more than two or three masters in the School at that time. The following day's entry on June 23rd 1859 observed that, "the boys are making great preparations for the cricket match and boat races on the Fourth of July."[48] However, a feeling expressed some twelve years later showed concern at need for greater diversions from the drudgery of schoolbooks as "our amusements have been limited, and for those of the boys who were not cricketers, there has been hardly anything to do, and very little opportunity of taking exercise..."[49] To the west of Boston the pupils of Worcester Academy were reminded, through an editorial in their paper of 1879, that "Half the pleasure and benefit arises from the zest in which we play; so don't stop to consider the probabilities of victory but play for exercise and fun,"[50] While to the Mount Herman School of Northfield, Massachusetts is attributed the oldest foot race in America as The Bemis Pie Race was instituted in 1891. Six years older than the Boston Marathon, 143 men competed in the first running of the six mile race along the banks of the Connecticut River, the winner receiving a pie in recognition of his victory. Although the athletics programme of American "private" schools and English "public" schools gradually parted in the nature of the games played to meet the changing demands of society, the philosophical foundation of this cult of athleticism remained essentially stable.[51]

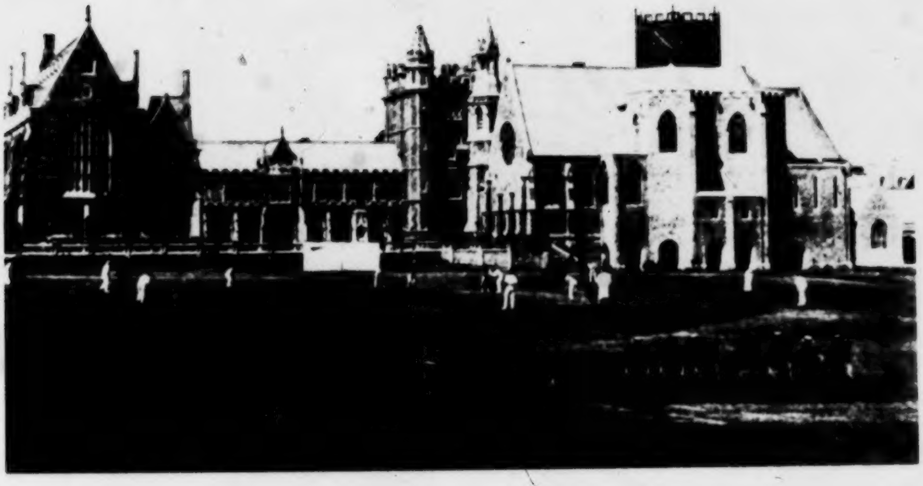

PLATE XII

Cricket at College

(Above) A match in The Close, Clifton College in 1900.
(Below) A match on Jarvis Field, Harvard College during the early 1870s.

Muscular Christianity - The Soldiers and Disciples

The findings of the 1864 Clarendon Commission, with regard to "bodily training" in the English "public" school supported the idea of games' essential role in developing what Cardinal John Henry Newman described as the Christian Gentleman. Concerned at the promised extinction of this continuation of the Carlylean Hero in New England, Amos A. Lawrence, a Harvard alumnus and promising young businessman offered annually with twenty dollars, three silver medals to those pupils of Groton Academy who excelled in the "manly and athletic exercises" of cricket, quoits and singlestick.[52]

A further extension of Romantic philosophy, the qualities of the Hero and Christian Gentleman were blended to create an elevated being, the Gentleman Hero or muscular Christian which was promoted by Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes through their fictional portrayal of such beings. Although the exact origin of the term "muscular Christianity" is unclear, it is likely that it was conceived within the confines of the English halls of academe. Yet it was to be but a short while before the ideals and values attending "the faith" spread throughout Britain and the Empire, reaching the shores of New England by way of pedagogical disciples, playing fields and literary works for even as late as 1890, of the sixty volumes contained within the library of the North End playground in Boston, ten belonged to Hughes' Tom Brown Schooldays.[53]

While a wealth of literature may be identified in seeking to best describe the concept of muscular Christianity, it is left to the following words of Charles Kingsley, having himself lived in Bristol as a schoolboy, to colour its perceived value;

> ... That games conduce, not merely to physical but to moral health; that in the playing field boys acquire virtues which no books can give them; not merely daring and endurance, but, better still, temper, self-restraint, fairness, honour, unenvious approbation of another's success, and all that "give and take" of life which stand a man in such good stead when he goes forth into the world, and without which, indeed, his success is always maimed and partial.[54]

Pursuing these ideals through the sportsmanship norms of games-playing, cricket seemed particularly suited to the acquistion of the aforementioned virtues although to the following diarists, Cheltenham College etiquette at the wicket appeared devoid of the expected "unenvious approbation of Clifton's success!":

> We Cliftonians never cheered a catch, nor even the greatest bowling feat. It struck us with a pained surprise that the whole of Cheltenham College should cheer their bowlers and catchers to the echo when we got out in the School Match. Coming into the pavilion from the wicket at Cheltenham was like facing a hostile army, if our old friends will permit me to say so. It was, no doubt, only a difference of tradition and custom.[55]

> As to the point of etiquette, we did very heartily applaud a good hit at cricket,... When one of our side was bowled, the Cheltenham boys made the welkin ring, and their triumphal cries shocked us; we condemned them as ûβpis.[56]

Was such reaction a reflection of schoolboy idealistic naivety? Where, in such an instance, were the Christian traits later spoken of by the Reverend Thomas Waugh in The Cricket Fields of the Christian Life (1894), or the characteristics of "martial greatness... and hardiness" promised by a Cliftonian in July 1892, and how, as H.T. Case suggested in 1897, was the willow training "youth for manly life?"[57] Nevertheless, while deviation from the ideals of muscular Christianity was far from uncommon among the "public" schools, the belief that "It is in these sports that the characyer of the boy is formed. It is from them that the readiness, pluck, and self-dependence of the English gentleman are principally caught,"[58] survived. To Sir Henry Newbolt poet and Old Cliftonian, the primary goal of games was laid down in verse. Tying a characteristic and eternal bond between life on the playing field and in the trenches, the words of "Clifton Chapel" rang out:

> To set the Cause above renown,
>   To love the game beyond the prize,
> To honour, while you strike him down,
>   The foe that comes with fearless eyes.[59]

Following the biblical teachings that "An athlete is not crowned unless he competes according to the rules,"[60] the concept of sportsmanship became a component part of the muscular Christian ethic. In England, and extending his observations beyond the written rules of the game to the emergence of "gamesmanship," H.A. Graves, in his turn of the century "Philosophy of Sport" wrote that "the true sportsman...would prefer to be fairly and squarely beaten by a superior opponent to scoring a win by a clever and unconventional jockeying of the rules."[61]

In America, the ideal emphasis was no less on fair play. The attributing of such maxims as "That's Not Cricket!" and "Nice Guys Finish Last!" to a description of nineteenth century sporting philosophy in England and America respectively, would seem a trifle unfair, for the New World can claim its fair attention to sportsmanship. Reflected in the motto of "Gat" Miller (Boston's Father of Football"), "Defeat without Honor is better than victory with Dishonour," a correspondent for the

Boston Morning Journal drew attention to the favourable behaviour of all involved as the Atlantics of New York beat the Harvard crew in a regatta at Ingleside in 1871:

> The race appears to have been conducted in a fair, straight forward manner throughout, and the graceful manner in which the Harvards acknowledged their defeat, is much to their credit. The victors, too, bore their honors modestly, cheering the vanquished and not holding their achievement lightly. Such manly contests will do much toward popularising aquatic sports.[62]

How pleased the proponents of muscular Christian sentiment must have been upon reading of such "proof", for a justification that stood on a veritable quagmire of casuistic foundation had, with little if any empirical support found acceptance within nineteenth century society. Yet to some it offered more, as J.G.C. Minchin felt that muscular Christianity represented the very base of the British Empire.[63]

The parallel drawn between athletic and military contests throughout the second half of the nineteenth century is remarkable. Possessing common needs, a writer in the Victorian Review for November 1881 noted that "conquering races have been distinguished by a partiality for manly games" which, in the words of Lord Harris, taught "first to obey, eventually to command, and thereby helping to form those capabilities which go to make a good soldier of either the regular or citizen army."[64] So significant was the apparent correlation between victory on playing field and battlefield that the suspension of the annual Eton versus Harrow cricket match at Lord's in 1857 drew the following response from The Saturday Review:

> It is in these sports that the character of a boy is formed. It is from them that the readiness,

> pluck, and self-dependence of the British gentleman is principally caught. "Waterloo" said the Duke, "was won at Eton."[65]

Two years later, as the Cambridge University crew "gamely" maintained their stroke after being swamped during the 1859 Boat Race The Saturday Review expressed with pride:

> The spirit which sustained the losing, sinking Cambridge crew throughout the contest was the same which held the slopes of Waterloo a long summer day, and it will again be manifested, tenacious and indomitable as of old, whenever any enemy shall dare to arouse it.[66]

Such feeling accompanied the increasing industrial output and subsequent expansion of the British Empire which was, in large part, a product of the relative peace of mid-nineteenth century years. Nevertheless, the rise of "Jingoism" and comparatively insignificant hostilities of the Crimea (1854-1856), and the Indian Mutiny (1857), followed later by the Afghan War (1879), and the Boer War (1898), prompted and urged a periodic return to the cultivation of military personnel in the "public" schools. While the role of most schools to this end, declined after the Crimea, Clifton College retained a peculiar reputation for producing officers of upstanding character, a distinction commonly recalled through the words of "Vitai Lampada" written by Sir Henry Newbolt. Based upon his schoolboy experience at Clifton College, rather than Harrow, Rugby or one of the more eminent "public" schools, the poem is reproduced here in its entirety:

> There's a breathless hush in the Close to-night --
> Ten to make and the match to win --
> A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
> An hour to play and the last man in.
> And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat

Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
But his Captains hand on his shoulder smote --
Play up! play up! and play the game!

The sand of the desert is sodden red, --
Red with the wreck of the square that broke; --
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
The river of death has brimmed his banks,
And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
Play up! play up! and play the game!

This is the word that year by year,
While in her place the School is set,
Everyone of her sons must hear,
And none that hears it dare forget.
This they all with a joyful mind,
Bear through life like a torch in flame
And falling, fling to the host behind --
Play up! play up! and play the game.[67]

While The Close at Clifton College continued to provide the scenario for the nurturing of future heroes, an American poet later wrote of a cricket match between teams from Grand Rapids, Michigan and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Although, perhaps somewhat distant in terms of geography and history, the following words of Julia Moore somehow conjure up the image of an American "Clifton":

This ball play is a dangerous game,
    Brave knights to play it through;
These boys would be the nation's pride,
    If they to war would go...[68]

Indeed, as war with Spain neared, Henry Cabot Lodge, in addressing a Harvard alumni gathering in 1896, expressed the belief that "the time given to athletic contests and injuries incurred on the playing-field are part of the price which the English-speaking race has paid for being world-conquerors..."[69] Once again, the basic assumption had been accepted and it

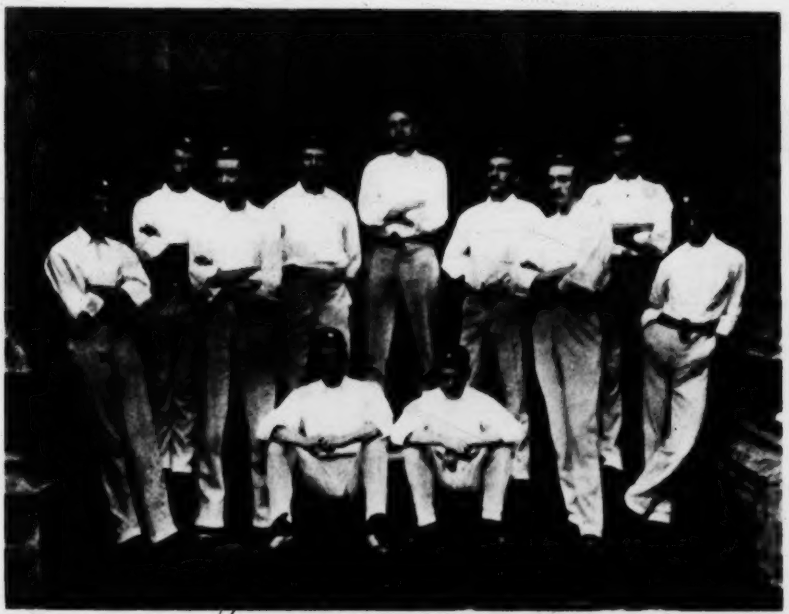

PLATE XIII

Athletes in Academe

(Above) The Clifton College Cricket Eleven in 1883.
(Below) The Harvard College Baseball Nine in 1893.

was not long before The Saturday Evening Post was promoting the playing of football on the basis that it developed qualities which "would enable a man to lead a charge up San Juan Hill or guide the Merrimac into Santiago Harbour."[70]

The idea that these sports were synonymous with a "game of life" received ongoing support throughout the period, and was embodied in John Ruskin's perception of London as "Lord's cricket ground without the turf." Developed further by Gilbert Jessop, a Gloucestershire County cricketer, he felt that "if you have pluck on the football field it is not likely to desert you if you should be faced with business difficulties." In short, whether sports contributed to the development of manly and Christian character; a courageous and loyal militia; or better prepared the schoolboy for future experiences in the "game of life," the "public" schools had been instrumental in the social identification and institution of a higher order moral justification for games-playing. However, while loyalty to one's country remained a hallmark of such programmes, school patriotism became a clearly recognised biproduct of the "public" schoolboy's experience.[71]

Boston's schools, while endeavouring to replicate in part, the "public" schools of England, more frequently looked across the Charles to Cambridge and the spirit of unity captured in the life of Harvard. In seeking to create some of this school spirit at the Boston Latin School a writer in the Register for April 1889 expressed a feeling that:

> ...school unity or school loyalty, so strikingly exhibited in college life, should be developed in the preparatory schools. Especially is it valued in the latter, since most men, on graduating, break off into business life... Athletics more than anything else, can foster this spirit of unity; for on the campus all class distinctions

> are done away with, the men gather about activated
> by a common motive, cheer with a common impulse,
> and develop a better and more generous fellowship.[72]

Gradually, and assisted by the elevated status of sports and the emergence of athletic associations in Boston's Schools, a new school spirit evolved, characterised by such renditions of the English High School cheer for 1895:

> Hurrah, hurrah, we'll be the champions yet
> Hurrah, hurrah, for all the boys who sweat,
> For we're the boys from English High
> And we'll get there, just you bet
> Rah, rah, rah, boys for High School.[73]

Perhaps the spirit and life of Clifton College during the 1870s and 1880s is no better captured than through the poetic proficiency of Sir Henry J. Newbolt. Former Head Boy and Captain of the Cadet Corps, Newbolt's writings contain eulogies of Headmaster Percival and school friends, among whom the former Field-Marshall Earl Haig, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Francis Younghusband stand out. Patriotic and loyal to his school, Newbolt remembers in "The Echo":

> Twice three hundred boys were we,
>   Long ago, long ago,
> Where the Downs look out to the Severn Sea,
>   Clifton for aye!
> We held by the game and hailed the team,
> For many could play where few could dream.
>   City of Song shall stand alway.[74]

Publishing his first volume of poems in 1897 at age thirty-five, games played an integral part in Newbolt's works, a trait further reflected as a prisoner dreams of his days at school and university, in "He Fell Among Thieves":

He saw the School Close, sunny and green,
  The runner beside him, the stand by the parapet wall,
The distant tape, and the crowd roaring between,
  His own name over all.

He saw the dark wainscot and timbered roof,
  The long tables, and the faces merry and keen;
The College Eight and their trainer dining aloof,
  The Dons on the dais serene.[75]

The poet's younger brother and diarist, Francis Newbolt, was a member of North Town House and a recipient of his "Colours" for cricket and shooting. Although not in poetic manner, his Clifton College Forty Years Ago. The Diary of a Praeposter, published anonymously in 1927, provides a glowing and detailed account of life at Clifton College, with ample page space being afforded to games. The diarist's memories of his schoolboy days are summarised in the following words:

> I hear once more the mowing-machine, the sound of bat and ball, "the hard familiar bell" ringing implacably for lock-up, and above all, the cheery voices of old friends and comrades. These things I shall see and hear until I see and hear no more...[76]

Indeed, the memories of "that most impressionable age" were anchored in the pedestal of eternal remembrance. Manifesting itself in the formation of "Old Boys'" and "Alumni" associations, these groups functioned primarily, in the provision of ongoing finance so ensuring a maintenance of school spirit, order and tradition, further representing an influence to limit change. By no means restricted to the English "public" school, old boys' associations provided an atmosphere for reminiscence, a fraternal world within which games were remembered with vivid alacrity. At the sixth reunion of the Old School Boys of Boston held at the Hotel Vendome on November 17th

1885, a member recalled travelling up West Street to the Mall just as a game of football was about to start on Boston Common, he continued, "there was quite a large assemblage of boys from the Mason Street (Adams) School and the Franklin School...We played baseball and hockey right on the Mall, and Boston Common was the playground of the Boston School boys."[77] Neither was the old school forgotten in Bristol. With the Old Boys' XI and XV representing a perennial appearance on the fixture list, the Scottish Old Cliftonian's annual presentation of a cup to the best racquets player in the School is just one example of how such associations financed and promoted games-playing in the schools.[78]

As old boys went on from school to excel in sports, so they carried the ideals preached to them in the English "public" and American private schools. In essence, becoming disciples of muscular Christianity, they spread the doctrine throughout the British Empire, and beyond to those sympathetic believers in the English halls of academe. Games were thought of as exuding a pervasive influence over the character of both Bristolians and Bostonians during the years 1870 to 1900. Whether it was the Bristol vicar who exorted his parishioners to join him in forming the Bristol Crusaders' Bicycle Club for their "mutual spiritual benefit,"[79] or Albert Goodwill Spalding who felt that "Base Ball has done a lot to keep the Yankee lad from being brutal,"[80] games were seen as an avenue to the prevention of subordination, effeminacy, cheating, cowardice, rebellion, and violence. Echoed further in the words of an American poem entitled "The Sportsman's Code" (included in Appendix E), an adherence to which would apparently help a man "To bear his Waterloo," these beliefs, although not without their critics, were strongly reiterated by Boston's Mayor Josiah Quincy in a close of the century address, in which he stated:

> I can hardly emphasize too strongly my belief in the great benefit to the community, not only physically, but also socially, and even morally, of an extensive development of reasonable and properly directed athletics; and this can only be effected through local gymnasia maintained by the city. It is now fully recognised by students of social science that there is a close relation between physical exercise and crime -- that an active interest in athletic exercise, and the practice of it, tends to keep a person out of evil paths, while, on the other hand, an absence of any such interest makes many persons an easier prey to the temptations and influences which lead to crime.[81]

Muscular Christianity - The Heretics

As the ideals of muscular Christianity were launched throughout the private schools of Bristol and Boston so they were accompanied by a whisper of concern, cynicism and condemnation. As early as 1810, an article written by the Reverend Sidney Smith and appearing in the Edinburgh Review criticised the practice of sport in the "public" schools on the basis of its declining value to an emerging civilised industrial society:

> There is a manliness in the athletic exercises of public schools, which is as seductive to the imagination as it is utterly unimportant in itself. Of what importance is it in after life, whether a boy can play well or ill at cricket; or row a boat with the skill and precision of a waterman? If our young lads and esquires were hereafter to wrestle together in public, or the gentlemen of the Bar to exhibit Olympic games in Hilary Term, the glory attached to these exercises at public schools would be rational and important. But of what use is the body of an athlete, when we have good laws over our heads, -- or, when a pistol, a postchaise, or a porter, can be hired for a few shillings? A gentleman does nothing but ride or walk; and yet such a ridiculous stress is laid upon the manliness of the exercises customary at public schools -- exercises in which the greatest blockheads commonly excell the most -- as often render habits of idleness inveterate -- and often lead to a foolish expense and dissipation at a more advanced period of life.[82]

After the birth and nurturing of muscular Christianity, and by the 1870s, even one of its foremost proponents and guardians, Thomas Hughes, began to express some doubt in the games phenomenon. In The Manliness of Christ (1879), he considered that games had become stressed to such a point that he found frightening. Earlier, in Memoir of a Brother (1873), Hughes wrote "I must not tell you so much of all his successes in athletic games. These things are made too much of nowadays, until the training and competitions for them out-run all national bounds."[83]

The diaries of Clifton College Schoolboys bear witness to this growing obsession as one wrote:

> I believe that I did my fair share of work... but am forced to admit, and not without a blush, that my time seems to have been pricipally spent in a great variety of games both at home and at school, ranging from house matches and house ties, which were, of course, important, to charades, picquet, stump-cricket, and punt-about.[84]

The time taken up by games was considered by many critics to be outrageous. With few days being free of sport involvement a sample analysis of a Clifton College Schoolboy's diary for June and July 1887 (summarised in Appendix E), shows an extensive application to sport, while a typical entry read:

> Sept. 21. Thursday. Dull. Misty. Cricket: The School v. Mr. F. Townsend's XI, Non-colours playing for the XI, Sandford and Pilcher. (Here follows the names of 5 members of our weak 1882 team, with comments). No wonder we made 70 against 140 for 4 wickets! Townsend 88. 2.15. Went down to Bedminster range in brake, with my brother, to practice shooting with short rifle. Very bad. Made 14 at 200 yards.
>
> Read Thucydides with Brain.[85]

While the schoolboy afforded only brief mention to his academic pursuits, the masters and governors of Clifton College would have likely appeared unconcerned as they presented a defence based on the fact that every Captain of the Eleven who had gone on to Oxford or Cambridge University, upto the year 1882, had taken a scholarship with him. In New England, concern over the subordination of study to the "athletic mania" was expressed by Endicott Peabody, Head Master of Groton Academy who, in 1889, noted that "there is some danger of the boys becoming absorbed in these sports to the detriment of their studies..." Earlier in 1883, the growing complexity and status of sport in the School had convinced the masters of Phillips Academy Andover to introduce a tighter reign.[86]

As some critics argued with the length of time afforded sport, others utilised a more fundamental criticism of the "public" school which was, nevertheless, reflected in the games programme. The prolongation of class bias by these schools in a comparatively diminishing stratified society disgusted, among others, John Percival of Clifton College. The rejection of his proposal to admit and subsidise (out of the School coffers and local subscription), one hundred and fifty Bristol boys of humble origin to Clifton College, eventually contibuted to Percival's departure from the City. His frustration at the social distinction evident among the School's population is in part surprising for in his elevation of Head Boy, praeposters and athletes to higher status he was, in essence, creating his own stratified micro-society within the walls of The Close. Reflecting bourgeois values, a Clifton schoolboy recalls, "we often played cricket in stiff-fronted evening-dress shirts with stiff cuffs, and without vests. It was considered rather dowdy to play on Big Side in a flannel shirt."[87] Yet it was the deification of athletes that concerned many. Upon their return from Cheltenham College in 1883, the horses were removed from the victorious Clifton Eleven's carriage as "the School" dragged it to the College gates in a demonstration of servitude. The existence and subservience of "fags" in the School hierarchy deepened criticism and, although at Clifton it appears that their life was nowhere near as demanding and painful as the picture painted in Tom Brown's Schooldays, they were nevertheless expected to take "clothes to the baths after football, and wickets and pads to the House nets in summer."[88] While poor exhibitions by the "Caps" were forgotten, below par performances by the less skilled athlete, particularly in House Matches, became the target of ridicule and, with no reputation to hide behind, they were frequently found pleading for forgiveness to their prima donnas of The Close. Indeed, one can picture the genuine embarrassment, disappointment and even fear in the eyes of the Clifton schoolboy as he wrote the following letter after the first day of a House Match:

> I am so sorry I missed that catch last night that I am induced to send this humble apology for two reasons. (1) Because it spoilt your 'hat-trick' and your average. You want as high an average as possible in House Matches, so Brain tells me, to enable you to play in foreign matches. (2) Because I am so thoroughly disgusted with myself for missing it, and have not yet got over the disgraceful fact.
>
> I can only comfort myself by thinking of two things: (1) That I have never caught a ball that goes straight up and then twists in my life: Indeed I nearly always miss high catches at all unless they are pretty far out. I suppose it is through thinking over it in my mind (while the ball is in the air) 100 times, shall I catch it or no. (2) That we have already 7 wickets down, and that the gentleman whom I missed, as in my usual style, was caught off Brain early the next over off exactly the same sort of catch.
>
> Hoping that this will explain itself to you.[89]
>
> Yours truly...

As in Bristol, where records of the School athlete lounging and smoking cigars abound, so in Boston "the King of the grid and diamond" emerged in the schools being hailed and eulogised through verse such as the following poem entitled "On the Death of a Football Player," which appeared in the Boston Latin School Register for January 1890:

> E'er his brief life he'd kicked away
> E'er he had changed to worthless day,
> He had played many a well fought game,
> He had been tired, sore and lame,
> But death one day to claim him came,
> And everlasting is his fame.
> Put tombstones at his head and feet,
> And on them grave these few words, meet:
> "Freely his young life did he offer up,
> For the school's glory and the silver cup."[90]

Likewise, in New England criticism was levelled at obligatory participation in games. In reference to athletics Ellery Sedgwick, editor of The Atlantic Monthly for thirty years, and former pupil at Groton explained that his only protest was "that the odd boy, the boy who for some reason or other swims against the current and educates himself against sufficient odds, should be made subject to this tyrannous compulsion."[91]

As the question of the value of games to the School periodically reared its head throughout the years 1870 to 1900, The Cliftonian for April 1880 carried a five page critique of games with suggestions for reform. Entitled, "'Blatant Athletics' and Ourselves," the author considered the deceptions used by supporters of the games tradition in the cause of rationalising its value:

> The presence of a clergyman is thought to vouch for the respectability of the company, and the fact of poor men being members of a society is supposed to

> show that the expenses are not excessive. In the same way the discovery that a scrimmage includes industrious students goes to prove that it is not the brutally idle only who indulge in the possibly degrading game of football. Cricket "Shop" is more likely to be diluted if it is talked by people who could translate it into Greek iambics at the shortest notice. The literary articles in a school magazine are held to be a useful antidote to the accounts of the games. But that athletics are not to be surrendered to athletes is as accepted a theory as that compositions are not set for those only who can get full marks.[92]

However, all this criticism and creation of a false moral, educational and democratic image for games may not have been necessary, for during the final decade of the nineteenth century England's "public" schools realised a relative decline in the enthusiasm for games, a decline which, according to the editor of Bristol Grammar School's Chronicle, was characterised by "football practices never attended; paper chases allowed to fall through;... gymnasium attendance decreased by half; [and] sports' entries dwindling in number..." A post mortem might well have revealed an unconscious attempt at suicide for the mixed reception afforded games during these years was in large part a product of their changing image.[93]

As the status of games in both Bristol's and Boston's private schools became inflated toward the fin de siecle, it seemed inevitable that winning should become all important to the detriment of muscular Christianity. "The 'Ten Commandments' of the English Public Schoolboy" (included in Appendix E), illustrate all too clearly how, in a changing society, schoolboys might adulterate those moral ideals laid down for them by clergymen, authors, educators and the like, nearly fifty years before.[94] An observer of American college athletics in 1885 considered that "the student is gradually losing sight of what should be the leading principle in contests between gentlemen, the desire that the best man should win in a gentlemanly way."[95] Violent outbreaks in school games became increasingly common toward the end of the century. Although a doctor, writing in The Lancet as early as 1870 had expressed concern at the number of injuries resulting from Rugby football in the "public" schools, as rules changed and became more thoroughly enforced, so "many of the most apparently objectionable features of the Rugby game" disappeared.[96] However, an increasing emphasis on winning brought a return to violent play a phenomenon recalled by Francis Newbolt who, on the same afternoon in October 1882 that another member of his team broke his collar bone, suffered a back injury which was to prematurely terminate his football career. Newbolt explains, "I was half-back, and just at the end, the whole scrimmage seemed to fall on me, and someone with heavy boots kicked me with both, between the shoulders, as I lay on the ground." Apparently the "Levée of Big Side" at Clifton College had made provision for such an occurrence and, although somewhat puzzling to the injured party, his name continued to appear in the House XV followed by the name of a substitute in parentheses. A greater surprise was to come Newbolt's way when, despite appearing on the sick-list, he was informed of his apparent (although incorrect) victory in the House Double-Hand Fives Final, once again his bracket being filled by a substitute.[97] Neither was football the only arena for injurious "play." A poem entitled "There Be Some Sports Are Painful", published in The Cliftonian for July 1895 (see Appendix E), describes the potential for injury to batsman, spectator and property in cricket with "bowler's slinging blindly -- And the pitch is hard and bare,..."[98] In America, a letter from the Reverend Andrew P. Peabody, President of the Trustees of Phillips Exeter Academy, and dated August 22nd 1871, warned against the provision of a ball ground for the pupils, arguing that:

> At Cambridge baseball -- tolerable at first -- has grown into a nuisance. Many hands have been fearfully mutilated; eyes extinguished or dimmed for life; boys crippled or disabled for weeks and months, -- besides -- what is still worse -- the bringing of our students into association with rowdy clubs all over the country. I should regard the use of your funds for such a purpose as an atrocious breach of trust; and while I would gladly procure a playground for our boys, I should want to wait till the baseball fever has subsided.[99]

Deciding against their President's admonition, the Trustees proceeded to vote for the purchase of a field and another attempt at damaging the game-playing tradition of private schools fell by the wayside. As criticism of the nature and philosophy of athleticism generally failed, so attention was focused on a more emotional issue, that of the increasing appearance of professional coaches in the "public" schools.

Once again Thomas Hughes had a statement to make about the increasing professionalism evident in school games as early as 1873, observing that:

> The machinery of games gets every year more elaborate. When I was in the eleven at Rugby, we "kept big-side" ourselves; that is to say, we did all the rolling, watering and attending to the ground. We chose and prepared our own wickets, and marked out our own creases, for every match. We had no "professional" and no "pavilion," but taught ourselves to play; and when a strange eleven was coming to play in the school close, asked the Doctor for one of the schools, in which we sat them down to a plain cold dinner. I don't say that you have not better grounds, and are not more regularly trained cricketers now, but it has cost a great deal in many ways, and the game has been turned into a profession.[100]

Apparently masters and schoolboys alike paid less heed to these words than to those glorifying games in Tom Brown's Schooldays some fifteen years earlier, for in an article entitled "The Athletic Master in Public Schools," appearing in The Contemporary Review for 1900, H.J. Spenser highlighted some of the problems emanating from "a master who is appointed solely or principally on the ground of his proficiency in school games." Suggesting that the headmasters' "insistence on a respectable University qualification and a compulsory certificate (or equivalent evidence) of competence to teach" would help eradicate the problem, Spenser recognised that financial considerations, false pride and poor organisation on the part of the schools, would appear to make the professional's presence "a necessary evil."[101]

At Clifton College W.O. Moberly and W. Fairbanks, were appointed assistant masters during the 1870s. Playing for the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club during their holidays they joined William Alfred Woof who had been hired as the Cricket coach at Cheltenham College. Described by W.G. Grace as "one of the most brilliant batsman in England" from 1876 to 1881, William Octavius Moberly was, due to his new found committments at the School, prevented from playing much until the latter part of the 1876 season. Earlier in September 1871, J. Dryland had been appointed Clifton College's first cricket professional and was followed by R. Humphrey, T. Gregg and J.R. Painter leading up to the turn of the century. However, predating the first cricket professional and in September 1867, the School had hired its first Gymnastic instructor in the person of Sergeant T. Elliott. Doubling up as Superintendent of the Baths in January 1869, he was replaced by Captain Manning and subsequently by Sergeants Wilson, Blake, Pillinger and Sheppard.

Together with the instructor of Gymnastics, the School deemed it necessary to appoint Sergeant W.P. Elton to the position of Drill Instructor in September 1872, an office he retained through the turn of the century. As racquets became an increasingly popular game at the School, so W.H. George became the game's first appointed professional in September 1884, to be followed by H. Naylor, A. Ellis and B. Barnes. While it appears that football retained its "amateur" status at the School (although masters skilled in the game were known to encourage and coach the pupils), it is difficult to assess the influence, both latent and manifest, that the professionals had upon the system of games-playing at Clifton College.[102]

At Bristol Grammar School the early philosophy, in contrast to Clifton College, was such that masters' involvement in games was a rare occurrence. However by 1883, a report of the School Sports in the Chronicle noted with surprise that "the evident interest taken by the Masters' which was attested by the presence of a large proportion of them, was also a source of great congratulation and encouragement to all." Perhaps in part a reflection of the support for games shown by Headmaster Robert Leighton appointed in that year, he nevertheless clarified his belief and actions to the Governors just prior to his retirement, stating that "in appointing masters I never stipulate for help in the games, nor do I make any point of athletic prowess."[103]

In America, a different argument was postulated by the former Director of Physical Training for Boston's Public Schools, Edward Mussey Hartwell in the Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education for 1897. In a nation that had witnessed a more rapid rise from "Informal" to "Organised" and "Corporate Sport" than England, the teachers in schools found themselves ill-prepared to cope with the role of coach, the result being, in Hartwell's words, that "our athletes have been left in the main to follow their own crude and boyish devices, which tend, when unchecked, toward extravagance and professionalism."[104] While not referring specifically to the private schools of New England, they nevertheless witnessed the emergence of professionalism. Disagreements and mutual distrust between Phillips Academy Andover and Phillips Exeter Academy had led to the cancellation of football matches between the two schools in 1889, 1894 and 1895, while baseball fixtures were severed for the years 1893 to 1896. One apparent reason for such a decision was the transfer of Jim White from Andover to Exeter. An accomplished baseball pitcher he was offered one hundred dollars above his two hundred dollar salary at Andover. In 1889 he pitched and won the game against his old school which, according to a graduate of the Class of '92, precipitated "a knock-down and drag-out fight between the two schools which took place at the railroad station." Neither was this an isolated incident, for in 1897 the faculty of Worcester Academy, Massachusetts, discovered that one of their pupils had attended the School for the sole purpose of playing baseball, his term bill being defrayed by the contributions of other students.[105]

In contrast to his predecessor, the visitor to Bristol's "public" schools and Boston's "private" schools in the year 1900 would likely have been struck by the high structure, professional character, student athletic fees and associations, and even gate receipts. Predicted by earlier critics of athleticism in both Cities, it would appear that Bristol's institutions clung more readily to the underlying principles of muscular Christianity in ideal if not always in practice for, while they followed a transition from "Informal" to "Organised Sport", the degree to which, if indeed at all, they reached the "Corporate" level, was minimal as they witnessed less of the unsavoury incidents that characterised games in New England's private schools at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, criticism continued and while some viewed the tradition of compulsory games as coercive, seductive and a sure way of getting a name for one's school, others questioned the reliability of the role of games in military training for, as Matthew Arnold noted in reply to the "aged Barbarian" who insisted that the Battle of Waterloo was won upon the playing fields of Eton:

> Alas! disasters have been prepared in those playing-fields as well as victories; disasters due to inadequate mental training -- to want of application, knowledge, intelligence, lucidity.[106]

However, despite ongoing and varied criticism, and plateaus marked by indecision over the true value of games, the cult of athleticism, although promoted by other social institutions, and the universities, was born and flourished in the "public" and private schools. A more recent observer, in attributing England the label "games-master of the World" summed up this belief in stating that "the crystallisation of this crude sport into games with defined rules and penalties was chiefly due to that typically Victorian institution, the Public School."[107]

Games and Idealism in the Life of the Universities

Although the boat race between Oxford and Cambridge Universities in 1829 represented the earliest intercollegiate athletic competition in England, development was slow (as was that of provincial universities), as these institutions played a comparitively minor role in the growth of sport in the nation. In Bristol, it would appear the significance of these "halls of higher learning" was less than in some other cities although scattered evidence supports a limited interest in selected sports. With the founding of the Bristol Medical School in conjunction with the Bristol Royal Infirmary in 1833 sport, particularly Rugby football, eventually found favour with the students, as a team played the Clifton Rugby Club for the first time in 1873. Led by John Percival, who had been largely responsible for the founding of the Clifton Association for the Higher Education of Women (and later the establishment of Girls' High Schools at Clifton in 1877 and at Redland in 1880), a lobby was presented for the establishment of a provincial university in the west country City. Opened on October 10th 1876, the University College, supported solely by private funds, fees, subscriptions and donations until 1889, reflected the needs and aspirations of Bristol's middle class. To this end sport, particularly the team games of cricket, football (of both codes), and hockey found acceptance almost immediately. With faculty members appearing on, and even captaining the teams by the end of the century, the University College Football Club first locked horns with Clifton Rugby Football Club in 1878. While the contribution of higher education to sport in Bristol during the years 1870 to 1900 is poorly documented and seems considerably less important than the role played by the City's "public" schools, the significance of universities and colleges to sport in Boston is beyond doubt.[108]

In 1895, writing of "Life at the Athletic Club," in America, Duncan Edwards felt that "a proper classification of the Athletic Clubs should put the Colleges at the head of the list."[109] During the years 1870 to 1900, Boston could lay claim to a number of established institutions of higher education with fine reputations, among them Harvard (founded in 1636), Boston University (1839), Boston College (1863), and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1865). Frequently replicating the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and "public" schools, it is therefore not surprising that sports represented an increasingly important part of college life and even curriculum. Promoted by principals and professors alike, Nathaniel Shaler of Harvard was one of the foremost proponents of athletics explaining in 1889 that "we must bear in mind the fact that the revival of athletic sports in this country has been of decided advantage to our people," further adding that "whatever steps may be taken to guide this impulse in our youth, we must take pains not to stop the spring whence it flows."[110] Shaler drew support from colleagues in Boston among them Francis A. Walker, famed economist and President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology who noted in 1893 that "this nation has long shown the painful need of more popular amusement, of more that shall call men, in great throngs, out into the open air, of more that shall arouse an interest besides money-getting or professional preferment." To Walker, "Gymnastics are for individual training and development, with health strongly in view [whereas] Athletics take the form of competition and contest; emulation is their moving spirit, glory their aim." Faculty support continued as Professor Frederick Taussig of Harvard spoke in defence of athletics, at a time when their value to education was being questioned, stating in 1895 that, "We have not too much of pleasure and romance in our everyday American life and can welcome everything that gives it a brighter and happier aspect." As universities in the City struggled with the question and problems of athletics in education, so student and faculty support strengthened, ensuring a prolongation of athletic life at their institution."

It was at Harvard, a college founded in 1636 by an Act of the Massachusetts General Court for the purpose of training American clergy in their homeland, that the practice of sport was early recognised. Organised on the House System, the early pastimes of undergraduates included penny-pitching and informal ball games yet, between the years 1870 and 1880 according to Robert Grant, old boy and brother of Harvard's Captain of Football as they played their first game against McGill University in 1874:

> ... a marked change took place in the matter of athletics, so that by the end of the period in question it had become the habit of the large majority, instead of a small minority of the students, to take part daily in some form of outdoor exercise.[112]

This transition may, in large part, be attributed to Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard from 1869 to 1909. An educational innovator in the mould of the progressive John Dewey and pragmatist William James, Eliot was influenced by his former teacher of philosophy, Ralph Waldo Emerson, as he replaced the formal required curriculum at Harvard by a more liberal elective system. Eliot's interest and knowledge of sport in the University came from first hand experience as he recalls:

> In 1855-56 when I was working very hard as tutor in mathematics, I gladly became a member of a boat club which was made up of Divinity, Law, and Scientific students, with a few College officers, and contained no college undergraduates.[113]

His rowing career continued as he retained his berth in the six-oared crew of 1858 which was the famous and record-breaking race on the Charles River. It is in a letter written to his fiancée on the day of the race that one is first provided a glimpse of Eliot's philosophy toward sport, as he explained:

> I had rather win than not, but it is mighty little matter whether we beat or are beaten; rowing is not my profession, neither is it my love -- it is only recreation, fun, and health. I am going to... row as hard as I comfortably can, and not a bit harder. I have been rowing so much within three days that my fingers feel as stiff as any hod carrier's.[114]

So deeply ingrained did his athletic ideals become that, according to Henry James, he found himself unable to comprehend the deception and ungentlemanly nature inherent in a college baseball pitcher's action of looking at one base and throwing at another. Manliness was the characteristic that Eliot favoured in athletics for he felt that "effeminacy and luxury are even worse evils than brutality."[115] Toward the end of the century, overemphasis of athletics led the President of Harvard to highlight the negative manifestations in stating:

> When thus exaggerated, they interfere with, instead of clarifying and maintaining mental activity; they convert the student into a powerful animal, and dull for a time his intellectual parts; they present the colleges to the public, educated and uneducated, as places of mere physical sport, and not of intellectual training;... they induce in masses of spectators at interesting games an hysterical excitement which too many Americans enjoy, but which is evidence not of physical strength and depth of passion, but of feebleness and shallowness; and they tend to dwarf mental and moral preeminence by unduly magnifying physical prowess... In short, football cultivates strength and skill kept in play by all the combative instincts, whereas the strength most serviceable to civilised society is the strength which is associated with gentleness and courtesy.[116]

Indeed, it is hardly likely that an Eliot of 1858 sentiments would have found a place in the Harvard crew of 1900 where rugged individualism, winning and excessive hours of training characterised a sport that was very nearly a profession.

This tendency of universities to pursue athletics as ends in themselves rather as means to an end, prompted the most critical outbursts from concerned parties in Boston. As early as 1870, Sir Charles M. Dilke writing of American collegiate athletics in The Lancet noted that:

> Rowin- and other activities, with the exception of skating and base-ball, are both despised and neglected in America. When the smallest sign of a reaction appears in the New England colleges, there comes at once a cry from Boston that brains are being postponed to brawn. [117]

In further assessment Dilke suggests that "the high shoulders, head voice, and pallor of the Boston men" provide sufficient evidence to lay the blame on the climate of New England society which "has of itself developed brains at the expense of brawn;..." Despite the Englishman's suggestion that "brawn must in some way be fostered" to prevent national degeneracy, criticism continued.

To Dudley Allen Sargent, Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard from 1879, "the grand aim of all muscular activity from an educational point of view [was] to improve character." [118] A lifetime critic of elitist athletic programmes, Sargent expressed his belief in "sport for all" by explaining that:

> Some of us believe it is more to the credit of a university to have one hundred men who can do a creditable performance in running, rowing, ball-playing, etc., than to have one man who can break a record, or a team that can always win the championship. [119]

However, as Sargent preached the word of egalitarianism, there were those who saw only a path of excellence before them including that great "philosopher of Harvard's bleachers" George Santayana who stated that:

> The value of talent, the beauty and dignity of positive achievements, depends on the height reached, and not on the number that reach it. Only the supreme is interesting; the rest has value only as leading to it or reflecting it. [120]

Sargent's argument remained that of an ardent physical educator. A rigid opponent of, specialization in athletics which frequently led to unharmonious physical development and non-symmetry; spectatorism, to the detriment of the nation; and overemphasis on winning, to the detriment of education, Sargent conceded in calling for a harmonious blending of athletics and gymnastics. Yet as this idea met with limited approval, the Doctor was forced to re-enter his campaign against the nature of athletics, a platform stated in his 1894 assessment of "The Physical State of the American People," warning that:

> Unless the professional spirit is soon checked, the better class of young men will not participate in athletic games and contests, and the athletic clubs of our large cities will be given over to social usages, and become simply the financial backers and supporters of professional athletes. I should regard such an ending to such an important movement as little less than a national calamity. We need all our sports and games, and we should conduct them in such a way as to induce a greater and ever-increasing number of our youth and young men to participate in them. The kind of "professionalism" in athletics that the country is most in need of is a large body of well-educated professional teachers. [121]

Sargent's criticism had been prompted by the scenes that he readily observed about him as he directed programmes in the Hemenway Gymnasium during the last twenty-one years of the nineteenth century. He witnessed and was unavoidably cast into the gradual transformation of a programme from "Organised" to "Corporate Sport," a change which Sargent, among others, found difficult to accept.

Problems, Prohibitions and Professionalism in College Athletics

Some Spend the Time at Pins (that toilsome Play)
Others at cards (more silent) pass the Day.
In rings some Wrestle till they're Mad outright,
And then their Antagonist they fight.

On Horses some to ride full Tilt along
Are seen; while on each side a Numerous Throng
Do gaze...
Others (as brutish) do propagate their Kind:
Where amorous Lads to shady Groves resort,[122]
And under Venus with their Misses sport.

This satire on life at Harvard in the early eighteenth century suggests that undergraduates at Cambridge have seldom, if ever, been divorced of sport to some degree. Edward Everett Hale, who entered Harvard at age thirteen, in 1894, wrote of athletic life at the College during the early nineteenth century stating:

> I have said, I believe, almost nothing about our athletic amusements; but there were enough of them, although they were conducted with utter lack of system, and would bring scorn, I suppose, on any of us or any eleven, who should reproduce them today. We had foot-ball in tumultuous throngs; we had base-ball, in utter ignorance for playing it; and we had cricket, in a way.[123]

The early work of Charles Follen in introducing Jahn gymnastics to the students of Harvard in 1826 has been discussed briefly in Chapter VIII. Establishing the first college gymnasium in America, he constructed a Turnplatz on a piece of ground, known as the Delta, comprising bars, ladders, wooden horse and suspended ropes, the complex being open to students from noon to one on Wednesdays and Fridays. Together with the consequences of improved health, a group of students felt that the outdoor gymnasium had facilitated social contact among their members.

Despite the only introduction of such programmes, informal games continued to involve the greatest numbers as Richard Henry Dana Jr., informed his parents in 1831 that among the physical activities practiced by Harvard students were cricket, football, boxing, fencing and swimming. As Harvard students played wherever an open space presented itself, the Boston Common became a favourite venue, although they were not always popular on the southern bank of the Charles. During an incident in 1833, reminiscent of the encounter between Towns and Gowns in Tom Brown at Oxford, a group of students were playing cricket on the Common when the rallying cry of "Harvard!" was heard. Later related by a student who was involved, he recalled that "a bloody battle ensued between students armed only with cricket bats and workmen with axes, saws, sledge hammers and crowbars,"[124] death only being averted by the intervention of President Quincy.

To consider this battle an isolated incident might be denying the turmoil witnessed at Harvard and other universities during the first half of the nineteenth century. Paralleling the English "public" school in part, the College was patronised largely by the sons of "Proper Bostonians," intent on maintaining social order through survival of their "species." As late as 1870 and in typically Yankee aristocratic brogue, the Boston Morning Journal acted as spokesman for their aspirations of a college environment inasmuch as:

> Every parent, surely, who designs sending a son to college, would desire that he should find there a pure and elevated tone of thought and Christian companionship, rather than frivolous and corrupting associations. College life is at best a hazardous experience. It comes at the forming period of

> character, when the mind is peculiarly open to impressions, which harden into almost ineradicable habits...[125]

While this may well have represented the ideal milieu that was sought after, the Harvard student was commonly faced by a world of tainted, trifling and injurious pursuits typified through his athletic experience.

A multitude of problems presented themselves to the athletic programme of Harvard during the nineteenth century. Ranging from violent outbursts, to accusations of financial excesses, spectatorism and professionalism, they appeared to deepen as the transition from "Informal" to "Organised" and "Corporate Sport" was completed in a relatively short period of time. The annual football game between freshmen and sophomores was instituted at Harvard at least as early as 1827. In that year the Reverend James Cook Richmond wrote with apparent poetic justice:

The Freshman's wrath - to Sophs the direful spring
Of shins unnumbered bruises - great goddess sing;
Let fire and music in my song be mooted,
Pure fire and music unsophisticated.
The college clock struck twelve - that awful hour
When Sophs met Fresh, power met opposing power. [126]

This fierce and annual encounter was raged throughout the next thirty years becoming known as "Bloody Monday," a label indicative of the brutal and unruly nature of the "game." When in 1860, a faculty edict issued by the University led to the burying of "Football Fightum," the last line of the epitaph read "Resurgat."

Arise it did as the sophomores, in reverting to their former custom, defeated the freshmen in a game played at Boston Common on April 21st 1872. Despite the subsequent improved organisation, structure and institution of rules resulting from Harvard's first intercollegiate football game with

McGill in 1874, the story of football at the University remained one of rough play, faculty disapproval and periodic prohibition. A decade after the faculty of Harvard had banned the game in 1885, President Eliot, agitated at the inhumane developments in football, considered it "unfit for college use." However, perhaps the character of football was no more than a reflection of the rowdy, violent and intemperate conduct of college life, witnessed through the accounts of "student capers" in Boston's newspapers. While such anti-social demonstrations represented the major target of attack by critics of athleticism, it was closely followed by a questioning of the increasing and excessive expenditures witnessed in sport at Harvard throughout the years 1870 to 1900.[127]

Finance represented an early problem to the officers of the Harvard Football Club although one which they early surmounted by drawing $705.00 in gate receipts during the season of 1875. Such revenue appears a mere trifle when compared with the soaring receipts of later years, $2,050.00 in 1882; $11,000.00 in 1890; $16,000.00 in 1892; and $60,604.41 by the season 1899 to 1900. Further, a comparison of Harvard's athletic budgets for the years 1882 to 1883 and 1899 to 1900 (see Appendix E), reveals the rapid expansion of the University's programme within a space of seventeen years. From a budget of $18,046.82 in 1882 it increased by six hundred percent to $104,739.50 while the profit margin multiplied by eleven from $2,504,38 to $26,500.69, with a more democratic distribution of funds by the end of the nineteenth century. By 1899, football had replaced the University Boat Club as leading provider of funds as the former accounted for fifty-eight percent of the total revenue in that year. Dependent upon growing financial support, universities looked increasingly toward spectators, their source and common denominator in creating a volatile atmosphere of professionalism in college athletics.[128]

As early as 1869, the Harvard crew had rowed on the Thames before an estimated crowd of one million in their landmark regatta with Oxford University. However, it was not until the 1880s that Harvard became aware of the potential problem of large attendances at collegiate sporting venues. In 1887, Harvard met Yale in a football match played before twenty-three thousand spectators in New York. Ten years later, The Committee on Physical Training, Athletic Sports, and Sanitary Conditions of Buildings, which included the young Theodore Roosevelt (who was to become the twenty-sixth President of the United States four years later), presented its report to the Boards of Overseers of Harvard University. Among its recommendations was a proposal to limit college athletic events to college grounds and spectators, while at the same time restricting media involvement as it considered the press a "fan" of any problems arising in athletics. With regard to professional inducements the Committee made the following statement:

> While today no man is paid or could well be paid either directly or indirectly for playing on a team, there is constant danger that money may be used too freely in making college life agreeable and easy to the athlete.[129]

That such incentives may have already been made available must remain a question of concern for John A. Blanchard, Chronicler of Harvard Athletics has noted that President Eliot was once involved in awarding a George Emerson Lowell Scholarship to a student by the name of "Home run" Frantz who, although thought of as "the greatest college first baseman of his time," possessed only mediocre academic qualification. Even still, there existed those who spoke in favour of athletic scholarships, among them Thomas Wentworth Higginson who had proposed the institution of such awards as early as 1873.[130]

While football drew the largest attendance throughout the years 1870 to 1900, the Harvard Baseball Nine soon learned that success brought fame and perhaps even fortune? Upon returning from their Grand Tour of 1870 (see Appendix E), as "Amateur Champions of America," they were met by a musical band, and a surge of spectators which succeeded in upsetting the Harvards' coach on the way to the Union Grounds. Their homecoming game against a "Picked IX" played in front of three thousand cheering spectators resulted in a win for the Harvards by a score of 18 to 10. The following year brought the newly formed Boston Red Stockings to Jarvis Field, Cambridge for their first regular game of the season, the home team winning by a score of 17 to 10, although both the Boston's pitcher and catcher guested for the winning side. Such early encounters may well have hailed the debut of professionalism in college athletics.[131]

By the close of the 1880s professionalism had become such a major concern that a Committee was appointed at Harvard in 1888 to consider the subject of college athletics, its subsequent report stating that:

> During recent years a strong, and in every respect objectionable tendency has developed to break down the line between athletics practiced for sport, social recreation and health, and athletics practiced in a competitive spirit in emulation of professional athletes and players.[132]

Earlier in 1885, Dudley Allen Sargent, a staunch opponent of the trend toward professionalism, had expressed concern that "betting will ever be the bane of competitive contests." A member of the Faculty Committee on Athletics in 1882, Sargent together with Professors Charles Elcot Norton and John Williams White had decided against the hiring of a rowing coach. Leaving the Harvard crews to be organised and coached by their captains and sometimes graduates, the poor showing against Yale during the next fifteen years was often blamed upon the Committee's ruling, for Yale had decided in favour of hiring a coach.[133]

While the 1897 Committee claimed that "the spirit of professionalism, so far as it ever existed, has been almost completely wiped out...,"[134] evidence provided by Henry Beach Needham in the early 1900s suggests quite the contrary. In considering the contravention of amateur status by college athletes, Needham highlights the professional nature of summer baseball leagues, which used the college campuses as hunting grounds for raw talent. A letter to Walter C. Clarkson, Captain of the Harvard Nine, from the Manager of a summer team illustrates the temptation confronting student athletes:

> I write to ask if you know of a first-class pitcher that can be obtained for the summer to pitch on the Camden team, of the Knox County League, a team that will be made up entirely of fast college players. Such a pitcher would be used most liberally here -- in fact, he could have almost anything he wanted, and he would be protected in the matter of privacy concerning any arrangement made. This is the best summer team on the coast, and clean baseball players will be taken into the best society here. Our players will come from Yale, Princeton, and other colleges. It is possible that you may know of one or two good men on the Harvard team who would like such an outing; which will cost them nothing from the time they leave home until they return there. If so, I shall consider it a great favour if you will write me about them.
>
> We must have a corking team this year, and stand willing to plunge on a pitcher. The right man will find

> seventy-five per in his jeans, and he can wonder as long as he likes how it got there. Could you be induced to visit some friends who will be provided for you here? 135

What had started as a mere enquiry ended in an offer of employment however nebulous, yet Clarkson resisted the temptation although he later signed a contract for the New York American League Team. Yet one Harvard player an accomplished batter by the name of Mahar, found such an offer too good to sacrifice as he played for Vinalhaven, also of the Knox County League, together with appearing under the name Kelly for the Brockton team, infractions toward which a blind eye was turned, for he was permitted to represent Harvard the following season. However, such a stance had not always been the experience of Harvard during the years 1870 to 1900 as the Faculty assumed a tightening grip on the organisation of athletics in an attempt to limit unethical practice in collegiate sport.

The Harvard Athletic Association was formed as early as 1874. A student body, its responsibilities lay in organising and administering track and field, boxing, wrestling and gymnastics programmes at the University, while the more established sports of crew, football and baseball elected their own officers with the responsibility of hiring professional trainers and handling gate receipts. During these early years faculty involvement was limited to an edict that prohibited athletic contests in Cambridge before four o'clock in the afternoon on weekdays or the end of last class on Saturdays, apparently recognising the distraction potential of such events.

Nevertheless, the students overcame such restriction by scheduling games outside of Cambridge, a practice that was deplored by the Faculty and which subsequently led to the creation of America's first Faculty Athletic Committee in 1882. Comprising Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent, Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium and two other Faculty representatives (Professors Norton and White), the Committee's constituent members met with much resentment at the outset, typified by the cynicism of Charles Francis Adam, himself a student member of the 1885 Committee, in stating, "A sage, a reformer, a trapeze performer, and you have the Athletic Committee."[136] Sargent was held in particular contempt by the students as they viewed him not as an athlete but a gymnast (and perhaps with good reason), one intent on reforming athletics. Yet greater dissension was to be witnessed in the fall of 1882 as the Committee decided upon the expedience of dismissing a professional trainer and followed up by instituting a number of regulations intended to draw athletics back toward the ideals of education and place their control evermore in the hands of the Faculty. No longer would college clubs or athletic associations be allowed to compete with professionals as had become a tradition with the Baseball Club. All trainers and coaches had to be ratified by the Committee while the athletes themselves were required to undergo a physical examination by Sargent before becoming eligible for participation, or even membership of a college athletic club. Further, "no person shall be admitted as a member of any class or university crew unless he knows how to swim." Finally, and in direct response to the aforementioned loophole, all athletic contests scheduled outside of Cambridge were restricted to Saturdays unless permission was obtained from the Committee. Student reaction to this legislation was both strong and indignant as the following letter appearing in *Outing* for April 1884 and signed "Harvard" serves to illustrate:

> In regard to college athletic training, no doubt everyone would prefer amateur trainers, if there were such; but, as yet, the committee have been unable to find one, and today, men at Harvard are running serious danger from over-training and over-exercising from the fact that there is no supervision whatsoever of in-door or out-door sports. It is a pity that the committee is imbued with such horror of a "specialized" athlete... But where they make their most grievous mistake is in thinking that by doing away with specialized athletes they are really fostering athletics. Do away with your champions and you destroy the interest in athletics... One champion has twenty rivals; remove your champion and his rivals lose their interest. While it must be in justice said that the committee mean well, and are doing the best they know how for athletics, and each move may be most praiseworthy, and ideally the best, yet these gentlemen, not having been athletes, do not clearly see that, though, individually their rules may be good, yet the combined result will be fatal to athletics.[137]

It is hardly surprising that these words, so reminiscent of the sentiments of George Santayana, should appear in an independent journal for, with increasing autocracy, together with its refusal to give the boat club a reason as to why it could not hire a specific crew coach, the Committee exerted pressure upon the college newspaper's staff in order to prevent publication of letters sympathetic to the students' point of view.

In 1885 (the same year that Harvard banned football once more), the Athletic Committee was expanded and reconstituted to include the Director of the Gymnasium, a physician from Boston or Cambridge, a recent athletic alumnus and two undergraduate athletic officers. With the balance of power noticeably shifting the way of the students, and with the Committee Appointed to Consider the Subject of Athletics in 1888 recommending to the Harvard Board of Overseers, the abolition of all intercollegiate contests, the Faculty formed a new, nine member Athletic Committee comprising three faculty members, three alumni and three undergraduates. Sounding the end of Dudley Allen Sargent's involvement in athletics at Harvard the new Committee was provided supervision and control of the whole athletic programme. Despite suggestions for altering the make up of the Committee during the 1890s on the basis of its changing role, the hierarchy of athletic control at Harvard, which had evolved from the early student association of 1874, to faculty control in 1882 and thence increasingly shared responsibilities, remained relatively stable throughout the final twelve years of the nineteenth century in serving the needs of a college athletic programme that stood alone in status, innovation and reputation.[138]

Intercollegiate Athletics at Harvard [139]

In the words of Morris A. Bealle, "The Story of football at Harvard is more than a chronicle of collegiate sport; it is part of the history of the United States."[140] Indeed, from the early sophomore versus freshman encounters, in which the mass rush of upward of three hundred participants led one observer of the Class of 1857 to exclaim, "it gave one an idea of a real battle with its charges, retreatings, and desperate rallies," to the late nineteenth century spectacles, football played an important role in the life of the University. After the early prohibition of the "Bloody Monday" contests, football rose again in the early 1870s as a group of Bostonians who had played football on the Common as schoolboys, endeavoured to reestablish the game at Harvard, even if its appearance had changed somewhat from those earlier days. Known as "The Boston Game," it had been popularised by the Oneida Club of the City and practiced by the boys of Boston Latin and Dixwell's, as well as Phillips Exeter Academy and Phillips

Academy Andover, schools that were well represented among the freshman classes at Harvard. Enthusiasm for the game was such that on December 3rd 1872 "The Harvard University Foot Ball Club" was formed, adopting the rules of "the Boston Game." Harvard's rejection of Yale's invitation to form an Intercollegiate Association along with Columbia, Rutgers, Princeton and Yale Universities one year later, was interpreted as a gesture of "aloofness" by the other parties whose game resembled the Association Football of England. However, the Harvard Club's stance, in protecting the New England rules which permitted handling, formed the very basis of future intercollegiate competition in American Football.[141]

A key event in the history of American football occurred at Jarvis Field, Cambridge on May 14th 1874 as the Harvard Football Club faced the visiting team from McGill University of Montreal. Playing in accordance with the rules of "the Boston Game," a round ball was used, the contest being reported by the local press in the following manner:

> The first series of games between Harvard and McGill football clubs were played yesterday afternoon on Jarvis Field in the presence of about 500 spectators and were won by the former club in three straight games. The games were played according to the Harvard rules and were much easier won on this account, since the McGills manifested but little knowledge of the good points of the game. The Harvard's played in black trousers, white undershirts and with the customary magenta handkerchiefs upon their heads, and the McGills presented a fine appearance in their red and black striped shirts, caps and stockings, and white trousers. It was evident from the first that the Harvards had the game in their own hand, and as today's games are to be played by the visitors' rules the reverse is predicted.[142]

The second game on May 15th 1874 was played according to the rules of Rugby Football which required the use of an eliptically-shaped ball. A later report appearing in Harvard's Magenta, although not as complimentary with regard to appearance, afforded greater attention to the progress of the game than the newspaper account had in recording that:

> After a half-hour past the time for the beginning of the game, the McGill men dressed in the English foot-ball suit, straggled into the field, and after a few minutes, were followed by a shabby looking set of men, who turned out to be the Harvard Ten...
>
> For the first half-hour the Harvard men had the wind in their favour. To the agreeable surprise of most of us, the Canadians did not kick the ball over the cross-bar in the first five minutes, and they seemed indeed hardly able to hold their own. The two first half-hours passed without either side winning even a touch down, although several times it was barely lost; but the last half-hour was the most exciting of all. Both sides were evidently doing their best, though several of the McGill men already showed signs of rough usage they had received in the first part of the game. The end of the half-hour came at last, and the game was drawn. [143]

The Harvard Club seemingly relished its first taste of Rugby Football as a return match was scheduled for October 23rd 1874. Billed as a "Grand International Foot Ball Match" and played in front of fifteen hundred spectators on the grounds of the Montreal Cricket Club, the Harvards, dressed for the first time in a recognisable uniform, defeated the McGill University Team. Subsequently deciding upon the adoption of the Rugby Rules, Harvard met Tufts University in June 1875 and, while facing Yale in 1875 and 1876, it was not until the game played between the Cambridge and New Haven rivals at the Boston South End grounds in 1878, that fifteen men

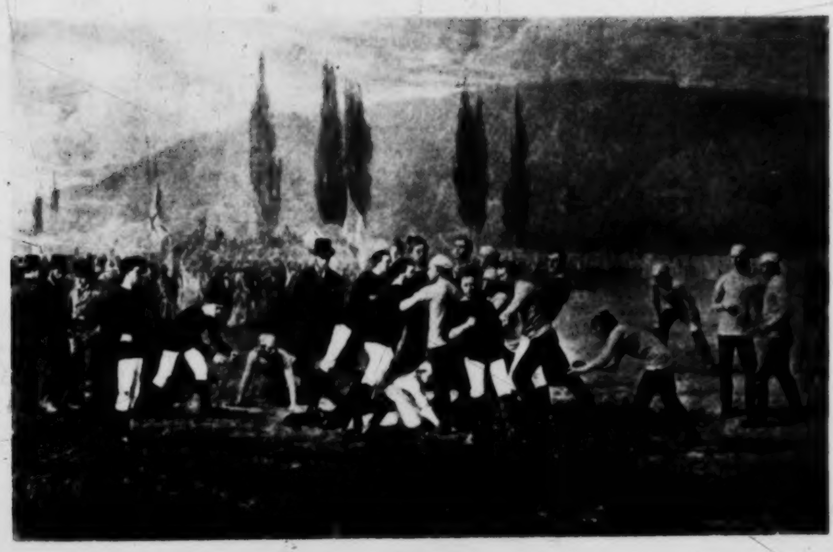

PLATE XIV

Athletics at Harvard

(Above) The Harvard versus McGill Football game of 1874.
(Below) The Harvard versus Yale Baseball game of 1888.

appeared on each side for the first time.

The Intercollegiate Football Association was formed in 1876 by Columbia, Harvard, Princeton and Yale. As the football matches rapidly became a major event on the Universities' calendars so greater provision was made for the attendant followers. With "home" fixtures being played by Harvard at the Red Stockings' baseball grounds in the South End from 1878 to 1881 (at which date the Faculty Athletic Committee laid down their ordinances), the 1882 game against Yale brought "the first special train ever run to Boston for a football game." The nature and intensity of the game continued to grow at Harvard as Captain Cumnock introduced spring football practice and the first tackling dummy in 1889. However, by the turn of the century (by which time the Football Club had accomplished a record of 199 wins in 244 games played), the game of Association Football was witnessing a renewed interest as, in 1905, the "Pilgrims," a team of leading British amateurs played in "the Hub" while Harvard and Haverford vied in the first intercollegiate Association Football Match in America. Nevertheless, as football experienced a transition from "Informal" to "Organised" and "Corporate" structure during the years 1870 to 1900, other sports were much more established at Harvard being able to claim organised clubs dating from the 1840s.[144]

As the Charles River etched its way through the City, so Boston early became the foremost centre of amateur rowing in America. Organised rowing entered Harvard in 1843 when William Weeks purchased a four-oared boat and formed a crew to race it. The following year saw the arrival of "the Star," an eight-oared racing barge which, becoming the proud possession of the Class of '46, was rechristened "Oneida." With the first

Harvard Boat Club also being formed in 1844 it was not unusual to find individual classes organising their own clubs which, with the Oneida Club dominant, included the Halcyon, Iris, Y.Y., and Undine Boat Clubs. By 1855, greater organisation and a partial solution of jealousies, led to the aggregation of those smaller clubs to form the Harvard University Boat Club.

Lacking early intercollegiate competition, the Harvard crews participated in regattas on the Charles, facing leading amateur cews of the country. However, perhaps the earliest signs of commercialism entering college athletics were witnessed in 1852 as Harvard faced Yale in the Nation's first intercollegiate athletic meeting. While considered something of a novelty to the students of both institutions, the contest was in large part a commercial enterprise, planned and instituted by James N. Elkins, General Superintendent of the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad with the intent of drawing publicity and profit toward his company. Providing an all expenses paid eight-day vacation at Lake Winnipesaukee for the Harvard and Yale crews, Elkins' ultimate aim was to attract prospective vacationers to the New Hampshire venue to witness the contest between the two crews. Promising to run excursions to the scene together with providing an observation train overlooking the designated course, Elkins succeeded in attracting about one thousand spectators (among them General Franklin Pierce who at that time was campaigning for the United States' Presidency), to witness Harvards victory in the eight-oared, two-mile race.

The story of rowing at Harvard continued with the 1858 crew becoming proud owners of a new six-oared shell, a smooth skin boat rather than clinker built, constructed one year earlier at St. Johns, New Brunswick. It was an immediate success, winning the Charles River regatta in 1858 two minutes ahead of the second placed boat. Intercollegiate rowing was given a new lease of life in 1859 with the formation of The College Union Regatta Association by Harvard, Yale, Brown and Trinity. The first race of the new organisation was held the following year on Lake Quinsigamond near Worcester, Massachusetts with the Harvard crew victorious, a feat to be repeated in 1861. While this event was interrupted by the intervention of Civil War, the Harvard-Yale meeting was resumed on Lake Signal near Worcester from 1864.[145]

Perhaps the most memorable appearance of a Harvard crew occurred in 1869. Already alluded to in earlier chapters, the American college's challenge to Oxford University was met on the River Thames from Putney to Mortlake in London. Refereed by Thomas Hughes, author of Tom Brown's Schooldays, the race resulted in defeat for the Harvard crew, who did not appear in England again until 1906. Rowing at Harvard never quite regained the enthusiasm of antebellum years, although the Club's regattas received full coverage in the local and national press through the close of the nineteenth century. An announcement in the Boston Morning Journal for June 9th 1870 proclaimed:

> The Harvard Regatta. The annual regatta of the Harvard College takes place on the Charles River three mile course next Saturday noon. There will be two races, and for the first the prizes are six silver tankards and six silver goblets, and for the second six pewter cups.[146]

However, it was the annual Harvard-Yale encounter that drew greatest attention, a fixture that was rowed on the Thames in Connecticut each year

PLATE XV

Harvard Athletic Teams

(Above) The 1878 Crew.
(Below) The 1886 Football Team.

after 1878. Earlier in 1870, Harvard proposed that its crew be selected from Academic, Law and Scientific Departments for that year's race with Yale rather than from just the Academic Department. Explaining that such a revision would create a more representative University race it was also expected to form a stronger team to face Oxford University who, it was hoped, might be persuaded to visit Boston for a rematch. The proposal was nevertheless rejected by Yale although their race of that year represented a landmark in the history of American rowing for it was the first in which sliding seats were used in a six-oared shell together with a straight course being rowed in preference to turning at a stake. The year 1870 also witnessed the formation of The Rowing Association of American Colleges. Due to the earlier domination of Harvard and Yale; Amherst, Columbia and Wesleyan were admitted. However, such expansion eventually met with the disapproval of Harvard and Yale as they withdrew from the 1876 regatta in protest of the institution of heats made necessary by the arrival of sixteen crews at the 1875 intercollegiate meeting. Sounding a decline of the Rowing Association of American Colleges, it was not until its reorganisation as the Intercollegiate Rowing Association in 1883 that any sort of revitalization was witnessed. Nevertheless, rowing at Harvard failed to regain the status it had enjoyed during the 1840s, '50s and '60s, perhaps in part due to the competition of other sports which were finding increased acceptance at Cambridge.

Oliver Wendell Holmes recalled playing base ball at Harvard as early as 1829. However, it would seem likely that the game to which he referred was a forerunner of "America's National Game," known as "Town Ball" or the "Massachusetts Game," for it was not until Amherst College beat Williams College by a score of 66 to 32, that the first intercollegiate baseball game was recorded on June 1st 1859.[147]

Originating as class clubs (alike to the Boat Club), the Harvard Base Ball Club was formed in October 1864, defeating the Trimountain Club of Boston on the Fair Grounds in their first game on June 17th 1865. Following a defeat of Williams College the Harvards went on to beat a number of town clubs to win the unofficial Championship of New England. This early success heralded the start of a memorable decade in the athletic achievements of Harvard University. With most games being characterised by admission prices after 1867, the increasing professionalization of the University game became an early target for critics of intercollegiate athletics. Playing the champion professional Cincinnati Red Stockings on Jarvis Field in 1869, the Harvard team, although losing by a score of 30 to 11, earned the right to engage the nation's leading clubs during the following season. Accepting a challenge, by the Lowell Club of Boston, to play on the Union Grounds, the Harvards won and, in recording the first triple play of their history, donated the proceeds (in the sum of $250), to the University Boat Club. Yet more laurels were to be laid at the University's[148] door as the Harvards departed on their Grand Base Ball Tour of 1870.

Commencing on July 4th 1870 with a defeat of Yale at New Haven and concluding with a victory over the Amateur Champions, Stars of Brooklyn, on August 13th 1870, the Harvards travelled 3,589 miles in visiting twenty-six cities from Oswego, New York; to Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Louisville, Kentucky; and Washington D.C., recording a total of twenty wins and five losses (see Appendix E for a more complete record of the Harvard's Grand Base Ball Tour). While their tour included losses to the Red Stockings of Cincinnati; Athletics of Philadelphia; and Atlantics of Brooklyn, the defeat of the White Stockings brought a barrage of excuses from the Chicago Post which explained:

> If Craver hadn't missed the ball, and if Cuthbert hadn't had a game leg, and if Mevevie hadn't been sore, and if Wood hadn't pitched into things so badly, and if Burns hadn't got so excited, and if McAtee hadn't muffed a little, and if the wind had blown from a different direction, and the sun had shone less spasmodically, the college boys from Boston never would have beaten the White Stockings. Never![149]

"A formidable lot of 'ifs'," as the Harvards beat Chicago's pride by a score of 11 to 6. Returning to a reception given by the "Boston fraternity" and a game against a "Picked IX," the Harvard team completed "a banner year" with the record of thirty-three wins, nine losses and one tie, with all but one of the losses coming at the hands of professional teams.

With their early success likely influencing the location and formation of a Boston Professional Club in 1871, the Harvards went on to play games in Boston and Cambridge throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century. As the Intercollegiate Baseball Association was formed by Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Amherst and Brown, so home and away fixtures with the constituent Universities accounted for a growing percentage of Harvard's schedule. When the Association was eventually dissolved due to the wealth and domination of Harvard, Yale and Princeton, this triumvirate were briefly joined by Columbia in the foundation of another league, one which formed the basis of Harvard's competition for the remaining years of the nineteenth century. As the legislation of the Faculty Athletic Committee prohibited competition with professional baseball teams, the former glories of the 'seventies were never replicated although success over collegiate rivals ensured a respectable record of 511 wins and 9 ties in 808 matches played during the years 1870 to 1900. While rowing and even baseball gradually surrendered to the younger Football Club in becoming the leading athletic organisation at Harvard, so other sports began to emerge guaranteeing increased variation of sporting scenes on the Cambridge campus.[150]

The first intercollegiate track and field meet was held as a preliminary to the college regatta at Saratoga in July 1874. Comprising five events, the 100 yard dash; 120 yard hurdles; one mile run; three mile run; and seven mile walk, the poor showing by students from Cambridge prompted the formation of the Harvard Athletic Association in October 1874. With Benjamin R. Curtis, editor of the Harvard Advocate, first President, the Association organised its initial meet at Jarvis Field on Saturday October 24th 1874. With a varied programme which included the 100 yard dash; running high jump; one mile run; running long jump; hurdle race; throwing the baseball; two mile run; half mile run; three-legged race; and three mile walk, the students were encouraged to participate through a plea published in the Harvard Advocate which read:

> The formation of a Harvard Athletic Association is something which has long been needed to develop general athletics among us. We cannot hope to compete successfully with other colleges until we have held contests among ourselves, both for the improvement of the majority and for the selection of proper representatives. The students should give this new association earnest support, both by joining the club and by entering for the coming games; and ere long Harvard will not be behind hand in these particulars.[151]

It is apparent that track and field received increased attention at the University in subsequent years, for as early as 1878 Evert J. Wendell of

Harvard recorded a time of ten seconds for the 100 yard dash while later in 1890, Wendell Baker of Harvard and Thomas E. Burke of Boston University both held the American record for the quarter mile race having been clocked at 48.8 seconds.

The English aristocratic heritage of Harvard University was reflected in the formation of a Polo Club by twelve members in 1883, while a cricket club had been established somewhat earlier as the following report in the Boston Morning Journal for 1872 serves to support:

> Cricket Match. The first game of cricket of the season was played Saturday on the grounds of Boston Cricket Club, between the Harvard College Eleven and the Boston Junior Eleven, and resulted in a victory to the former club, with ten wickets to fall. The game was well contested and exciting.[152]

One month later the Boston Juniors revenged their earlier loss in defeating the Harvard Cricket Eleven by seven wickets. Although the Lacrosse Club had been playing against Boston teams for several years since its formation in 1878, it was not until 1882 that the thirty member Harvard Lacrosse Club was successful in persuading Princeton and New York Universities to establish an Intercollegiate Association, the same year in which it recorded three wins in five games. The last game of any note to appear at Harvard before the end of the nineteenth century was Ice Hockey. Originating with the Harvard Ice Polo Association in 1895, the nature and evolution of the game was later described by Blanchard in the following manner:

> This game was played with a short stick rounded at one end and a hard rubber ball. No rule was violated by a player being off side and there were no limits to the rink. After the Canadian game of ice hockey was tried at Cambridge in 1897 it soon took the place of polo, and in 1898

> the name of the Association was changed to the Harvard Ice Hockey Association, the first Harvard Hockey team was organised and polo was given up. 153

Winning their first ice polo game against Brown University held on Spy Pond, Arlington in February 1896, the Harvard team lost their premier ice hockey game against the same opponents two years later. After the building of an outdoor rink on Holmes Field in 1900, ice hockey witnessed a surge of popularity during the early twentieth century as it became a firmly established intercollegiate sport at Harvard.

While individualized sports are more fully discussed in Chapters VII, X and XI, brief mention of their appearance at Harvard is necessary in affording a full picture of athletic life at the University during the years 1870 to 1900. By the end of the nineteenth century, membership was multiplying in these less established pursuits. First, the Harvard University Bicycle Club (founded on April 17th 1879), and four years later, the Shooting Club, provided increased opportunity for participation by the students in Cambridge. Although a Tennis Association had first been formed in 1880, the subsequent success of Sears (1882) and Presbey (1883) on the court, prompted the establishment of the Harvard Lawn Tennis Club in 1884. Finally, golf was introduced at the University in 1896, although Tarbell reported in the same year that:

> ... we find that Harvard men have been playing for a year or so at the Cambridge links and on those of the Brookline Country Club, and have developed during that period many a good man who will set a rapid pace at the different resort links during the summer vacation.154

With the saga of Harvard athletics during the years 1870 to 1900 near complete, one is provided an insight of the changing status of sport in one of the nation's leading institutions of higher education. From a relatively informal and unstructured programme of antebellum years, athletics evolved through greater organisation to reflect all the characteristics of "Corporate Sport" by the fin de siècle. While the accompanying rise of sedentary spectatorism became the target of ongoing criticism, at least one observer felt that the increased attention to sports was manifested in an improved physical condition, explaining that:

> A few years ago the word "student" was almost synonymous with "dyspeptic," and when one was announced, people expected to see a long-limbed and narrow-chested individual, with a hacking cough, thin cheeks and a drooping figure. Now the graduate of the best colleges has the firm step and bearing of an Apollo, and the strength of a young Samson,...[155]

The supporters of physical education might well have claimed such benefits to be the result of greater attention to diet, exercise and hygiene wrought by the endeavours of Dudley Allen Sargent and his colleagues discussed in the previous chapter, for it appears that while the athletic programmes did enjoy an increased significance in the life of the University, their elite nature failed to provide opportunity for the participation of all.

Such was not the case in Bristol where the "public" schools, though providing for sporting excellence, instituted a system of House Matches through which adequate provision, and even compulsion, was facilitated for participation by all pupils. It was out of the early metamorphosis of these schools from homes of Barbarians to Philistines (in the words of Matthew Arnold), that the cult of athleticism emerged. Built upon an underlying ideological base of muscular Christianity, games overcame their early battle with gymnastics and drill and, promoted by headmasters such as Percival at Clifton, Leighton at Bristol Grammar School, and Jackson at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, found an elevated niche in the schools. The private schools and academies of New England likewise experienced this rise in athleticism as Coit of St. Pauls and Peabody of Groton, among others, sought to replicate the games-playing traditions of England's "public" schools on American soil. With characteristic rivalries being established among the cities' schools, the subordination of work to play, an increasing incidence of violence and growing professionalism, provided critics of the new trend ample evidence to support their cause. Nevertheless, the values attributed to games-playing by clergymen, authors, headmasters and others was seen to outweigh the negative aspects. The idea of developing manly and Christian character together with brave, loyal and obedient militaristic traits on the playing field, met with approval in both cities, particularly toward the end of the nineteenth century as both countries became engaged in international conflict.

With a majority of middle class "public" and private schoolboys patronising the universities of Britain and America during these years, it is hardly surprising that they should carry with them the values and lifestyle that they had internalised at school. While in Bristol, sport at the University College tended to be informal and unstructured, representative teams competed with city clubs in cricket and both codes of football. However, it was at Harvard that the greatest strides toward "Corporate Sport" were to be witnessed during the years 1870 to 1900. Impeded by edicts of the Faculty and Athletic Committee, the promise of increased prestige and revunue seemed to legitimize for some, the emphasis on winning elitism and professionalism witnessed at the university by the end of the nineteenth century.

Although providing an interesting comparison with regard to the level of education, it would appear that schools and universities (in particular Clifton College and Harvard University), played an increasingly significant role in the sporting life of Bristol and Boston. Restricted to the upper strata of society, sport began to claim a higher status in the public and board schools by the 1890s as the Interscholastic Football Association (founded in 1888), and Interscholastic Athletic Association (1890), in Boston and the Physical Recreation Society (1890), and the Schools' Rugby Union (1898) in Bristol, offered some structure and organisation facilitating participation in games by those children of more humble origin. While socioeconomic boundaries were partially eroded by the end of the nineteenth century, gender remained a determinant of athletic involvement which, being noticeably absent from this and earlier chapters, represented a significant phenomenon in Bristol and Boston Society during the years 1870 to 1900.

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139. For the most comprehensive account of intercollegiate athletics at Harvard University from 1870 to 1900 see, John A. Blanchard ed., The H Book of Harvard Athletics 1852-1922, (Cambridge : Harvard Varsity Club, 1923).

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142. For an excellent first hand account of the inaugural Harvard versus McGill football match, see Morton Prince in Blanchard, pp. 358-371; Boston Advertiser, (May 15th 1874), p. 2.

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145. John Allen Krout, Annals of American Sport, (New York : United States Publishers Association, 1929), p. 79; James M. Whiton, "The First Harvard - Yale Regatta (1852)," Outlook, 68 (June 1901), p. 289.

146. James D'Wolf Lovett, Old Boston Boys and the Games They Played, Boston : Riverside, 1906), p. 230; Boston Morning Journal, (June 9th 1870), p. 4.

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148. Blanchard, pp. 150, 170.

149. Boston Morning Journal, (June 27th 1870), p. 2, (August 2nd 1870), p. 4, (August 15th 1870), p. 2, (August 16th 1870), p. 4.

150. Blanchard, p. 182; Patton and Field, p. 278.

151. Harvard Advocate, (October 16th 1874), p. 19, quoted in Gerald Redmond, The Caledonian Games in Nineteenth-Century America, (Rutherford : Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971), p. 88.

152. Boston Morning Journal, (May 13th 1872), p. 2, (June 26th 1872), p. 3.

153. Blanchard, p. 180.

154. Arthur W. Tarbell, "Golf and Golf Clubs," Boston National Magazine, IV (August 1896), p. 492.

155. George B. Bartlett, "The Recreations of the People," Journal of Social Science, XII (1880), p. 137.

CHAPTER X

FEMALE FREEDOM AND SPORT

> In the nex' eighty or ninety years if I make up me mind to leave this boistherous life an 'settle down, the 'lady that I'll rayquist to double me rent an' divide me borrowin' capacity will wear no medals f'r athletic sports. F'r, Himmessey, I'm afraid I cud not love a woman I might lose a fight to. [1]

These words adequately illustrate the commonly viewed reaction toward the emergence of the athletic woman in American and British society during the late nineteenth century. Perceived of as deviating from the maternal, emotional and subservient norms of the "gentle sex," Lord Tennyson, the poet laureate of mid-Victorian Britain summed up Society's expectations in "The Princess":

> Man for the field, and woman for the hearth;
> Man for the word, and for the needle she;
> Man with the head and woman with the heart;
> Man to command, and woman to obey;
> All else confusion. [2]

Tied to the home through her role of mother, housekeeper and cook, the early Victorian woman was kept "domestic hostage" by the laws of the land. However, by 1870, prompted by philanthropic exposure of the misery of workers' wives, the idle monotony of female existence and promoted by John Stuart Mill in The Subjection of Women, published in 1869, a move was afoot toward the gradual freedom of women. By 1869, propertied English ladies were given a municipal vote; however, a parliamentary ballot was not extended to the majority of British women until the Act of 1918. Although an 1875 Parliamentary Act permitted universities to confer degrees upon women, it represented an ideological symbol of equality rather than a genuine step toward emancipation as women continued their struggle to enter and maintain a professional career. Indeed, it was left to the law-abiding members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies founded in 1897, to forge a path ahead in the cause of emancipation although their role was temporarily overshadowed early in the twentieth century as the militant Women's Social and Political Union was founded by Emmeline Pankhurst at Manchester in 1903.

In America, the popular image of the mid-nineteenth century woman was similarly characterised by "nurturance, intuitive morality, domesticity, passivity and affection." Although it would appear that American women enjoyed a less restricted life in colonial days, the modern search for women's rights likely grew out of Mary Wollstonecraft's, A Vindication of the Rights of Women published in 1789. In her essay, the author argued that female naivety, vanity and sentimentality was the product of ignorance, a condition that might only be overcome through the provision of education. By 1870 the "fast woman" depicted as a person who flirted, sought male company, used cosmetics and participated in athletic pursuits, was becoming a vague reality. As doubts were levelled at the ability of women to enjoy themselves in sport and even their need for such pursuits (as they did not work), one observer uttered a sigh of relief in 1870 while stating that "Not one lady in five hundred past girlhood cares for any game or sport in the world as men care for these things."[3] Nevertheless, despite brief advances the press maintained the ideal of ladylike behaviour humorously illustrated in an article entitled "How to Bathe" appearing in the Boston

Morning Journal for 1872. After Helen enters the bath-house in a manner variously described as coy, cautious and nervous, she modestly and systematically disengages her garments amidst periodic and frequent "glances about the premises" after which:

> ...a little white foot is lifted over the edge of the water, but is quickly withdrawn, accompanied by the well-known feminine utterance "Ouch!" ...the knees bend, and after several exclamations, such as "Oh my!" "Gracious!" "Ouch!" etc., the body is recumbent beneath the water;...[4]

In contrast, Helen's elder brother rushes frantically to the bath-house whereupon "closing the door carelessly... his boots are jerked mercilessly off... the coat is 'yanked'... the pants fall upon the floor, and are allowed to remain there;..." after which "a terrific splash takes place." Acting as a "significant other," such reinforcement of female normative behaviour was not uncommon in the press as resistance to the perceived "revolt of women" strengthened.[5]

While the puritanical moralist Anthony Comstock founded Boston's Watch and Ward Society, his Society for the Suppression of Vice raided booksellers and art galleries that dared to display nude figures and hounded prostitutes and abortionists on Boston's streets. However, despite such challenge based upon the norms of residual tradition Boston's women gradually learned to enjoy rights denied them for centuries so that by the year 1881 Harriet H. Robinson was able to proclaim that "Never in the history of civilisation, has woman held the political, legal or social position that she does in Massachusetts to-day!"[6]

The first women's rights convention was held at Seneca Falls, New

York in 1848, yet progress was slow until the establishment of suffrage groups. A subsequent split among suffragists in 1869 led to the formation of the New York based National Woman's Suffrage Association (N.W.S.A.), led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. A militant group, they viewed their cause as "a battle of the sexes" and consequently restricted male membership. In contrast, the moderate American Woman's Suffrage Association (A.W.S.A.), found its home in "the Hub" where male voices were readily utilised in its cause. Claiming The Woman's Journal (established in 1870), and The Woman's Column (1887) as the official organ of its affiliates in New England and Massachusetts, the A.W.S.A., finally consented to join the more militant N.W.S.A. in 1890, to form the National American Woman's Suffrage Association.

The call for increased recognition to the rights of women was in part, a biproduct of the Industrial Revolution in America. With the woman's traditional role partially replaced by the factory and mass production she was faced with unfilled hours which were subsequently occupied in a variety of ways. The factories exploited the female masses of the working class with the numbers of women workers doubling from two and one half million in 1880 to five million by the turn of the century. Furthermore, the earlier figure for 1880 represented 14.5 percent of women over sixteen years of age, a proportion that had risen to 16.5 percent by 1890. However, at the other extreme of the socioeconomic scale, the growing hours of non-work time opened the door to education and leisure, occupations that were to witness unparalleled female subscription toward the end of the nineteenth century in both Boston and Bristol. The changing lifestyle of the American woman was accompanied by legal reform for after the institution of a Women's "Select Committee" for their representation in Congress in 1881, Senator Blair of New Hampshire proposed a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution which would have given full rights to the American women of 1887. Facing rejection, the battle continued at a more local level with relative success being recorded in Boston and evidenced through the separation of the sexes at houses of detention and the appointment of matrons to the City Police Force in 1887. By 1893, the age of consent had been raised from ten to thirteen and eventually sixteen years, with "non-support" being classed as a criminal offence in the Bay State during that year. One year later, as the debate quickened, Boston feminists founded the Friends for America. A Massachusetts law of 1899 represented the first real sign of success as it equalised the descent of real estate and personal property to both husband and wife.

Nevertheless, despite such apparent progress, resistance strengthened and as late as 1892 Walter B. Hill, writing in The Century Magazine clearly stated that:

> The Republic is opportunity. It is the birthright of every American boy to have the chance to be President, and of every American girl to have the chance to be the President's wife.

Discrimination was still practiced with a municipal vote being refused the female citizens of Boston as late as the year 1900. With the elevated status of women being blamed for the waning sanctity of marriage, one poor man offered his perception of the trend from a more personal viewpoint, in 1883, exclaiming:

> Women's rights! What more rights do they want?
> My wife bosses me; our daughters boss us both,
> and the servant girl bosses the whole family.
> Its time the men were allowed some rights.

Despite criticism across both nations, pioneering individuals, accepting the insecurity and hostility that went with it, continued to forge a path ahead in the cause of equality. While Bristol was not the centre of suffrage militancy that industrial cities to the north were, change came gradually, typified by the acievements of Emily Sturge, herself a product of the Association for Higher Education of Women, who became the first female member of the Bristol School Board in 1879. Two of the leading voices with regard to sexual equality in nineteenth century Bristol came from the Socialist ranks in the personages of Helena Barn and Miriam Daniell. However, before their hopes had been fully realised, in 1890 they decided to leave England and dreaming "of a pilgrimage to the land of Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman...set forth for Boston."

The late nineteenth century visitor to Boston would likely have been struck by the interesting contrast between two leading women's factions each pursuing markedly different aims. On the one hand stood the feminists among them Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Abby Morton Diaz, Edna D. Cheney and Julia Ward Howe who, in promoting their cause of equal rights, drew upon the support of leading Boston gentlemen, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Samuel May and Henry B. Blackwell. Nevertheless, their campaign ignored the deepening social problems precipitated by urbanisation and industrialisation which, to a second group of "concience-stricken maidens of the college generation," represented a more fundamental concern. Typifying a breed of middle class philanthropists who found an identity with the labouring masses partly through guilt and partly through curiosity, they commonly enjoyed the rights of first-class citizenship that tended to go hand in hand with inherited wealth and status. Led by Vida Dutton Scudder who was at one bored with, and hostile toward the feminists, the group set about developing programmes of social work and settlement houses within "the Hub's" slum districts. Undertaken primarily by college girls, the work included establishing the Rivington Street House Settlement in 1889, one year before the formation of the College Settlements Association while perhaps the greatest achievement of this group of female "do-gooders" came in 1892 with the foundation of Boston's Denison House. Modelled after Toynbee Hall (see Chapter IV), "The House, like others, established a bath, gymnasium, public library, reading room, and summer school." As the feminist group was successful in establishing the Mayflower Club in 1893 (even if it was situated next door to the Union Club where many of the ladies' husbands found membership!), among its achievements, so perhaps the success of Scudder's endeavours was in itself a latent indication of the potential contribution of women to society. However, indignation continued to be voiced at woman's attempt to climb out of the cellar of domesticity, emphasized by the leading opponents of feminist crusades in Boston including the Reverend Lyman Abbott, Louis D. Brandeis, William Norton Eliot, John Boyle O'Reilly and Francis Parkman. Despite the efforts of these men to restrict social change, women in Boston and Bristol experienced an ever-growing proximity to the polls, and distance away from the kitchen during the years 1870 to 1900, a gradual process of emancipation which was inextricably and reciprocally linked to women's changing status in sport, itself pioneered within the educational institutions in the two cities.[7]

Physical Education for Girls

Writing as early as 1859 in his Education. Intellectual, Moral and Physical, Herbert Spencer highlighted the neglect of physical education for British women in stating:

> We have a vague suspicion that to produce a violent physique is thought undesirable; that rude health and abundant vigour are considered somewhat plebeian; that a certain delicacy of strength not competent to sustain more than a mile or two's walk, an appetite fastidious and easily satisfied joined with that timidity which commonly accompanies feebleness, are held more ladylike. We do not expect that any would distinctly avow this; but we fancy the governors mind is haunted by an ideal young lady bearing not a little resemblance to this type. If so, it must be admitted that the established system is admirably calculated to realise this ideal. [8]

In Bristol such stereotyping was evident although the life of girls attending the Red Maids' School in mid-century (a school that had been founded in 1634 through a charitable trust laid down by John Whitson), was characterized by drill, walking and other play although it should be noted in fairness to Spencer, nothing too vigorous. Similarly, as the Clergy Daughters' School was established in the city in 1862, the buildings included a large hall, an infirmary and gymnasium perhaps a reflection of the Governors' recognition of the need for attending to the physical education of the girls. Nevertheless, the general story was one of absence of activity leaving the girl to pursue a passive and "ladylike" life at school although across the country pioneers were endeavouring to establish programmes of physical education for girls as, for instance, Frances Mary Buss who founded the North London Collegiate School and enforced a compulsory programme of calisthenics four times a week. In the west country

Dorothea Beale, Headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies' College from 1858, provided similar support before the Taunton Commission in 1868 reported that:

> The vigorous exercise which boys get from cricket etc., must be supplied in the case of girls by walking and calisthenic exercise, skipping etc. : It is to be wished that croquet could be abolished, it gives no proper exercise, induces colds, and places the body in a crooked posture; besides, as it does not fatigue, girls are able to go on for five or six hours and induced to be idle. It would seem worthwhile to inquire what is done in America respecting exercise. I believe they pay more attention to this subject than we. [9]

While the American experience will be considered later in this Chapter, the reforming work of Madame Bergman-Österberg in England from 1881 cannot be overlooked as she persevered in her search for womanhood on the playing field and in the gymnasium. While also developing a new profession for middle class girls in the form of the lady gymnastics teacher she founded a Physical Training College first at Hampstead and later at Dartford, former pupils of which on January 19th 1899 founded the Ling Association, Britain's leading professional body for physical education. However, even before Österberg's arrival in Britain and following the Taunton Commission Report, the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 led to the establishment of girls' "public" schools which increasingly took on the characteristics of the long established boys' schools, including that of games-playing.

The Redland Girls' High School was opened in 1880 for the benefit of girls of the district whose parents desired them to have a "public" school education yet lived too far from Clifton High School for Girls which had been founded in 1877. Started by the Reverend T. G. Rose, former Minister of Clifton Down Congregational Church, the first President was John Percival then President of Trinity College, Oxford who was joined on the School Council by Mark Whitwill (Chairman of the Bristol School Board), the Reverend Urijah Rees Thomas and Emily Sturge among others. With Miss E.A. Cocks appointed the first Headmistress, an early advertisement for the School included "Gymnastic Exercises" as part of the curriculum. During the spring term of 1885, Miss F.M. Baker was appointed Visiting Mistress of Gymnastics, by which time gymnastics and sports were realising a new found status in the School. While the Council sent a special word of thanks to Miss Baker for teaching calisthenics, the Headmistress' report for that year included the following observation:

> We hardly know how to rejoice enough over having become the possessors of Redland Court... the joy of the pupils is perhaps greatest on account of the grounds, which have enabled us to organize Tennis and Cricket Clubs and other games... My co-workers and I are looking for great results from these outdoor sports. We anticipate that the daily increasing energy which we see developing in physical exercise will aid the girls in attaining a higher standard of energy and courage in mental work.[10]

However, such expectations were apparently not realised for in her report of 1886 Miss Cocks expressed concern at the pupils' disposition to deprive themselves of the outdoor games, further advocating the provision of greater opportunity for leisure and recreation. While competitions in swimming, tennis and cricket were instituted at the School during the following year, Miss Theodora Johnson, seemingly one of Madame Bergman-Österberg's first students in 1885, was appointed Instructor of Ling Gymnastics at Redland Girls' High, teaching classes that were attended by Old Girls as well as present pupils. By 1888, enthusiasm for physical activity had increased to such a degree that, as a large contingent of pupils travelled each Monday to the Victoria Baths in Clifton during the summer term (and where a rule compelled them to wear the School swimming costume in the water), another group in their determination to acquire more gymnastic apparatus succeeded in collecting a sum of eleven pounds.[11]

An article entitled "Our Athletic Sports" and appearing in the School magazine for September 1890 reminded the members of the Tennis Club that there is more to the game then merely patting balls into the air and rejoicing when they fall on the far side of the net, while the School's Captain of cricket added, "It is painful to relate that a cricket ball in motion is thought to be a subject rather to be avoided than attacked." Yet while it is likely that the girls failed to exude the vigour and aggression that their brothers devoted to these athletic pursuits, progress continued as Dr. Walker Dunbar presented a course of lectures on "Physical Training for Girls" to the School during the spring term of 1891. Perhaps his message had something to do with the School magazine's observation of that year, "that although a strong tendency to dreaming is manifest in the cricket field, there is a wonderful improvement since last year." The next spring brought the levelling of the best tennis court and, after permission was granted, the girls at their own expense converted the lower portion of the garden into a cricket pitch. Following the introduction of field hockey in the autumn of 1892, concern at a replication of the brutal play exhibited in the boys' schools was put at rest by the words of the team Captain who, writing in the School magazine explained:

> For the edification of those, and they are many, who look upon hockey as a rough and dangerous game, be it said that no blood has been spilt

> nor terrible wounds received by our hockey players as yet.[12]

Despite the emergence of this new sport, cricket and tennis remained the favourite games at Redland High School for Girls as the turn of the century approached. The status afforded tennis is reflected by the School team's guided tour of the cathedral, and tea at the invitation of the Mayoress of Gloucester as they played at Gloucester High School for Girls in 1894. Indeed, as late as 1899, the School's annual concert was in aid of asphalting the lower tennis court while in the same year girls raised enough money for a new grass tennis court.

The first two decades in the history of Redland High School for Girls drew to a close in 1900. Among its achievements the School held a strong claim to pioneering the ever-changing stereotype of passive, sedentary ladylike behaviour in the City, through the provision of physical education and games programmes for its middle class girls. Although the leader, other Bristol schools followed the games-playing tradition of Redland High. The Clifton High School for Girls, founded three years earlier, gradually adopted sports as an integral part of school life, with two of W.G. Grace's daughter appearing on its cricket team in 1893. Nevertheless, as the City's private girl's schools trod the path laid by Clifton College and other boys' institutions, enthusiasm for games was tempered by an ongoing societal belief in female delicacy and domesticity being reflected in the Schools' songs which, unlike the odes to athleticism echoing in The Close of Clifton College, afforded only brief mention of play and games in the life of the School (see Appendix F).[13] Yet this acceptance of games-playing by girls was seemingly restricted to the private institutions as remained the case with regard to boys. Although the Bristol Certified Industrial School for Girls included among its facilities a covered outdoor playground within which, according to the "Rules and Regulations" of 1885, "The girls shall be allowed intervals for exercise and recreation..." such provision represented an exception rather than the rule as a late introduction of Swedish gymnastics represented the extent of the physical education programme in Bristol's board schools throughout the years 1870 to 1900.[14] Despite the mid-Victorian belief already voiced, that Americans were paying greater attention to the physical education of girls, an article appearing in the Boston Morning Journal for 1870 described a neglect in "the Hub" that was reminiscent of Bristol's experience:

> We cross the Common on Fast day afternoon, and pause on the hill to survey the base ball players, who are wielding their bats on the plain below and running their bases, as though their lives depended upon making home runs. Further on we encounter a surging mass of small urchins tossing a foot-ball with wild shouts and frantic rushes. It is the nation's holiday, and we see that this leaping and screaming is good for the little fellow, and that thus they will best grow into men. But where are the girls meanwhile? In what spirited games are they strengthening their young limbs, throwing back their shoulders and filling the deepest air-cells of their lungs with fresh oxygen? There glide a few of them along the trim paths, arrayed in their finest, most burdensome attire, with arms pinned to their sides like the wings of a trussed fowl, and turning neither to the right hand nor the left, as they move demurely past. They may glance aside to behold the wild sports of their brothers, but a proper sense of the lady-like and the becoming keeps them from moving at a faster pace or discussing the scene before them in more animated tones. So they balance along on their high heels, holding parasols carefully in their glove-cramped hands lest a drop of sunshine should touch their pallid cheeks. The greater number of their sisters are housed at home, hemming superfinous ruffles, or knitting tidies on which to lean their feeble heads.[15]

Providing a picture of female subordination the author would, in the next thirty years, witness a marked change in the gender of participants on the Boston Common and other open spaces in the City as traditional perceptions of woman were gradually eroded.

Implemented through advances in higher education for women which evolved out of the 1820s the work of Emma Willard and other reformers and that of innovators in the mould of Catharine Beecher, was adopted by Oberlin Collegiate Institute, Ohio which, established in 1833 became the world's first coeducational college, Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts founded in 1837 by Mary Lyon, Vassar College, New York which, after its opening in 1867, became a pioneer of games for women; and other seminaries that increasingly sprouted up about the nation. Further, two women's colleges in relative proximity to Boston emerged during 1875, Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts and Wellesley College each rapidly adopting the growing trend for athletic participation by women, as Sandra Berenson introduced basketball to the students of Smith in 1892 complete with tripartite court and rule changes to offset the problems caused by exhaustion. In "the Hub" itself, women were witnessing increased opportunities and responsibilities with regard to education. During the early 1870s, Boston's women were permitted to run for a seat on the School Committee although it was 1879 before they were allowed to vote for its officers. Later instrumental in the promotion and funding of the Harvard Annex (1878) and the Boston Playground Movement during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Woman's Education Association was formed as early as 1873. With greater unification of voice afforded by this and other groups, education for women in the City grew beyond all recognition as the Boston

Girls' Latin School was founded in 1878, and two years later 153 American colleges opened their doors to women, including Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Harvard Annex in "the Hub," to be joined by Tufts in 1896. So too was expansion witnessed outside of formal education for women, as one observer noted in 1880, "We have art clubs, book clubs, dramatic clubs, pottery clubs. We have sewing circles, philanthropic associations, scientific, literary, religious, athletic, musical and decorative art societies," institutions which in 1889 were linked under the aegis of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. That the author included athletic societies is no surprise for as both promoter and product of women's rights, sport represented a significant institution.[16]

A leading pioneer in the crusade for emancipation of women through sport, Catharine Esther Beecher was born at East Hampton, New York on September 6th 1800. The daughter of "the great gun of Calvinism" Lyman Beecher, she was forced to defend her life's work as personal and totally divorced of influence from her father who, as Congregational minister and orthodox puritan waged war against Unitarianism. Coming from a family of great eminence which included her clergymen brothers Henry Ward, Edward and Thomas and sisters, Isabelle who became a famous suffragette and Harriet Beecher Stowe a leading abolitionist and author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Catharine proclaimed anti-suffragette sentiments and stood with the conservative element in the feminist movement.

With her father travelling to Boston to preach in 1824, Catharine Beecher set out to establish a seminary for girls at Hartford, Connecticut which, within six years, reported an enrollment of two hundred students. Inspired by the visit of an Englishwoman who taught, what was later called, calisthenics to the students daily in the spring of 1827, Beecher later set down the best exercises along with those of her own creation in Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families, first published in 1856. Distinguished from gymnastics through their absence of apparatus and less strenuous nature, Beecher's system of calisthenics was "arranged on scientific principles, with the design of exercising all the muscles and of exercising them equably and harmonjously." Representing a collection of sixty-two movements, Beecher's manual was intended for the use of:

> Members of the family in the parlour, the children in the nursery, the invalid in the chamber, the seamstress and milliner in their shops, the student or professional man in his office, study or counting room, [who] can open a window twice or thrice a day, and have all the fresh air and exercise needed for perfect health by simply following the directions in this work.[17]

Forming the basis of Dio Lewis' subsequent "New Gymnastics" in the opinion of Beecher, her system was adopted briefly by the Philadelphia and Baltimore School systems and later integrated into the curriculum of the Western Female Institute which was founded at Cincinnati by Beecher in 1837. An account of the latter programme was included in the American Annals of Education for 1883 and read:

> To aid in Physical Education, Calisthenics are adopted as a means of relaxation and exercise, and instead of the practice of some schools... of allowing but five minutes to this daily session, we are gratified to learn that half an hour is devoted to it each half day. It is rendered attractive by music, and serves at the same time as a lesson in musical rhythm. We are assured by those who have tried both, that it is a far more efficient means than dancing, for improving the form and the manners, without any of its evils.[18]

These last few words are truly indicative of a Calvinist upbringing, a trait which was earlier identified in Beecher's stated belief that "the only legitimate object of amusements, is to promote health, and prepare for more serious duties..." To Beecher the concept of health included "the formation of personal habits and manners, the business of physical education, the correction of disposition, the regulation of social feelings, the formation of conscience, and direction of the moral character..." While not finding a permanent home in Boston her frequent visits and lectures in "the Hub" (such as that on "Women's Suffrage" presented at the Boston Music Hall in December 1870), ensured Beecher of an influence on a par with later pioneers of physical education such as Dio Lewis and Dudley Allen Sargent while she joined Mary Hemenway at the pinnacle of female contribution to American physical education in the nineteenth century.[19]

Yet her contribution reached beyond that of a new system of calisthenics. Aware of the American woman's neglect for physical activity Beecher noted in her Treatise on Domestic Economy that:

> ... so little idea have most ladies, in the wealthier classes of what is a proper amount of exercise, that, if they should succeed in walking a mile or so, at a moderate pace, three or four times a week, they would call it taking a great deal of exercise.[20]

Her conclusions were substantiated by the results of a survey that she conducted on the health of 450 women permitting her to categorise twenty-four percent as strong, forty-two percent as delicate and diseased and thirty-five percent as invalids. Insisting from an early date, that calisthenics be incorporated into the curricula of the seminaries with which she was concerned, her programme was increasingly adopted by other institutions in an attempt to combat the poor health of American women. With health and hygiene rather than woman representing the common denominator of Beecher's work, the pioneer educator, who had little in common with the suffragette leaders of the day, nevertheless left, upon her death in 1878, a legacy of incalculable dimensions to the future of American women in sport, a contribution perceived by a recent scholar as "a firm spoke in the moving wheel of qualitative evolution toward a more egalitarian society."[21]

That William Bentley Fowle's early introduction of gymnastics at his Boston Monitorial School for Young Ladies (established in 1823 at Washington Court), in the spring of 1825 presented a challenge to the commonly held belief that America's earliest programme of physical education belonged to Roundhill School, Northampton has been discussed in Chapter VIII. There is however, no question that this is the first account of organised gymnastics being practiced by girls anywhere in the United States. Prompted by the lectures on physical education given by Dr. John G. Coffin in the spring of 1825, Fowle introduced a gymnastics regimen that included jumping, marching, running and weight lifting later maintaining that, contrary to public opinion, neither walking nor household labour could replace gymnastics for girls. In a letter to Dr. Coffin written in October 1826, Fowle explained the drive behind his instituting such a programme, and some of the early problems encountered:

> I had long before noticed the feeble health of many of my pupils, and encouraged them to take more exercises, but they wanted means and example, and little or nothing was effected...
>
> I read all the books I could find, but met with very little applicable to the instruction of

> females. It seemed as if the sex had been thought unworthy of any effort to improve their physical powers.[22]

Fowle was not far wrong in his judgement for although his programme of gymnastics continued for several years, it was eventually discontinued due to the misapprehension of some parents. Yet the programme at the Boston Monitorial School for Young Ladies had broken new ground which eventually led to a realization of Fowle's highest expectation, set down in his report to the Trustees dated December 23rd 1825, and reading, "We look forward also to the time when circumstances will warrant the introduction of physical as well as intellectual education into our schools." Yet Fowle had achieved more than stated ideals, he had provided a concrete foundation for his hope that "the day is not far distant when gymnasiums for women will be as common as churches in Boston." Although that day has yet to arrive in "the Hub," the emergence of Mrs. Hawley's Gymnastic School for Young Misses and the subsequent efforts of Dio Lewis and Dudley Allen Sargent later in the nineteenth century, ensured a sense of reality to Fowle's dreams.[23]

One of Dioclesian Lewis' lesser known achievements concerns his establishment of a Family School for Young Ladies at Lexington, Massachusetts on October 1st 1864. With Catharine Esther Beecher employed as a teacher of Domestic Economy and the Laws of Health, the School met with considerable success until it burned down in 1867. Lewis later recalled the nature of the School and the significance of physical education in its life:

> The character of the announcement, with what the public knew of my interest in physical education, drew together a company of bright girls, with delicate constitutions, such girls as could not bear the exclusively mental pressure of the ordinary school... The girls went to bed at half-past eight every evening. They rose early in the morning and went out to walk, which walk was repeated during the day. They ate only twice a day, and of very plain, nourishing food. They took off their corsets. They exercised twice a day, half an hour, in gymnastics, and danced an hour about three times a week. This was the general course, and upon this regimen they rapidly improved. The gymnastic exercises proved invaluable, but the nine hours in bed, I believe, played a still more important part.[24]

Lewis' work at Lexington was a deliberate attempt to show the benefits of exercise to girls. Constantly battling the norms of nineteenth century society Lewis, observing the beauties and playground potential of the Boston Common wrote in 1864, that "not one fashionable lady in ten ever steps inside of the Common. It is not the _style_."[25] Later, writing in _Our Girls_, the father of the New Gymnastics noted that "American women are becoming the smallest among the civilised peoples... this petite size can be accounted for... because... our girls have no adequate exercise."[26] However, Lewis' concern might have been greater had it not been for his own efforts. Conducting coeducational classes throughout Boston and the surrounding townships, Lewis reintroduced a sense of agility and grace of movement to gymnastics, qualities that had been all but lost in the German system of Jahn. With dance representing an integral part of his programme, the New Gymnastics became increasingly acceptable with the gradually changing perception of woman. As early as 1865, Moses Coit Taylor had introduced the musical gymnastics of Lewis to twenty girls' schools in London and even after 1868, when his life's work was redirected to the cause of temperance, Lewis' legacy flourished as evidenced in the following account of activities at Dr. and Mrs. Geo. W. Handy's School for Young Ladies and Misses, reported in the Boston Morning Journal of 1870:

> Dr. George W. Handy's School Exhibition. A very beautiful exhibition of the gymnastic exercises in this school, located at No.20 Essex Street, was given last evening to a select audience of the parents and friends of the young ladies who attend it. These exercises are similar to those formerly taught by Dr. Dio Lewis but have been carried to a greater perfection by Mrs. Handy, and combine to give physical strength and grace in a rare degree. [27]

Through the endeavours of Catharine Esther Beecher, William Bentley Fowle, Dio Lewis and other less prominent pioneers, physical education for girls was becoming an accepted reality in the seminaries, private schools and gymnasiums of Boston. With health and hygiene representing the prime mover, the importance of this development was reflected in advertisements for such institutions including the following which appeared in a Boston newspaper during 1870:

> Dr. Hero's School for Young Ladies at Westboro; Mass., claims advantages whereby young ladies may become vigorous and healthy, over any other school in America. [28]

While this early attention to the woman's constitution in Boston cannot be ignored, direction and support for increased female athletic participation was forthcoming from non-educational sources as the nineteenth century progressed among them the emerging Young Women's Christian Association and gentlemen who were sympathetic to the needs of the "gentle sex."

Together with the Prayer Union for Women, established in London by

Emma Robarts in 1855, the General Female Training Institute founded to assist nurses returning from the Crimea might be considered the early English equivalent of the Young Men's Christian Association which itself had grown out of George Williams' bible reading classes started at London in 1841. While Bristol lays claim to a Young Women's Christian Association established two years after the Y.M.C.A., in 1855, no facilities were provided for the practice of sport. Representing a crucial difference between the Associations, it was left to the Working Girls' Clubs of the City, which numbered thirty by the turn of the century, to provide facilities and instruction in Swedish drill, folk dancing and hygiene as well as singing, needlework, cookery and elementary nursing. The Boston Young Women's Christian Association represented an outgrowth of the City Missionary Society. Established on March 3rd 1866, some fifteen years after the Boston Y.M.C.A., was founded, it might be considered America's first such Association although the Ladies' Christian Association of New York dated from 1858.[29] Under its first President, Mrs. Henry F. Durant, the Boston Y.W.C.A., concerned itself at first with the provision of shelter, food and clothing for the large number of young women that had been attracted to "the Hub" by the industrial boom of post bellum years. An early Report of the Association described the pityful sights confronting it:

> They club together and live in crowded attics; they board themselves, -if the piece of cold bread for breakfast, and the trashy cake or pie from the bakers for dinner, and the poor tea at night, can be called board. They shift, and they suffer and struggle along in all sorts of dreary, hopeless ways, such as only the poor know of, and the rich never hear of, or care to learn...[30]

Convinced that "Christian Boston can well afford to give them the means of procuring these simple necessities of life," the philanthropic crusade progressed with the Association feeling that:

> ...some agency should be devised that would meet young women on their arrival...conduct them to proper homes, surround them with Christian sympathy and elevating influences, furnish them pleasant occupation for their leisure hours, introduce them to religious privileges and in various ways promote their spiritual and temporal welfare.[31]

During these early years, with the more basic needs of survival and spiritual training to consider, neither intellectual nor physical eduaction was encompassed by the Association's programme. Although one year after its foundation instruction was offered in astronomy and physiology it was not until 1877 that calisthenics were first introduced by a boarder from the Warrenton Street House.

By 1882, classes were being sent from the Boston Y.W.C.A., to Miss Mary Allen's gymnasium. With the utility of this action questioned at first, early sceptics soon came to recognise that "young women can be materially benefitted by lessons in hygiene and exercises, and in many cases saved from invalidism resulting from work performed under unwholesome conditions." That year also saw the institution of athletic sports for women at the Boston Y.W.C.A., to be followed in 1884 by the dedication of the Berkeley Residence which incorporated the nation's first Y.W.C.A., gymnasium. This event paved the way for future athletic development throughout the Association of America although the practice of physical education and sport was never to reach the near obsession that was witnessed in the Men's Associations. Likewise in Bristol, where the Y.W.C.A., apparently ignored all attempts to introduce sport, even the Working Girls' Clubs failed to provide the opportunity for gymnastics and games-playing that was furnished at St. James' Square. In addition to the aforementioned educational and philanthropic institutions, the Boston movement toward freeing women of the shackles of passivity and domesticity was joined by a number of eminent gentlemen of the City.[32]

Through two articles published in The Woman's Journal for 1881, Thomas Wentworth Higginson supported the need for physical education in woman's search for improved health and vitality. However, perhaps the greatest debt is owed to Dudley Allen Sargent who, as a biographer has suggested, "never wearied in his fight to give women sensible dress and the right to physical activity." Feeling that women should be given an equal chance with men in perfecting their physical being, Sargent added that the greater leisure time facing women was reason enough to provide them fair opportunity for physical activity. So concerned did Sargent become at Society's apparent myopia with regard to women and sport, that he conducted a scientific experiment in 1888 to investigate the physiological effect of corsets. Asking twelve young women to run 540 yards in gymnastic apparel in two and one half minutes, the task was repeated the following day with his subjects' waists reduced one inch through the wearing of a corset. His findings, that the pulse rate increased from 158 to 162 per minute and that lung capacity decreased by thirty-three cubic inches, led him to advocate the divided skirt or bloomer as the most suitable dress for gymnastic classes.[33]

Earlier in 1881, Sargent had opened the Sanatory Gymnasium affording the girls of Harvard Annex (initially The Society for the Collegiate

Instruction of Women, and later Radcliffe College), a place to exercise. Also providing a home for the Sargent School of Physical Training which was primarily intended for the education of women gymnastic instructors (See Chapter VIII), the Gymnasium later relocated to a renovated carriage house on Church Street in Cambridge. A former student and assistant of Sargent's later described a typical scene at the School:

> Dr. Sargent spent the mornings at his own school and afternoons at Harvard. Every morning at nine o'clock the girls in their fur coats huddled around the great stove while Dr. Sargent, with a big shawl over his shoulders, lectured for an hour. After the lecture, Dr. Sargent taught the practical work which included juggling with bounding balls, climbing ladders, and ascending and descending ropes without skining the hands. The costume for the girls was very full, short bloomers and white middy blouse with no constrictive clothing underneath. Classes were also held for children in the afternoon and for working girls and teachers in the evening. Normal School students occassionally assisted with these classes and also did practice teaching in nearby public schools. [34]

If the fur coats are an indication of the middle class nature of students at the School of Physical Training it must be noted that Sargent also showed concern for the physical well-being of women engaged in industry. In 1883 he held a "working girls' clinic" at the Sanatory Gymnasium on two evenings a week in an attempt to correct postural defects and prevent further injury through the introduction of remedial and manual training which simulated a variety of industrial tasks. In aggregation, Sargent's work at the School of Physical Training (later Normal School), and Harvard Summer School of Physical Education opened the doors for participation by women both as teacher and athlete, ideas that while emanating in "the Hub" were carried across the nation and ocean to Europe by graduates of his institutions. However, even before Sargent had been appointed Director of Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard, a Boston lady had broken the male monopoly on private gymnasiums in the City.

Opened in 1878, Miss Mary E. Allen's gymnasium for girls had by 1889, after the introduction of a teacher training course in 1881 (with the assistance of Sargent), graduated seven instructresses of gymnastics. It appears that Miss Allen refused to be persuaded of the values attributed to Ling gymnastics for, after presenting her patent plan to the Boston School Board she later underscored its advantages over the Swedish system at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Physical Science.[35] Apparently disappointing personal and professional friends her critical comparison was summarised in the Journal of Education for New England in the following manner:

> She aims at perspiration, the Swedish aims to avoid it; she puts the student into a bathtub afterwards, the Swedish has no need of a special bath for a regularly home bathed student; she sets everything to music, it has no use for music in its progressive, developmental work; she does not believe in any competition games -- except bean bags -- it believes in many intellectually and physically exhilarating games of competition. She further opposes the Swedish System because it is not American born.[36]

While it is doubtful whether Miss Allen herself could lay a valid claim to a programme divorced of international influence it is worth reconsidering in brief the contribution of her antagonist, Mary Hemenway. Discussed earlier in Chapter VIII, the idea of establishing a Boston Normal School of Gymnastics had been suggested by Hemenway in a letter to the Boston School Committee, dated April 25th 1889. Approved on June 25th 1889 in time for its opening on September 1st 1889, the School was financed by

Hemenway and Directed by Nils Posse. A report of the Director of Physical Training in December 1891 noted that during the year 1889 to 1890 the Boston Public Schools employed one hundred and ninety women who received instruction at the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics.[37]

The mid-nineteenth century stereotype of women characterized by delicacy, domesticity and softness of body permeated both Cities, as it was considered unladylike to exhibit vigour, perspiration and strength through exercise. Nevertheless, as the 1870s approached a gradual attrition of those well established norms had facilitated the introduction of physical education and games programmes for girls in the Cities. In Bristol, except for some isolated instances of drill and calisthenics, the relative absence of physical education in both schools and the Y.W.C.A., was as much a reflection of the low value attributed to such programmes as a discriminatory practice against women (see Chapter VIII). Although work initiated by Madame Bergman Österberg in London with regard to teacher training promised a revolution in physical education for girls it was not until the final decade of the nineteenth century that a systematized programme of physical training was introduced into the board schools of Bristol for both girls and boys. However, earlier and in emulation of their male counterparts, the City's "public" schools for girls had adopted the games-playing tradition. Particularly evident at Redland Girls' High School, tennis, swimming, cricket and later field hockey represented the most popular pursuits practiced.

In contrast and in replication of physical education in the City's boys' schools, the experience of Boston was characterized by the early work of Catharine Esther Beecher, William Bentley Fowle and Dio Lewis. The gradual shift away from the energetic German gymnastics presented a new image of agility, grace and tempered enthusiasm, characteristics which became increasingly acceptable to a Boston public faced by a growing urgency toward women's rights. Adopted by the Boston Y.W.C.A., as early as 1867, and later through the establishment of private gymnasiums for girls, the trend was built upon through the epistles of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and the research and professional nourishment of Dudley Allen Sargent and Mary Hemenway so that the world of the Boston schoolgirl by the fin de siècle was open to gymnastic opportunity. While the changing view of woman was the result of a host of forces impinging upon society, the nineteenth century sportswoman was indebted to the work of Österberg's School of Physical Training; Sargent's School of Physical Training and Harvard Summer School; and Hemenway's Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, from whence she so often received direction through their graduate women teachers of physical education and games.

"Anyone For Tennis?" -- The Emergence of the Sportswoman

But I am of the Yankee sort,
A gutta-percha lady sport,
Fair and tough, and fast and strong
And hold to my paces all day long.
Stir the dust and take the shoot,
Pantalettes and gaiter-boot.
Houp la! houp la! -- needn't try
to find a lovelier wretch than I.[38]

This satire on women in sport taken from an American scrapbook for 1869 fully colours the prevalent social feeling of incompatability between feminity and athletic prowess. While social sentiment in both countries permitted minimal participation, activities were restricted to the least energetic and those, most frequently being practiced behind closed doors. More generally the female role was relegated to one of passive observer on Ladies' Day at men's sporting events. A twentieth century observer concludes that during antebellum years in America:

> ... nice women exercised very infrequently; they wore skirts when they ran and, to be utterly proper, they didn't run at all. Sometimes a few bold spirits would go ice skating, although a contemporary book of etiquette urged them to hang on to the coat tails of their male partners, thus enjoying all the pleasure without incurring any of the fatigue of the excerise.[39]

Swimming early became a popular pursuit of women in Boston and vicinity. Mary Palmer Tyler recalls swimmimg at New Lebanon, Massachusetts as early as 1792 explaining that:

> Several of my companions, having been accustomed to it, would swim like mermaids, but I was satisfied with descending the steps for my bath. The swimmers would dive off the platform and after sporting around like a bevy of boys skip up the stairs and dress themselves, telling me I was foolish not to share so great a luxury.[40]

Further, a newspaper reported the existence of a ladies' swimming bath in Boston seven years before the opening of Braman's Bath in 1827 although it was "surrounded by a high fence in order to insure the greatest privacy for the timid females."[41] Utilising the natural environment to its full Boston's women maintained their popularity for the water into the nineteenth century. A newspaper account of 1870 noted that in August of that year "a good number of persons" assembled on the banks of the Mystic River to witness an evening swim match between "some females of Charlestown and Boston."[42] It appears that swimming provided an opportunity for society to reinforce the behavioural differences and expectations of boys and girls. As Mary Palmer Tyler had earlier likened the swimmers' behaviour to "a bevy of boys" so an account of an excursion by children of the North End in 1872 expressed some surprise at the unexpected action of the girls:

> The boys were advised not to go in swimming until after dinner, but they could not be restrained... They have been bathing before in the dirty brine around the wharves, but this cool, clear bath is so much more refreshing and enjoyable...
> Is it possible? Yes, there can be no doubt of it. And What? Why, nothing, but that our little friends, the girls -- seeing no reason why the boys alone should have the right to plunge into the cooling waves -- have doffed with sweetest simplicity their every garment, and are enjoying the fun fully as gaily as their brothers.[43]

One might contemplate the long term effect of these exhibitions of childhood innocence had they been permitted increased frequency, for the extent of girls' participation was sorely limited. Together with swimming in summer, skating was a favourite during the winter months as an article in Harper's Weekly for 1859 observed, "At Boston most of the young ladies skate, and skate well." However, even skating had not always received the approval of Boston and New England society with regard to its suitability for women. In a diarial entry for 1801 the Reverend William Bentley of Salem, Massachusetts, noted that the whole town was shaken by a report that a teacher had instructed her female pupils in the art of skating. Subsequently shown to have been false, the virtue of both teacher and pupils was vindicated.[44]

In mid-Victorian Britain the most popular sports for women were the middle class pursuits of croquet and archery. Legitimized largely through its aristocratic heritage croquet, having earlier crossed the Channel from France, reached near epidemic proportion by the mid-1860s. Soon being carried to New England, the following extract from Captain

Mayne Reid's Croquet published at Boston in 1863, provides an insight into the game's considered respectability and suitability for women:

> Its rules are so varied, so rational, that the intellect is constantly kept on the alert, -- never summoned to a painful stretch, and never allowed to subside into an equally painful inaction.[45]

Practiced on the spacious lawns of large houses and private clubs by ladies suitably attired in long sweeping crinolines, it was 1882 before the American National Croquet Association was formed, holding its First Annual Tournament at Norwich, Connecticut. Similarly, the accompanying fad of archery travelled from England during the 1860s and was adopted by New England's elite. The National Archery Association's tournament at Chicago in 1875 represented the first organised athletic competition for American women as twenty ladies entered, contributing to an atmosphere described by Harper's Weekly in the following manner:

> ... while the rivalry among the shooters was keen to the last degree, an air of such refinement and courteous dignity as is not often witnessed by observers of public games characterized every one connected with the contest. [46]

As participation in the aforementioned sports gradually became more accepted so the changing designs of clothes led to the emergence of less cumbrous apparel facilitating a more active role in the fads of lawn tennis and bicycling during the 1880s and 1890s. While the "athletic girl" became a growing reality by the turn of the century so a writer in Munsey's Magazine recalled the less vigorous times of "twenty five years ago. [when] The city woman might walk, and she too might play croquet, if she had a large enough lawn; but that was about the sum of the sports permitted."[47]

However, the emergence of an "athletic girl" in both Bristol and Boston during the years 1870 to 1900 was tne product of a combination of external factors rather than a result achieved through the efforts of sport itself. Urbanisation and industrialisation had presented the woman with more free time as many of her traditional roles had been swallowed up by the appearance of the factory and mass production although, unlike her male counterpart greater affluence seldom accompanied this transition. Indeed, finding herself engaged in long hours of monotonous labour ensured a greater differentiation in sporting participation between women on the basis of financial means. While it has been seen that early opportunities for croquet and archery were provided for the middle class, the female labourer found few sports available to her. Further, the deteriorating conditions of city life which had such a marked effect upon the health of the male population (see Chapter V) was seen to have as great (if not more far reaching?) an impact on the urban woman as her health, hygiene and body became a matter of concern toward the end of the century. An American writing in 1894 noted that "the average city girl of our experience has two or three marked physical deficiencies... a shallow chest..., a lack of symmetry,... a deficiency in muscular development."[48] In America, the Civil War had contributed to a breakdown of traditional sex roles as the woman was called upon to replace her husband on the factory floor. Prompted by the social and legislative changes wrought through the endeavours of various feminist, suffragette and other pioneering groups and individuals, together with modifications to various activities, an opinion was voiced which condoned rather than readily approved women's participation in increasingly active athletic pursuits.

Prescribing tennis, bicycling and the gymnasia as the panacea for urban ills, a nineteenth century female doctor underlined the overriding importance of the "halls of health" in stating:

> A horse, the bicycle, or a long walk, all admirable, require fair weather for their enjoyment. The gymnasium, dry, clean, cheerful, invigorating, offers variety, companionship, and physical recreation equally in storm or shine, and this is no small consideration in arranging a programme for the physical improvement of the city girl during the winter months.[49]

Such philanthropic concern outside of the Y.W.C.A.s and other socio-religious groups was rare, for while evidence of the nineteenth century working class athletic girl remains, participation in sport was more commonly the experience of the middle class woman who was relatively free of financial and domestic responsibilities. Whether it was the twenty-two ladies of bourgeois Clifton who in 1890, broke through the perimeter of man's reserve to organise a game of cricket in Bristol,[50] or the athletic excesses and successes of Eleanor Sears, born of a Boston Brahmin family in the early 1880s, their social prominence, time and wealth permitted these ladies to break down any remnants of social restriction in the two Cities. Perhaps the pinnacle of conspicuous consumption, the rural setting of the country club provided the venue for shooting, equestrianism, tennis and golf, activities which became increasingly acceptable to female participants. The Women's Golf Association of Massachusetts, for example, became the first such organisation in America upon its formation three years before its male counterpart, in 1900. Female patronage of the Country Club might be viewed from a reciprocal perspective, for while such institutions afforded the middle class lady access to new physical pursuits, a turn of the century writer in an article entitled, "The Country Club: A National Expression Where Woman is Really Free," declared his belief that:

> Woman indeed, is the keynote of their vitality and success. It is strange but true, yet in the spheres to which she has been traditionally denied access, the country club lets her burst most fully into that one which fifty years ago would have been most impossibly sealed to her, the community of outdoor sports.[51]

Foremost in this "community of outdoor sports" was lawn tennis which, developed in England took little time to become popular among the "Proper Bostonians."

Considered "the most perfect of games" by an early British observer in 1875, the contrasting roles evident in lawn tennis through a mingling of the sexes was described as the ball was "patted to and fro in lofty arcs by pretty young ladies, tripping gracefully to the simple strokes which complaisant young gentlemen run about to recover from their random directions and make easy to return."[52] Despite the apparent abstemious vigour on the part of early lady tennis players, "the physical superiority of the English woman" was attributed to her participation in such games by a New England writer as early as 1889 adding that "the English girl plays lawn tennis much better than the American simply because she is physically her superior, and can more easily handle a racquet of adequate weight." Further providing advice on clothing, footwear, racquets and execution of skill the author, concerned at the harmful excesses of sport and conceding that lawn tennis "is a game wonderfully well fitted to be a medium of excerise for women," felt that "although a good game for ladies, is not a 'ladies' game.'"[53]

Despite its membership to the great family of ball games, lawn tennis is a relative newcomer being derived from the earlier pursuits of field and court tennis and "la longue paume," the latter a remnant of the French middle ages. Developed and patented by Major Walter C. Wingfield under the name "Sphairistike" in 1873, the British army officer's intent was to entertain guests at house and garden parties. The game immediately gained favour among the middle classes as it became christened "lawn tennis" by the Marylebone Cricket Club in March 1875, finding a home at the All England Croquet Club (established 1869) at Wimbledon. Two years later, the birth of the All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club brought with it the founding of the Wimbledon Tennis Championship. Within a decade the "lawn-tennysonian" had become a common sight in the popular retreats of the wealthy. Dressed in "a kind of Joseph's coat of divers colours, fearfully and exiguously made" and comprising "white flannel trousers or knickerbockers, girt round his waist with a silk handkerchief, like that of a Spanish bullfighter, and a snug little cap pulled down over one eye," his arrival in Bristol was somewhat tardy.[54]

The City's first tennis organisation was not surprisingly the Clifton Lawn Tennis Club founded in 1881. Promoted by both men and women, by the turn of the century Bristol had witnessed the formation of the Redland Lawn Tennis Club (formerly Otto Lawn Tennis Club), by a group of young chapelgoers in Cotham, and the Beresford Lawn Tennis Club (1893), the first captain, vice-captain and honourary treasurer of which, were all women. While the first Bristol Open Tennis Tournament was held at the County Ground, Ashley Down in 1895, the game remained the reserve of the middle class although expanding popularity, largely attributed to the success of three of its citizens F.L. Riseley, A.H. Riseley and A.M. Boucher eventually persuaded the Sanitary Committee to provide courts in several of the City's parks facilitating play for a fee during the early years of the twentieth century. Although such provision afforded greater democratization of the sport during the twentieth century, an earlier solution had been met through alternatives such as the "Miniature Indoor Lawn Tennis" game being advertised by the British sports goods firm of E.H. Ayres in 1884, and the national fad for "Ping Pong" in the late 1890s which, utilizing celluloid balls and a bat faced with vellum or hollow parchment, had been introduced from America by James Gibb in 1891. The more established court games of racquets and fives remained popular in Bristol's "public" schools and middle class districts. A promotional advertisement appearing in Amateur Sport for September 25th 1889, suggested racquets as an alternative to football, the writer adding that "There is a lovely Racquets Court in connection with the Drill Hall [Clifton], where an hour can be spent most profitably any time between 10 a.m. and dusk, from the beginning of October till the end of April." Similarly, racquet sports were practiced with great zeal among the upper echelon of Boston society. With racquets dating from 1889 and the first championship game between the Boston and the New York Club being held in "the Hub" one year later, the greatest enthusiasm had been reserved for the lawn tennis court.[55]

While there appears some doubt as to the roots of lawn tennis in America, it would seem that the initial thrust was provided by Mary Ewing Outerbridge who, returning from a vacation in Bermuda where she had purchased a net, racquets and balls from a regimental store, established the game on the grounds of the Staten Island Cricket and Baseball Club at New York in 1874. The following year a set of equipment was imported by William Appleton of Nahant, Massachusetts upon whose lawns Dr. James Dwight and Frederick R. Sears first played, as tennis was further popularised by visitors to Britain. The United States Lawn Tennis Association was formed in 1881, boasting an eighty-one club membership across fourteen states by 1889. The first decade of tennis in America was dominated by Richard D. Sears, brother of Frederick and citizen of Boston. A student at Harvard, he was joined by Dwight to beat the best doubles teams of New York and Philadelphia at Nahant in 1878 before winning the singles title at the first National Championships held at Newport in 1881 when only nineteen years of age. The following year Sears retained his singles title and with Dwight he won the doubles. Sears went on to become a seven year national singles champion before his retirement in 1887 during five reigns of which he and Dwight held the doubles title. Boston was very much the "centre court" of tennis during its early years in America for as one observer noted in 1889:

> In the matter of the production of first-rate players, both New York and Philadelphia are behind Boston. Whether it be that the English game finds the atmosphere of New England more congenial than that of the great commercial metropolis, or that the local clubs are constantly taking in recruits from the great university in the suburbs of Boston, or whatever the cause, it is certain that that city has more than its proportion of good players...[56]

Indeed, that "the Hub's" grasp on lawn tennis continued throughout the turn of the century might well be attributed to the men of Harvard as the Intercollegiate singles tennis title was carried to Cambridge each year from 1893 to 1900 by such players as Robert D. Wrenn, F.H. Hovey and Malcolm D. Whitman. In 1897 the United States Lawn Tennis Association extended an invitation to its English counterpart to visit America, offering to pay the visitors' expenses if the English agreed to reciprocate the following year. Although the invitation was declined three English players did attend, playing against an American team (which included R.D. Wrenn), at Holboken.

By the year 1900, the wealthy father of Dwight F. Davis, a tennis player from Harvard and national doubles champion with H.F. Ward, offered a silver trophy in the hope of instituting a repeat and permanent fixture between the best players of America and England. With the first Davis Cup match being played on the grounds of the Longwood Cricket Club near Boston in August of 1900, the home team recorded a convincing victory by a score of ten sets to one before rain terminated play. While the lawns of Boston's country clubs and private homes provided an increasing opportunity for women to participate in the sport, Boston's claim to being "home of American lawn tennis" lies in the success of its gentlemen players. While women appeared in the National Tennis Tournament in 1887 it was not until 1889 that the United States Lawn Tennis Association finally overcame traditional sentiment and recognised women tennis players. Indeed, it would appear that Boston's ladyfolk did not experience the same freedom of opportunity and status as Bristol's women did on the tennis court. Nevertheless, there remained other sporting environments in which the women of both cities and more particularly all socioeconomic classes, were able to state their claim for increased rights throughout the years 1870 to 1900.

In the words of one nineteenth century writer, "It was the spinning silver wheels which at last whirled women into the open air, giving them strength, confidence, and a realization that to feel the pulse bounding with enjoyment is in itself a worthy end."[57] Together with releasing women from the customary restictions of an inactive life, bicycling probably more than anything else contributed to a less inhibited, free and wholesome companionship for man and woman. An 1889 article in Amateur Sport recalled the appearance of the following advertisement in one of Bristol's daily newspapers:

> Lady, fond of Cycling, desires to join young gentleman on Tandem; lowest terms. -- Bertha, ... Office.

By 1896 the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club in recognising women's rights to participate, organised mixed runs for its members. However, criticism of female involvement continued with arguments centering on the unladylike nature of cycling and its contribution to various unspecified gynecological disorders. Such criticism was often unfounded as an article appearing in Lippincott's for November 1879, and later reproduced in The Bicycling World and Archery Field serves to suggest:

> ... if any daring person inquires why ladies cannot ride the bicycle, he must address the inquiry not to Nature, which has interposed no objection; but to the same irrational conventionalism which has decreed to the female equestrian an ungraceful, inconvenient side-saddle and a trailing robe that make her helpless while in her seat and endanger her life as soon as unseated.[58]

Nevertheless, claims that cycling was indecorous were met with far-reaching changes in women's clothing as an American explained in 1896, "The bicycle has given to all American womankind the liberty of dress for which the reformers have been trying for generations."[59] Yet, in the same year, the propriety of such dress was questioned as an article addressed to "the modest woman bicycler" and appearing in the Scientific American described the "Skirt Protecting Screen for Bicycles" which protected "the feet and ankles from view when mounting or riding, and... the skirts from being blown about the limbs."[60] Neither did ill-health and immodesty represent the extent of criticism as the Boston Rescue League endeavoured to limit woman's enthusiasm for the "iron steed" claiming that thirty percent of the "fallen women" who looked to their organisation for help, had been "bicycle riders at one time."[61] Nor was criticism restricted to Bostonians, as an article entitled "Hints for Lady Cyclists" appearing in Amateur Sport for May 1st 1889, highlighted male pessimism through the eyes of a Bristol cynic who cautioned:

> Don't try to catch the handle-bars with your teeth. Don't look around to see if the hind wheel is following. Don't be surprised if the front wheel shows a disposition to turn into a yard and lie down for a rest. Always fall on your right shoulder, and do not let your ear strike the ground till a few seconds later. When you lose a pedal don't get off and go back to look for it; it's right there on the machine, and if you'll feel round long enough you'll find it again. Should you find a runaway horse on your trail, keep close to the curb until he has passed; then make a spurt and seize him by the tail, and put on the brake. Never kill a pedestrian when it can be avoided, but when you do kill one, dismount and say you're sorry.[62]

Despite such persistent barriers, the bicycle continued to bear its female jockey into a world of growing freedom, achieving what other sports and social institutions had apparently been unable to do through encouraging "women to set stays aside, and rely upon their own muscles for support."[63] In closing it might be fair to consider the plight of a disillusioned Boston housewife who, showing little interest for the new mount, wrote to the Editor of The Bicycling World and Archery Field in 1881, explaining that:

> ... when a woman has to live day after day with a bicycle rider, she soon learns what a nuisance the 'wheel' is. Some people seem to think that the bicycle riders are very polite creatures to the ladies, and always raise their hats when passing, and humbly beg pardon if a timid lady is nervous at their approach in the street; but I must say I have never observed it. When my husband comes home from a 'run,' as he calls it, he doesn't raise his hat, but he raises a terrible row if supper isn't ready, and the way he eats would make a coal-heaver envious. Then he drags his dirty old wheel through the house, leaving his oily finger-marks on all the door-knobs, and shouts out to me that he has burst the buttons off his knee-breeches or torn a hole in his stockings, and I must drop everything and fix him up in decent order. Every few weeks he has to buy a new uniform, because 'the club' has voted to change it. Every one of these uniforms is more horrid in color and cut than the one before it, but he keeps on buying them, and I can't get half the dresses that I am actually suffering for. As for the club meetings, I never could see what they were for, except to change the uniform, as I hear nothing else about them, though there must be a good deal of discussion about it, for they are held almost every other night...
> Before my husband bought his bicycle, we used to make pleasure trips on Sundays to the cemetary, to see the grave of his mother-in-law; but now on summer Sundays there is always a 'meet' somewhere, and I don't see him from morning till night.[64]

Perhaps this experience reaches closer to reality, for while cycling extended a growing invitation to women to participate in organised sport, it was commonly the middle class minority only that was able to reap the benefits of such opportunity in Boston and Bristol, the less affluent retaining their role of housewife, mother and even breadwinner.

As American and British women fought for their independence from traditional norms guided by the exhortations of Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill, sport became an important ally to the efforts of militant legal, political and educational reformers. Paralleling the emergence of "emancipated woman," "athletic woman" experienced an increased freedom of choice with regard to participation in physical activity as society's conscience became drawn toward the female body during the years 1870 to 1900.

In an attempt at better coping with the problems of industrialisation and urbanisation, pioneers conducted research and developed programmes designed to better understand and improve the health and hygiene of the nineteenth century woman. Initiated in Boston during the 1820s, a physical education programme suitable for girls was introduced into the City's schools sometime before Bristol's board schoolgirls experienced Ling gymnastics. Indeed, the primary difference between boys' scholastic programmes in the two Cities was replicated with regard to girls' institutions as games-playing represented the major component in Bristol's "public" schools for girls whereas calisthenics and the New Gymnastics were formost in the programme of Boston's colleges, seminaries and girls' schools. With graduates of the teacher training institutions of Boston and London providing guidance, the nineteenth century sportswomen abandoned the life of passive domesticity and stepped into a world of active participation armed with a tennis racquet and dressed in bloomers. As men perceived such a movement as sacrificial on their part criticism deepened, based on physiological, social and ethical arguments and sometimes questioning the suitable nature of select activities as one observer of female pedestrianism in 1880 noted, "The ancient Greeks,... never permitted women to take part in public performance... Cannot Americans take warning from these ancient people and at least keep up the stage to a higher ideal of womanhood."[65] Entangled in a web of female progress an English physician of 1870 recognised the needs that advance in one field would precipitate of another in stating:

> We hear much at the present day about the improved education of women; but it must be remembered that the more we assimilate their sex to our own in this respect, the more requisite will it be for them also to graduate in many sports. Without cricket or football, or rowing, it would be most unwise to tax the female brain with higher and harder work.[66]

By the end of the nineteenth century this warning had been heeded by the English women although their very adherence to such pursuits led to the female athlete being labelled "manly" by some critics. The suggestion that her growing involvement in tennis, cycling and even cricket produced an "open-air type in contrast to their American 'cousins' who clung tenaciously to the old ideal of pallied [sic] cheeks, narrow waists, and frail wrists," is not altogether valid, particularly in the case of Boston's ladyfolk. While it may be correct to assume that the ladies of "the Hub" were not so attracted to the "open-air" as those in Bristol, the opportunity provided the former behind the closed doors of the City's gymnasiums guaranteed a rapidly disappearing image of feeble invalidism.[67]

While it is difficult to comprehend why gentlemen refused to cede the vote to women yet were content to claim them as partners on the tennis court or tandem, the significance of sport to woman's quest for equal rights is summed up in the following words of a turn of the century writer who claimed that:

> With the single exception of the improvement in the legal status of women, their entrance into the realm of sports is the most cheering thing that has happened to them in the century just past. [68]

However, as the changes wrought in and through sport were indeed revolutionary, true democracy was far distant for time, money and social status presented higher barriers to participation than gender. While consideration will be afforded these social inequalities in the next two chapters, the legacy of the middle class sportswoman of the years 1870 to 1900 was of value to all women of Bristol and Boston as this concluding statement of 1901 suggests:

> When the tennis players of ten or fifteen years ago first popularised that boneless, free chested, loose armed bodice they struck a blow for feminine freedom... The woman who plays golf... has given the working girl, who never saw a golf course, freedom from the tyranny of braids and bindings... athletics have... robbed old age of some of its terrors for women,... [69]

Footnotes

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13. Celia Haddon, Great Days and Jolly Days. The Story of Girls' School Songs, (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), pp. 30-31, 73-74.

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CHAPTER XI

THE CITY GENTLEMAN AT PLAY

With urbanisation and industrialisation ever tightening their grip on Britain during the nineteenth century, the traditional social hierarchy, balance of power and locus of influence underwent gradual transition. As the aristocracy and landed gentry witnessed their status slipping to encompass the rising industrial middle class so this process of embourgeoisement precipitated a tripartite stratification within society characterized by the new bourgeoisie, the proletariat majority of manual labourers, and a group of intellectuals and students who, in a state of confused transience, were unsure of their status. Although the upward mobility of industrial entrepreneurs, bankers and the like led to the emergence of a new group, they were nevertheless forced to adopt some of the traditional values of aristocratic morality. With the family representing the fundamental social unit their lifestyle, ruling sexual laxity intolerable, was maintained through the pages of etiquette manuals and was typified by exhibitions of ostentatious behaviour.

Bristol not surprisingly reflected Benjamin Disraeli's image of "two nations" in one as its citizens were markedly distinguished by wealth. Traditionally a haven of the landed gentry and prosperous merchants, the City's relative industrial impotence allowed influence and power to remain with the middle class well beyond the institution of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 which had been intended as an early step toward democracy. The middle class governing elite increasingly exhibited moral and philanthropic traits throughout the nineteenth century years as its socio-religious conscience was directed toward civilising crusades for the poor (see Chapters IV and V), while at the same time being careful to maintain social order within the City's walls. Social differentiation on the basis of wealth in Bristol is best illustrated by the demographic compartmentalization of socioeconomic groups. With the upper middle class establishing themselves in the Regency mansions of Clifton to the north and west, the cramped industrial neighbourhoods of Easton, Eastville, Totterdown and Bedminster to the south and east housed the working class, while the central and mediating lower middle class districts of Redland, Cotham and Kingsdown ensured a limited threat of interaction between extreme lifestyles, including meetings in the gymnasium or playing field.

In like manner the population of antebellum Boston was marked off into three district groups on the basis of status, characterized by the aristocracy, the metropolitan "rabble" and the immigrants. After the Civil War class barriers underwent attrition as a new industrial middle class emerged, although in a City once the stronghold of a wealthy colonial elite the process was gradual. Often living in mutual suspicion, ignorant of one another's lifestyle and frightened of competition, demographic composition was typified by "men of great wealth and power at the top, lesser businessmen, professionals, and white-collar workers in the middle, and the mass of wage earners below" while the social cellar at mid-century was occupied by the immigrants leading one contemporary author to suggest that "no pot melted these bits and pieces into a class."[1]

At the pinnacle of Boston society in the nineteenth century stood the wealthy, aristocratic, self-named Brahmin. More recently labelled "The Proper Bostonian," he evolved out of the dynamic young Yankee businessman of earlier years, his manner hardened to reflect rigid conservative and nationalistic sentiments by mid-century. A charter member of perhaps the most exclusive Society in America, he was proud of his geneology and family name was all important as Adams, Cabot, Higginson, Lawrence, Lowell, Peabody, Quincy, Warren and other respectable appellations appeared regularly on the class lists of Harvard and other preserves of aristocratic elitism. Energetic proponents of Anglophilism, they sent their sons to St. Paul's School and Groton Academy, already seen to have been replicas of the English "public" school. Although not restricted to the descendants of original colonial settlers (for their membership included rural immigrants and Protestant Nova Scotians), this "archtype of a once virile and creative ruling group became the Back Bay gentleman who repeatedly reinvested his dividends and lived on the income from his income."[2] As "selectmen" and members of the rentier class, the Back Bay district came to resemble fashionable England as streets, hotels and apartments were given such names as Clarendon, Exeter, Wellington and Hereford. With a value system characterized by a respect for the American ideal of democracy and individualism, and a lifestyle typified by their support for The North American Review, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Boston Symphony Orchestra together with other cultural and intellectual institutions the Brahmins' philanthropic concern at urban ills was hindered by their social distance from the gutter. As the century progressed so, perhaps surprisingly, the number of Brahmins swelled from nearly three hundred thousand in 1870 (accounting for 18.2% of"the Hub's" population), to more than half a million or one quarter of Boston's citizens by the year 1900.[3] Their expanding membership and ongoing influence created a group of deep significance to New England Society and a population which, with unmatched leisure hours, began to exude a marked impact on sport in Boston although differing in nature and function of other social groups. As in Britain, embourgeoisement took hold of the traditional American social hierarchy as urbanization and industrialization wrought marked changes in society. While the Brahmins remained aloof by way of heritage (although it was not unknown for enterprising and ambitious members of the bourgeoisie to change their names), a new middle class evolved abiding by the gospel of wealth which viewed affluence as a just reward for industry, thrift and sobriety. Personified by Thorstein Veblen's "Captains of Industry," this commercial and professional aristocracy set their aspirations alongside those of the established Brahmins, eager to patronise those events that received society's stamp of fashionable approval.

In protection of their proud, long-standing heritage and moral respectability, the wealthy Brahmins set about establishing clubs to occupy their leisure hours in a select environment safe from the intrusion of the corrupting bourgeoisie and frustrated working class and immigrants. However, such action should not be perceived as an attempt to further their distance from or even ignore the problems of urban life for accompanying the upsurge of private clubs during the years 1870 to 1900, the Brahmins were instrumental in founding various charitable and cultural institutions. With political influence falling into the hands of the Irish immigrants, the former ruling class regained some power through establishing and controlling such benevolent organisations as the Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1878), the New England Home for Little Wanderers (1889), and the Boston Floating Hospital (1894), together with the cultural activities mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, Boston's private clubs became a haven for the City's financial leaders and intelligentsia. While the Wednesday Evening Club founded in 1777 represented the earliest, and Dr. John Collins Warren opened the Thursday Evening Club in 1846, it was the Saturday Club established in 1855 that remained foremost in the City's directory of private clubs, claiming among its memberships such eminent names as Charles W. Eliot, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Dean Howells, William James, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell and Francis Parkman. Together with the India Wharf Rats Club (1886), the aforementioned fraternal organisation further represented dining establishments whereas the St. Botolph (1879), the Tavern Club (1884), and the Club of Odd Volumes (1887), were essentially centres of intellectual activity. In a society of rapidly increasing diversity, the clubs remained the bastions of Yankee tradition functioning to preserve the values that had been taken for granted by an earlier, more homogenous community. Further, as in Bristol, their lifestyle found added protection and a guaranteed future through demographic compartmentalization of socioeconomic groups in Boston.

While middle-class respectability remained fortified on Beacon Hill and in the Back Bay throughout the nineteenth century, tenement slums sprung up amongst the depression and crowded confusion of the befouled inner city. As technological advance (notably the appearance of the telephone and street railway), and sanitary and power services were improved and expanded, the middle class was provided a rural escape from the urban malaise. Promoted by street railway managers, real estate vendors and public health officers, the early Romantic suburb emerged, based upon the middle class gentleman's belief that:

> The country,... is the place to live, not only for its better air but also for its change of scene, that relieves the tension upon eyes and ears, stops the unconscious wear and tear upon nerves and brain, and gives one an opportunity to recuperate his forces for the work in the city during the day.[4]

Labelled "Streetcar Suburbs" by a twentieth century local historian, the former "pedestrian city" of 1850 which encompassed Cambridge, Charlestown and Roxbury together with the peripheral towns of Brookline, Chelsea, Dorchester, and Somerville had by 1900, been bipassed to incorporate such towns as Lynn, Lexington, Newton, Dedham and Quincy within the metropolitan limits of Boston. In Roxbury, West Roxbury and Dorchester alone 22,500 houses were constructed between 1870 and 1900 providing homes for 167,000 new suburbanites as their population jumped from 60,000 to 227,000. Such expansion is further reflected in Table XVIII, for whereas in 1850 the population of Metropolitan Boston was principally confined within a two or three mile radius of "the Hub," by 1900 the former dense colonial port had, through a process of urban sprawl, become a City much divided and, with the exception of the middle class residences of Beacon Hill and the Back Bay, represented an inner city of working class, immigrant slums encircled by bourgeois suburbia.[5]

Together with facilitating their escape from urban problems, the tendency of Boston's established aristocracy and industrial bourgeoisie to desert the inner City for the open air and vacant space of the country led to the discovery of an environment conducive to the cultivation of activities suited to fill their ever-growing hours of leisure. While Bristol's middle class faced no threat from an influx of immigrants,

Table XVIII

The Location of Boston's Metropolitan Population in 1850 and 1900 [6]

Location	1850		1900	
	No. of Inhabitants	% of Boston's Population	No. of Inhabitants	% of Boston's Population
The Pedestrian City 2 mile radius	187,676	66.6	504,553	44.2
The Peripheral Towns 2-3 mile radius served by early railroads and omnibuses	20,726	7.3	195,349	17.1
The New Streetcar Suburbs 3-10 mile radius	73,664	26.1	441,642	38.7
Metropolitan Total	282,066	100.0	1,141,544	100.0

they were content to sit back and look down upon their less affluent neighbours from their vantage point in Clifton. Nevertheless, the rural expanse of North Somerset and Gloucestershire was but minutes away for those citizens of wealth and leisure who deemed such an escape desirable.

Conspicuous Leisure and the Gentleman

The determinants of wealth, status and leisure time ensured that class differences permeated all aspects of Society in both Cities including sport. While organised sport remained a privilege of the middle class throughout much of the nineteenth century, as democratic and philanthropic crusades unfolded so some physical pursuits came within reach of the working class although such involvement was restricted to the player. Nevertheless, an elite group of pastimes survived which, due to its excessive demands of wealth, time or status, remained the reserve of the aristocracy allowing periodic admission to the ambitious and energetic member of the middle class. In Bristol evidence for the early exclusivity of organised sport has been provided in Chapter IX, for as one English historian suggested with regard to the process of embourgeoisement, "nothing is more characteristic of it than the development of organised games,"[7] in the "public" school. Civil War tended to wipe out upper class patronage of organised sport in America although as has been suggested, the Boston Brahmins maintained a certain aloofness in social circles which one might expect to have been reflected in their leisure activities. Nevertheless, the impact of the emerging industrial aristocracy, although not as great in Boston than other industrial centres, cannot be ignored as their creed of competition blended with the fashionable idea of Social Darwinism lent to an increasing middle class patronage of sport.

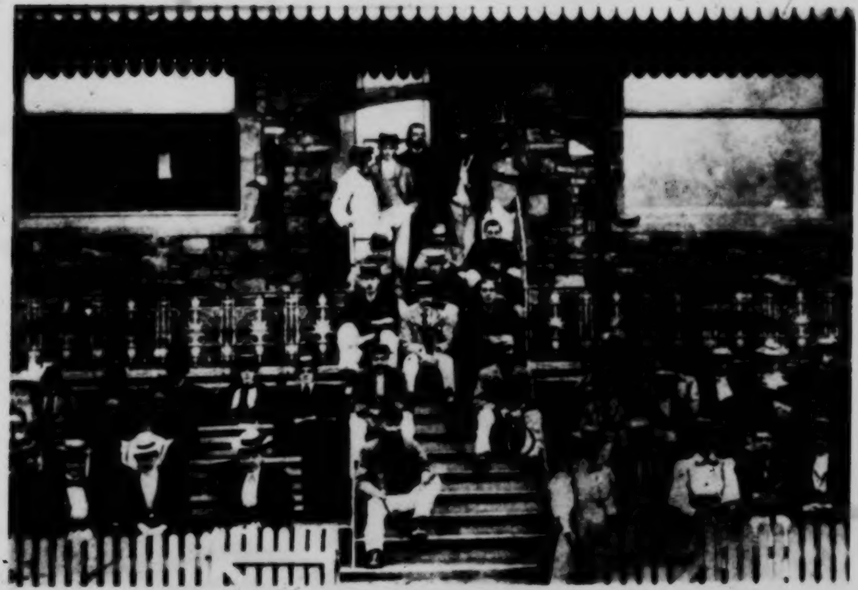
In both Cities the bourgeoisie, in seeking to replicate the traditional aristocracy, paid obeisance to the latter's moral, intellectual and leisurely lifestyle, through joining athletic clubs, purchasing bicycles and other lavish exhibitions of pecuniary success, although it might be noted that such pretentious emulation was not totally ignored by the working class. Perhaps the strongest critic of what he labelled "Conspicuous Leisure," was Thorstein Veblen who developed his thesis in _The Theory of the Leisure Class. An Economic Study of Institutions_, at the turn of the century. Central to his theory was "the pervading principle and abiding test of good breeding... the requirement of a substantial and patent waste of time," with "conspicuous abstention from labour" (in being a sign of pecuniary success), becoming the mark of social respectability and conversely, long hours of manual labour (a sign of poverty), being the indicator of subordinate status. Eventually leading to "Conspicuous Consumption" and "Conspicuous Waste" in terms of time and wealth, Veblen further elucidates his theory in utilizing the case of the racehorse to illustrate that:

> He is on the whole expensive, or wasteful and useless -- for the industrial purpose... The utility of the fast horse lies largely in his efficiency as a means of emulation; it gratifies the owner's sense of aggression and dominance to have his own horse outstrip his neighbour's. This use being not lucrative, but on the whole pretty consistently wasteful, and quite conspicuously so, it is horrific, and therefore gives the fast horse a strong presumptive position of reputability. Beyond this, the race horse proper has also a similarly non-industrial but honorific use as a gambling instrument.[8]

While his perception of the "fast horse" as a consumable product might not have been altogether invalid in the light of technological advances, certain other assumptions might have been questioned. Further exemplified in dress, the exhibitions of "Conspicuous Consumption" were characterised by expense, impracticality, novelty, and even inconvenience. Functioning as a controlling mechanism for social change through economic restraint, the leisure class' social exclusivity was maintained as it found itself above the exigences of the general economic climate. Sport represented a serious feature in the life of the leisure class "since success as an athlete presumes, not only a waste of time, but also a waste of money, as well as the possession of certain highly unindustrial archaic traits of character and temperament." This latter phrase led Veblen to attack what he conceived to be the Barbaric and predatory quality of sport, questioning its production of the manly traits of self-reliance and good fellowship and claiming that it tended to truculence and cliquishness. Further, sport provided an instrument suitable for achieving greater distinction as society became more affluent and the leisure class expanded, for in Veblen's words:

> The honorable man must now show that his wealth is so great that he can throw it away with both hands. He calls in others to help him at this task: while one group of his dependents produces goods for him, another group helps to consume the goods... A splendid device... when you call in your competitors to consume your goods in your honor. [9]

The Boston Brahmins' very patronage of Veblen's "leisure class" might be questioned for their characteristic frugality and detestation of idleness, remnants of their Puritan heritage (see Chapter III), hindered their enjoyment of the increasing hours of leisure available to them for as one observer noted in 1890, "It is hardly fair to speak of the idle



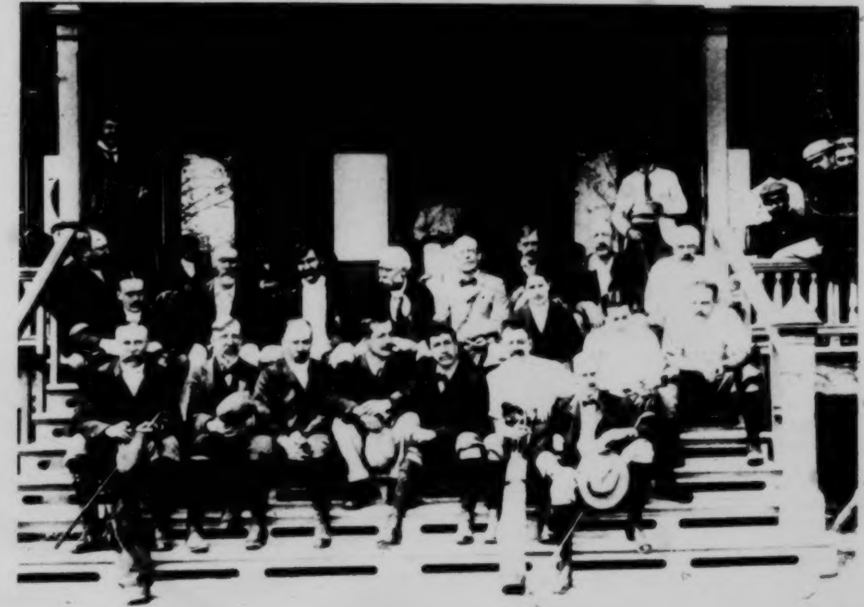


PLATE XVI

Bourgeois Bristol and Boston at Play

(Above) The First Bristol Open Tennis Tournament at the County Ground in 1895.

(Below) The Brookline Country Club versus The Royal Montreal Golf Club at Boston in 1898.

class of Boston. The City is very rich, and there are many people in it who are not in active business or professional life, but there are very few who do nothing but amuse themselves."[10] One such "Proper Bostonian," Peter Charndon Brooks was persuaded to take up yachting during his later years, although it did not meet with his expectation as an entry in his diary recalls:

> Took down my boathouse. I concluded, years ago, not to keep a boat any longer. I had no fondness for it myself, nor did I wish my children to have, for fear of accident, and the habit of idleness; and it caused a great deal of care. All these things I ought to have considered before I spent the money. I was in error... The boat disappointed me. I thought it would afford pleasure to us and our friends, but it did neither.[11]

However such was not the general picture as "the Hub's" affluent population learned to indulge themselves in the amusements of the Country, Athletic, and Boat Club, while Henry Loomis Nelson conceded in 1890 that the Brahmin "may ride steeple-chases at the Country Club, or he may go to other extremes in sports and athletics, the temptations to which are stronger, or at least more concentrated in Boston than anywhere out of New England."[12] Indeed, so enthused did the upper stratum of Boston Society become that it soon set about establishing a multitude of sporting institutions for its membership. However, their adoption and subsequent organisation of sport frequently met with disapproval in regard to the extent and nature of the programme, evidenced by a lobby against the inclusion of a bowling alley in the Somerset Club's building on Beacon Street, reported by the Boston Morning Journal in 1872. Further, the exclusivity of certain sports organisations became a target of critics exemplified in the outrage shown by Alderman Carroll of the Boston City Council who, in reply to a request by the elite Independent Lacrosse Club for permission to play on the Common in 1886, stated quite categorically that:

> I am familiar with a number of organisations similar to this one, and know how they do business. We have in this community a large number of people whose circumstances will not admit them into the society of some people in these different organisations. Some of these organisations are made up of people who do not care to associate with some people who like to be members and take part in the exercises of the organisations. [13]

As in Boston, so the Bristol bourgeoisie cultivated and patronised a system of sport which reinforced its values and ensured some distance between the working class. Characterised by moderate exertion and high financial outlay on equipment and subscription, the traditional aristocratic field sports maintained their popularity as the Duke of Beaufort's estate at Badminton in Gloucestershire became a favourite retreat of Bristol's elite. Further, it was the middle class which supplied the initial dynamic and ongoing support for the characteristic team games typified by the birth and nourishment of Rugby football in the select "public" school of the nineteenth century. With the boys seldom forgetting their preferences upon leaving these schools a demand for clubs arose, so replicating the organisational structure of cricket in England which dated from the eighteenth century. Bristol was no exception in this typically Victorian phenomenon for as pupils left Clifton College and other schools their memories of time spent at the wicket and in the scrummage prompted the appearance of an ever-growing complex of amateur sports clubs in the City. While the evolution of team games in Bristol is more fully discussed in Chapters VI and IX, it is interesting to note that the earliest Rugby football club in

PLATE XVII

Conspicuous Leisure

(Above) Race Day at The Brookline Country Club in 1900.
(Below) A private tennis court on the Conness Estate, Mattapan, Massachusetts during the 1890s.

Bristol dates from 1872 when the Clifton Rugby Football Club was formed, while one of the earliest Association football clubs was also founded in the middle class district of Clifton in 1882. Although the game of Rugby had been played for some years in the City's "public" schools (and America's first football club, the "Oneidas" was formed by middle class Boston schoolboys in 1862), the influence of Bristol's bourgeois governing elite was successful in staving off the perceived threat of the working class Association game (established in 1863), for nearly two decades. Contributing to group cohesion and identity, the club system was eventually adopted by the working class of the City which, breaking down the traditional barriers of status associated with football and cricket, was able to provide the money and time necessary to participate in such games. Nevertheless, there remained characteristically bourgeois pursuits in both Cities, sports assured of their exclusivity through excessive financial demands and perhaps no better exemplified than by horse-racing and sailing.

"At the Races" -- Equestrianism and Boating in Bristol and Boston

Perhaps the greatest sporting adumbration of "conspicuous consumption" in both Bristol and Boston during the nineteenth century was that of thoroughbred horse-racing. Organised meetings in Bristol date from the early 1820s although it is likely that farmers and gentlemen pitted their beasts against one another on the Downs long before. In May of 1828 a racecourse was improvised on Durdham Down and although the entry lineup was indifferent the event drew a large crowd and was continued throughout the following decade after which time horse-racing seemingly experienced a slump in the west country City until a brief revival was wrought through the laying out of a new racecourse in 1873. Opened on March 19th of that year the racecourse at

Knowle, which included a grandstand for the accomodation of three thousand spectators, had been constructed by the Bristol and Western Counties Racecourse Company established in 1872 with a capital of eight thousand pounds in eighty shares. With the National Hunt Steeplechase Association deciding that its annual prize should be competed for at this venue, the Prince of Wales who was a guest at Berkley Castle attended the meeting on each of the three days.[14] The former King Edward VII's interest in horse-racing later bore fruit as he became an owner of thoroughbred stock, his first win being achieved by the filly Counterpane in 1886 to be followed by a string of victories the most notable of which were those by Persimmon and Thais in the Derby, St. Leger and 1,000 Guinea's netting the heir nearly twenty-seven thousand pounds in 1896, and wins in the 1899 2,000 Guinea's, Derby, St Leger, Grand National, Newmarket and Eclipse Stakes, earning him a further thirty thousand pounds.[15] His attendance at Bristol in 1873 was likely a factor in the meet attracting a tumultuous throng of one hundred thousand spectators on each of the first two days, as the organisers offered more than two thousand pounds in prizes, the most notable being the Bristol Grand Steeplechase prize of five hundred pounds, the Association prize of three hundred and fifty pounds, the City Hurdle Race of two hundred pounds the Ashton Court Steeplechase of two hundred pounds, and the Clifton Cup of two hundred pounds, the events reflecting the Bristol middle class' patronage of the event. The following year saw a September meeting of flat races in addition to the three day steeplechase meet, although the munificent prizes offered resulted in the Company sustaining heavy financial losses leading to a subsequent termination of the autumn gathering. Further, the project's initial success was never repeated and the last spring races under the auspices of the Company were conducted in 1878. Despite the attempts of private enterprise to seek a revival over the next two years, reception was unsatisfactory and the ground was given up to demolition and auction. Bristol failed to regain its earlier status while owners and followers of horse-racing travelled to Bath, Taunton and other nearby equine centres.

Horse-racing represents one of the earliest forms of organised sport in the New World, where it was practiced by the colonists of Virginia and South Carolina from the middle of the seventeenth century. By the 1750s popularity for "the turf" had spread to the North including New England where improvised courses were laid out at Lynn, Medford and Quincy in Massachusetts. Although the War of Independence led to a temporary decline in horse-racing during the nineteenth century, a resurgent interest prompted by the publication of the American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine (1829) and The Spirit of the Times (1831), saw the sport gradually regain some of its former appeal. Nevertheless, trotting remained the more popular pursuit in New England, as a Massachusetts trotting carnival and horse show of 1856 drew a daily attendance of thirty thousand among which was "the very cream of the Boston population."[16] Accounts of trotting meets filled "the Hub's" newspapers as events as far afield as the Fashion and Union Courses of Long Island, New York; Buffalo, New York; and Narragansett Park, Rhode Island were reported by the Boston Morning Journal in 1870. Indeed, by the 1870s interest was so great in Boston that accounts were furnished for horse-races in Canada and England, while one contributor was prompted to issue the following challenge in the light of international victories in rowing at Saratoga and yachting at New York:

> If Englishmen believe their horses to be so much more superior, they surely can afford to waive the disadvantage of a sea voyage for the satisfaction of beating the best American horse on his own ground.[17]

The roots of nineteenth century New England enthusiasm for horse-racing lay in the Agricultural Fairs that emerged during the 1840s. From the outset, the organisers of these events offered prizes for ploughing matches, foot and horse-races while baseball became a significant crowd-puller during the years 1870 to 1900. Sixty thousand people attended the United States Agricultural Society's exhibition at Boston in 1855 as the Cultivator admitted that, "There is a race -- we beg pardon, a 'trial of speed' to come off shortly, and the fact cannot be denied that it is this which draws such a crowd."[18] While such an urban setting was unusual, Boston's rural hinterland was characterised by autumn agricultural fairs held at Bridgewater, Bristol, Middlesex, Readville and Worcester in Massachusetts. As athletic events increasingly became a major component, The Cultivator and Country Gentleman published the following report of the Rhode Island State Fair in 1888:

> He [the farmer] has seen a "grand tournament" of bicycles, a balloon ascension, "a young and handsome couple" married in the balloon and sent off in it, polo games, steeple chasing, football match and racing by wheelbarrows, greased poles, sacks and horses.[19]

In capturing this athletic fervour, by the turn of the century these agricultural fairs became characterised by professional horse-racing controlled by jockey clubs, and the establishment of permanent sites which, under specialized management, came to resemble the commercial amusement parks discussed in Chapter VII.

However, horse-racing was not restricted to the agricultural fairgrounds for while the Boston Jockey Club predates the year 1820, the Boston Trotting Association, the Boston Driving Club, the Mystic Park Association and the National Trotting Association (1870), all emerged during the nineteenth century affording greater structure and uniformity to a sport that had once represented the informal meeting of farmers perched atop their steeds eager to prove the superiority of their beast over their neighbour's. Likewise, Boston provided a variety of venues for events ranging from flat, steeplechase and trotting courses. A list of such tracks would include the Old Saugus (1857-1900); Beacon Park, Brighton (1864); Mystic Park, Medford (1866-1897); and Combination Park (1896), together with the Readville Trotting Park (1867), at the Norfolk Agricultural Society's Grounds and those in Attleboro, Springfield and Weymouth, Massachusetts. In addition to being venues for races, these courses became a market, the centre of equine sales, trade and auction as evidenced by the sale of horses at Mystic Park in 1870, ranging in price from $106.00 to $1,275.00.[20]

Mystic Park was first opened to the public on June 11th 1866 and within three years its meetings represented an event of great significance to the City of Boston as the Turf, Field and Farm described the scene in the New England capital as:

> ... a perfect hub-bub of Jubilee and Turf sports, of crowding hungry strangers, busy hotel keepers and effervescent life generally -- a perfect harvest for small tradesmen, cigar dealers, billiard rooms -- and must the "Modern Athens" blush to own it -- rum-sellers. Lodgings are scarce and exhorbitant in prices --

> daily on the increase at that, -- a good chance now for some Gothamite to but up all the available rooms and relet them at a tremendous advance. Even the bootblacks are busy at fifteen cents a shine, and impudent at that, cooly requesting you to stand in line and take your turn.

The races themselves refused to remain in the background as excitement stirred about them. The $15,000 purse offered for the 1870 season was sufficient to ensure keen competition and spectatorial interest as individual races in the same year promised purses of $1,000 and $2,500 to the winner. Beacon Park had been opened two years earlier in 1864 and offered similar incentives to Mystic. Being the scene of the favourite "Dewdrop's" defeat by "Empress" in 1870 for a purse of $1,000, the result was reversed one week later as "Dewdrop" won the same prize at Mystic. The Brighton course was the venue for Boston's first $5,000 race during the fall meeting of 1870, after which such purses became common at both of the City's leading courses, attracting large crowds. The sale of Beacon Park to Jordon Marsh and Company for $160,000 in 1872 reflected the growing popularity and commercial potential of the sport, for only three years earlier had John A. Sawyer purchased the track for $39,000 although it had necessitated a capital expenditure of $50,000 on improvements. Yet the story of horse-racing in Boston during the years 1870 to 1900 was not all serious and commercially based, as it was coloured by characters of the track among whom "Uncle Jock" Bowen (trainer and driver of the aforementioned "Dewdrop"), and "Happy Jack" Trout were most prominent. Further, charity races were a common occurrence as "Daniel O'Connell, a carpenter unfortunate in his contracts," and "Mr. William Woodruff who lies dying of an incurable disease" became targets of such philanthropic device during the early 1870s. Nevertheless, despite its growing popularity, the failure of legislation to suppress the attendant evils of gambling and fraud sounded the death knell of horse-racing. Although the New England Agricultural Society's trustees agreed to discourage betting on horse-trotting and prohibit the sale of pools on races at the fairgrounds at a meeting in Boston during 1870, and the moral appeals of Anthony Comstock later published in his pamphlet entitled Race Track Infancy: or, Do Gamblers Run New York State?, Boston's fraternal followers of the turf fought with loss of custom which eventually led to collapse exemplified through the closing of the Old Saugus track in 1900, ironically the same year by which all states had passed laws forbidding betting at racecourses. It was the low morality associated with betting that deterred the majority of the affluent middle class from continued support of horse-racing. In seeking to reclaim some of the former exclusivity and gentlemanly character attributed to equestrian pursuits, Boston's elite redirected their energies.[22]

Accounts of mid-century life in Boston would suggest that the horse was the City's dominant figure. While a horse, stable, driver and groom remained a hallmark of middle class respectability Edward Savage, Boston's police chief in 1870, reported that 3,608 teams and 1,478 horsecars passed the corner of Boylston and Tremont Streets in a single day.[23] The early social status attributed to interest in equine pursuits remained until the less desirable elements of the City's metropolitan rabble began to patronise Boston's racecourses, usually in the hope of leaping out of the social cellar as fortune smiled down on them. In reaction to this intrusion of the working class, Boston's gentlemen set about organising driving clubs in the City for the purpose of organising and controlling Road and Speedway racing, a more temperate and amateur pursuit since the prizes were ribbons and the perennial awarding of club trophies. Competing over the Mill Dam or more formal courses at the South End Driving Park (opened in 1852), the Old Cambridge Park (1857), and the Charles River Speedway (1899), the Lexington Driving Club (1865), became the first such organisation in Massachusetts and it was not until the 188os, when the unwholesome quality of life at the track was being recognised, that Boston's leading citizens adopted the new structure. With district clubs being founded in South Boston (1882), East Boston (1882), Jamaica Plain (1899), and Dorchester (1899), two independent bodies, the Gentlemen's Driving Club of Boston (1899), and the Shawmut Driving Club (1899), ensured opportunity for participation by the middle class gentleman whose residential district had not been previously recognised.

The Dorchester Gentleman's Driving Club founded on April 26th 1899, claimed upward of one hundred members (each of whom was a horse owner), within its first year. Holding weekly matinee races on the Blue Hill Avenue quarter mile speedway granted the Club by the City aldermen. it was later instrumental in establishing a speedway in Franklin Park. Also in 1899, the Gentlemen's Driving Club of Boston offered "The Amateur Drivers' Challenge Trophy" valued at one thousand dollars, to be raced for by gentleman drivers belonging to recognised driving clubs of Boston. Won for three consecutive years by Harry Devereux and his horse John A. McKerron, these races led to the formation of the League of Amateur Driving Clubs in 1900, an organisation not to be confused with the Boston Road Drivers' Association which had been established two years earlier with the purpose of keeping Beacon Street in good condition for sleighing, a boulevard which extended along the northern perimeter of the Public

Garden and Boston Common at the foot of Beacon Hill, westward through the affluence of the Back Bay.[24]

Sleighing had long been a popular pursuit of Boston's middle class, although generally practiced outside of the residential districts and more particularly over the Mill Dam, a one mile stretch on the road to Brighton. With the New England climate precipitating the necessary requirement, sleighing reports filled the pages of the City's newspapers during the winter months. After a temperate start to the month of February in 1870, the Boston Morning Journal reported that "the sleighing is good around the city... There were some fine exhibitions of speed on the Brighton road. The air seems charged with snow. A few inches more would make the sleighing perfect." Apparently the prayers of drivers were met as two days later the newspaper wrote, "The sleighing in and around Boston is superb. We have seldom had it better... There were more teams on the Brighton road... than ever saw before... Trotting was impossible as the whole road was filled with sleighs." As the middle class donned muffs and drove their teams along the Brighton Road "Stable keepers swelled with delight at the prospect of plethoric pockets..." Sleighing presented further opportunity for commercial enterprise as advertisements for hospitality houses, robes, and equipment appeared throughout the City while a newspaper observed in 1872 that:

> The Sleighing Carnival has set us in good earnest. Parties are availing themselves of the six and eight horse boat sleighs furnished by Messrs. J.P. Barnard and Co. the new "Cleopatra Barge" is one of the most elegant sleighs of this class ever constructed...[25]

However, not all was calm respectability for with reputations challenged and informal races staged, Columbus Avenue (running south-west from the

Common), was described as a "racecourse" and not surprisingly, accounts of sleighing accidents abound throughout the columns of the City's newspapers of the late nineteenth century. With driving mishaps common the year round, riding schools were established, in the words of the Boston Riding Academy for 1871, "not merely for exercise, but... for teaching this healthy, invigorating and pleasant accomplishment...," equestrianism.

The foremost of Boston's equestrian schools during the 1870s was the St. James Riding Academy the proprietors of which utilised the horse-breaking skills of Professor Pratt "The Horse Educator of the World," to attract custom to their premises. Facing a challenge to "break a vicious kicker in 45 minutes," Pratt, an ardent businessman, completed the task before a large audience in a little under twelve minutes, collecting a purse of one hundred dollars for his efforts. A more select institution situated at 91 West Dedham Street was Draper and Hall's riding school described as:

> ... very spacious, and a model for convenience and cleanliness. The school is conducted upon strict principles, and liberal inducements are offered to those who desire to avail themselves of the opportunity offered to become graceful and accomplished rides.[26]

Appealing to the more affluent, the School organised equestrian masquerade parties for its patrons which came to represent fashionable soirées for Boston's bourgeoisie. Once more the fundamental selection of equestrianism to occupy the leisure hours of the Cities' middle class citizen is underlined, yet perhaps no more clearly explained than by a contributor to The Driving Clubs of Greater Boston who, in regard to the ownership of horses by a growing number of "Proper Bostonians," stated that:

> While it is possible that he may derive some pecuniary benefit, the presumption that he should always do so is ridiculous. There is no reason in the world why a man should derive a profit from his pleasure or sport with the horse any more than he should derive pecuniary benefit from following the pastime of golf or the sport of yachting.
>
> A prominent business man is authority that his golf club connections, from which he enjoyed not over fifteen days' sport for the entire season, cost him over $1,000, and that he considered it money well spent. If the average horse owner would look at the matter in the same light, he would agree that his sport is cheap at the price he pays for it.
>
> Suppose he had to put up the price of a first-class horse for a yacht, and then pay a crew for sailing it, and a watchman to stay with it over night, with the only possible emolument an occassional silver cup? [27]

Adding that such sentiments referred only to the gentleman owner and not to the driver, trainer, and stablehand who were each entitled to "derive a profit commensurate with their ability," the author's belief that success was reward enough to those gentlemen who spent their every hour in breeding racehorses might well have been questioned in some circles.[28]

While "the fast horse" represented the height of conspicuous consumption to Thorstein Veblen, the wealth and time needed for ownership, care and stabling of the equine hedonic was also necessitated in the purchase, fitting out, housing and maintenance of the rowing shell and yacht, pursuits that were adopted by the affluent of both Cities during the nineteenth century as they took advantage of their close proximity to river and ocean.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Bristol Floating Harbour was the scene of rowing regattas in which the ferrymen represented the earliest participants. Soon however, the City's middle class adopted the sport which they might well have learned at one of the nation's leading "public" schools or universities. Participating in the City regatta of 1870, a group of wealthy individuals decided to form the Ariel Rowing Club, housing itself in an old barge at Bristol Bridge. After the Club moved further upstream to St. Anne's Park, Brislington in 1881, and a landing stage was rented at Canham, the Ariel Club's regattas in the centre of Bristol were discontinued with The Saltford Regatta becoming its premier rowing event. Attracting large gatherings of ladies for such spectacles, the Club's early history was remembered annually as a grand flotilla of boats left Bristol Bridge for Canham, and in 1894 it is recorded that the smoky tug, which towed the barge conveying members and visitors, "had disastrous results to the ladies' dresses." However, the Ariel Club was more than a mere rowing organisation and the activities of its members in other sporting pursuits led it to become one of Bristol's foremost "athletic clubs" during the years 1870 to 1900. For twenty-two years the Club's biggest event was an Annual Athletic Meeting held, first on the lawns of the Bristol, Clifton and West of England Zoological Gardens and later at the County Ground. While the Meeting was eventually dropped as it proved unsatisfactory as a fund-raiser, its significance to the sporting life of Bristol was great. The 1889 Meeting was reported in Amateur Sport as a variety of track and field, and cycling events were scheduled with prizes being awarded, including a ten guinea first prize for the 120 yard race, before the day's festivities were concluded with an evening fireworks display. After the Club's pioneering interest in cycle racing was terminated due to a bad reputation for accidents, its members turned to other subsidiary sports including roller-skating carnivals, hare and hounds, and tennis.[29]

A more exclusive organisation, the Redcliff Rowing Club was founded at Bristol in 1874. With its headquarters and boathouse situated near Bristol Bridge, the Club held its regattas on the Floating Harbour attracting hordes of spectators during its early days. Middle class patronage of the Club was ensured by the one guinea annual subscription for members and five shillings entrance fee for new members payable at time of nomination. The process of membership selection was a drawn out affair as Rule 7 of the Club in 1880 stated:

> That a Candidate for Membership be proposed and seconded by members of the Club, and the proposer to forward to the Secretary the name and address of the Candidate, such Candidate to be elected at a Committee or General Meeting.[30]

This process of membership by nomination ensured a maintenance of "exclusive respectability" as status and not solely wealth became a determining factor, closing the doors not only to the less affluent but also on those segments of society that the Club deemed less virtuous. This included the professional, as racing for money was strictly prohibited although the appearance of the Club's boats pulled by a crew dressed in characteristic white trousers, striped light and dark blue jerseys and cap (strongly suggestive of Oxbridge roots), and competing for trophies was a common sight in nearly all of Bristol's regattas throughout the turn of the century. That the purchase and maintenance of the boats represented the principal expense to rowing clubs is borne out in the Financial Statement of the Redcliff Rowing Club for 1879, in which the greatest expenditure was on new boats, repairs to the barge and boats together with the purchase of Club uniforms. An interesting inclusion and indication of the seriousness of competition were the wages paid out to a Club trainer. A third organisation which further substantiates the middle class reserve of rowing was the Clifton Rowing Club founded in 1877. Described as "a boating club for gentlemen to which they could take their ladies for a pleasant afternoon row up the river, followed by tea on the lawn," its members were seemingly less concerned with the competitive nature of the sport pursued by the two earlier established Clubs.[31]

With organised rowing being developed in the City through the endeavours of the Ariel and Redcliff Clubs, Bristol vied with Worcester as the rowing capital of the west of England, and indeed might well have challenged other more established centres had its waterways proved more hospitable, for as a correspondent to Amateur Sport explained in 1889:

> Bristol is not an inviting place for the establishment of clubs that aim at success in the rowing world, owing to the unsavoury conditions of the riverside at many points. The odours of St. Phillip's marsh, with its waterside works for the manufacture of glue, soap, coal-gas, manure, and chemicals are not calculated to improve the atmosphere of the neighbourhood; and although the character of the surrounding alters considerably for the better after passing Netham Lock, the pleasure of rowing in Bristol can hardly ever be equal to what it is under the more favourable conditions of comparatively pure rivers, met with at many places near at hand.[32]

Perhaps the adulterated flow of Bristol's waterways had something to do with the Ariel Club's relocation upstream, beyond the tidal limit and range of industrial effluent? In contrast, the manufacturing industry of Boston was located at the mouth of the River Charles and on the wharves of the inner Harbour ensuring minimal pollution of the waters upstream of the Charlesbank Playground, that stretch most favoured by the rowing fraternity of the City. Although Boston witnessed no comparable build up of sediment as was carried into Bristol by the River Avon, even the broad tidal waters of the Charles were not free of the putrescence of urban and industrial society as has been illustrated in Chapter V.

With the first rowing event of note in America occurring in 1824 when the home barge "Whitehall" defeated its British competitor in front of 50,000 spectators in New York Harbour, it was 1842 before Boston witnessed its first regatta. Promoted by the Harvard boat clubs of that decade, popularity for the sport waxed in "the Hub" so that, from 1854 crews competed on the Charles for prizes offered by the City in the annual Fourth of July races. Knowingly predated by the class crews at Harvard, the Union Boat Club appears to have been the City's first as Daniel Webster Rogers and eleven others purchased a boat in 1851.[33] The Club's early location at Braman's Bath House is recalled by James D'Wolf Lovett who wrote, "There were two or three big rafts, where boats were to let, the rowboats tied to them and the sailboats anchored off a short distance."[34] By 1871, the Union Boat Club had swelled its ranks to 150 members and claimed a new Club House on Chestnut Street with an eighty foot frontage overlooking the Charles River course. Providing a vantage point for seven hundred seated spectators, the elegant building included a club room, boathouse and gymnasium costing a total of $29,000 for land and construction. While Brahmins and longshoremen alike vied for the honours at the "Head of the Charles" meetings, the Union Club underlined the status of its members in apparent comparison to other crews stating:

> The members of the Union Club are rarely professionals being generally engaged in business

> affairs, and consequently unable to command the requisite time and the regularity of living and exercise in training for regatta contests.[35]

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, rowing was witnessed in Boston wherever open water presented itself whether the South Bay, Mill Pond, Jamaica Pond, Farm Pond (at South Framingham), or the Mystic River. With Boston's major waterway representing the favourite tract for amateur competition and site of the City Regatta, the Charles River Amateur Boat Club was formed in 1855. After the Civil War other organisations were formed among which were the Avenue, Chester, Dolphin, Enterpise, Lafayette, Shawmut and West End boat clubs. Further, a review of Boston's newspapers for the years 1870 to 1872 revealed a substantial list of local boat clubs including the Boston (founded 1871), Brookline Rowing Club, Castle Tower (Cambridge), Crystal Lake (Melrose, 1872), Dedham (1872), Dunbrack (Lynn, 1872), Monument (Charlestown), Naumkeag (Salem), Southboro', Renforth (1870), Thetis (Medford, 1870), and Winnisimmet in addition to the aforementioned.

Bearing in mind the fact that the winners of the nation's first organised boat race in 1824 had pocketed a purse of $1,000 and the amateur proclamation of the Union Boat Club, the debate between professional and amateur participation blossomed early in Boston, providing an interesting contrast and one which was most usually socioeconomically determined. While Brahmins, many of whom learned to pull and feather the oar at Harvard, persisted with their amateur gentleman ideals, wherrymen and longshore workers accepted rowing as a profession and one which might reward them well for their efforts. As professionalism grew, so incidents of record-breaking and cheating multiplied. On June 22nd 1859, the single sculler "Bob" Clarke completed the two mile course around the post in thirty minutes and fifty-two seconds, a record which was to stand in "the Hub" for sixteen years while three years later, James Hamill of Pittsburgh finished the City Regatta course so far ahead of his cmpetitors that the Boston judges refused to recognise him as the winner. Feeling that Hamill had not fairly completed the race Doyle, as runner up, was saluted the champion although he later assured the organisers that the Pittsburgh man had indeed rowed the whole course.[36] Nevertheless, while pride and records accounted for much, particularly among the amateur clubs, pecuniary reward was foremost in the minds of the professional crews as they competed furiously for a living in such events as the following announced in the Boston Morning Journal for 1870:

> Boat Race. A four-oared boat race will occur on the Mystic River April 7, for prizes of $100, $50, and $30. The race is a handicap, two miles, each crew putting in $60. The crews of the Amphitrine, North-End Boy, N.J. Barry, Katy, Tickler, P. Regan and Unknown have been entered for the race.
>
> The Kingsley brothers and the McLaughlin brothers will row a double scull race the same day for a purse of $100 over the same course.[37]

With no explanation, one might assume that the $240 proceeds of the first event were slipped into the pockets of the organisers? If, as was often the case, the professional was unable to guarantee his portion of the purse, he was seldom left wanting as a prominent businessman of the City would generally step forward to back his favourite while not denying his hope of reclaiming his downpayment and more.

Boating Intelligence filled the columns of Boston's newspapers during the 1870s, generally following the format of challenge (and stakes), acceptance, announcement and report of the races. One such challenge appeared in the Boston Morning Journal for 1872 and read, "Mr. Thomas C. Butler and three other gentlemen in the city are ready to row a series of four races with any four men of the New England States...," while in 1870 the following news was placed before the readers of a Boston newspaper:

> Walter Brown has accepted Henry Coulter's challenge, and says he will row him a five mile race for two thousand dollars a side or more, but no less, over the same course as rowed by the St. John and Ward crews at Springfield Mass. He has deposited $1,000 to bind the match. 38

Such information apparently interested citizens of "the Hub" for they flocked in their thousands to watch the contests, particularly those held on holidays. Annual regattas were early instituted on June 17th to celebrate the Battle of Bunker Hill, the West End Boat Club's races in 1870 to celebrate the ninety-fifth anniversary of the event drawing "a large and enthusiastic" audience on which occasion "the sea and area walls of Beacon Street and vicinity was crowded with the lovers of acquatic sport." On the same day the Winnisimmet Boat Club organised a regatta at Chelsea after which the crews so typically "repaired to their boat house, where, with their lady friends, they partook of a bountiful repast." Despite these and other events, the Fourth of July Regatta remained foremost in the calender of Boston's boat clubs. Conscious of the growing popularity of the sport and the domination of the larger festivities to the north:

> A few public-spirited citizens of City Point, desiring to make more interesting the Independance Day festivities, have arranged for three prizes for double and single sculls, open to all comers until the morning of the Fourth. The match will come off directly after the yachts that participate in the sailing regatta are well out of sight on their respective courses. A dull interval will thus be agreeably filled. [39]

It is doubtful that this attempt at community identity by the citizens of South Boston in 1870 could have threatened patronage to the north for the prizes offered by the City ($875 for five races in 1871), amounted to a substantial bait for spectator and participant alike. Perhaps the greatest competitor that the organisers of the City Regatta faced in 1871 came from a rather unexpected quarter as the following report suggests:

> In the morning the Frog Pond was surrounded for a long time by a crowd witnessing the proceedings of a man clothed in a rubber suit, which he had inflated so that he floated on the surface like a cork. With the aid of a paddle he navigated like a duck to the infinite amusement of the crowd. [40]

Indeed, such novelty was commonplace among the Fourth of July celebrations as together with balloon ascensions and pyrotechnic exhibitions, the humour of goose races (already discussed in Chapter VII), became replaced by serious competition as prizes of $75 and $50 were offered to the first and second placed finishers.

However, even novelty spread beyond these festive occasions. The announcement of a wash-tub race in a Boston newspaper for August 3rd 1870 brought about two thousand spectators to the banks of the Mystic River in the hope of witnessing the race from Tuft's Wharf to Malden Bridge. Accustomed as they were to the failure of such events to "come off," the audience nevertheless waited two hours before dispersing. The following year saw novel rowing matches between the "Fat Men" crew of the "Falstaff" and the "Lean" crew of the "Ariel" for "a substantial purse." Reminiscent of the comic baseball and cricket matches discussed in Chapter VI, the contest was in part replicated later the same year as Captain P. Coyne (weighing 140 pounds), and Mr. Edward H. Lepine (225 pounds), rowed against one another for a $50 prize. As popularity for the oar flourished in Boston so the City's newspapers carried reports of regattas held farther afield, from Saratoga, New York; to St. John, New Brunswick; Halifax, Nova Scotia; and England. Yet the increasing popularity and democracy of rowing was to have another effect, for as the "Proper Bostonians" perceived their privileged lifestyle as being infringed upon by the less desirable metropolitan "rabble," and in search of greater exclusivity and a return to their fundamental values that had become adulterated and ignored by the work of professionals, the middle class withdrew their patronage of the sport, ever investing their wealth in yachting, a pursuit more suited to the conspicuous consumption of the leisure class.[41]

Perhaps yachting more than any other sporting pursuit reflected the great gulf between classes witnessed in Boston during the years 1870 to 1900. A veritable stronghold of Brahmin sentiment one observer in 1890 noted that "There are no better yachtsmen in the world than those who hail from Beacon Street and the Back Bay, and are to be found from early summer until late autumn on the sea or at the handsome home of the Eastern Yacht Club on Marblehead Neck."[42] With the cost of building and fitting yachts being reported as $150 per ton or $15,000 for a sloop of thirty-five tons in 1872, and the Clubs being managed by the yacht owners themselves, it was not surprising that the Eastern Yacht Club claimed "many of our first citizens" among its membership.

Boston merchants had challenged British shippers to a race from England to China and back again as early as 1851 but the roots of private yachting in "the Hub" stemmed from the appearance of the first American built private craft, the twenty-two ton "Jefferson" constructed for Captain George Crowninshield at Salem, Massachusetts in 1801. Followed by the launching of his famous "Cleopatra's Barge" in 1816, Captain Crowninshield was responsible for pioneering interest in yachting throughout the waters of Massachusetts Bay. Although the first yacht of any size during the 1830s was the "Northern Light" owned by Colonel William P. Winchester of Boston, the second major step in the history of American Yachting came with the design of "Sylph" by Robert Bennett Forbes. One of the earliest racing craft, she was built for John P. Cushing of Boston in 1834. The following year, "Sylph" suffered defeat at the hands of Commodore John C. Stevens' "Wave" in what was probably the first such race in American waters, and which indirectly led to the first open yacht regatta of Forbes' "club" at Nahant, Massachusetts in 1845.

Commodore Stevens' early success was frequently repeated while his most notable victory came on August 22nd 1851 at Cowes on the Isle of Wight, England. Having taken the 170 ton sloop "America" to Britain as representative of the New York Yacht Club and failing to make the start of the Queen's Cup race, Stevens entered the contest for a special cup offered by the Royal Yacht Squadron and valued at 1,000 guineas. In a race witnessed by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert the "America" demonstrated her superior seaworthiness and speed by crossing the finish line twenty-four minutes ahead of her closest rival "Aurora." The victory was to mean more than the prize as the trophy became the symbol of proficiency among American yachtsmen. In 1857, the former owners of the 1851 winner presented the trophy to the New York Yacht Club and becoming known as the America's Cup it represented a perpetual challenge open to competition by yachts of all nations. The early meeting had precipitated what was to become an annual encounter between American and British yachts throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century, contests which drew the attention and interest of many of Boston's leading citizens as they read lengthy accounts of the competitors' qualities and crews, together with telegraph reports of the races in New York, and England after 1866, in the City's newspapers.

By the time Edward Burgess took to designing yachts in 1884, "the Hub" had developed a critical eye for yachting and had become a major centre of the sport in America. The member of a wealthy Boston family, Burgess became one of his nation's foremost designers and was instrumental in its domination of the America's Cup during the three years following 1884 as first his "Puritan" outran the challenging "Genesta" in 1885 and subsequently he witnessed the defeat of "Galatea" by his "Mayflower." Although it was the affluent, powerful middle class which patronised the sport, even they were unable to furnish the capital necessary for the building of one of the more lavish racing craft of the nineteenth century. Frequently resorting to joint stock in the ownership of a yacht and more usually membership with a club, the middle class commonly shared its property. The earliest roots of yacht clubs in Boston predate the founding of the New York Yacht Club (1844), as a group of young merchants banded together in 1834 to form an organisation under the leadership of their "Commodore," Robert Bennett Forbes. Although shortlived, the early pioneers once more endeavoured to establish a club around the newly purchased thirty ton schooner, "Dream" in 1835, their attempts being in vain as the impending economic panic wrought by speculation, took its toll. While there followed a thirty year lacuna of yacht club formation in "the Hub," the years immediately following Civil War brought an upsurge in such organisation as first the Boston Yacht Club was established on September 19th 1866, to be followed by the Atlantic (1866), South Boston (1868), Eastern (Swampscott, 1870), Quincy (1874), and Hull (1880) clubs. Further, local clubs failing to meet the requirements of the New England Yachting Association (1884), were to be formed throughout Boston's surrounding towns and districts among which were the Arlington, Beverley, Boston Whitehall, Bunker Hill (Charlestown), Corinthian, Dorchester and Essex (Salem), yacht clubs.[43]

By 1891 the senior Boston Yacht Club housed at 15 Pemberton Square, claimed an impressive fleet of eighteen steam yachts, eleven schooners, sixty-seven sloops, cutters and catrigs, and one catamaran which participated fully in a programme that varied from colourful Club reviews, extensive cruises together with the regattas. As most of the City's other clubs organised similar events in Boston Bay, Dorchester Bay and in Massachusetts Bay off Swampscott, Lynn and Nantasket Beach, the maritime life of Boston's middle class was understatedly active. While the leisurely fleet reviews and cruises represented a substantial portion of the clubs' calendars, races were witnessed throughout the months April to October. A correspondent to the Boston Morning Journal for April 30th 1870 reported with anticipation that:

> The facilities for yachting in and around Boston harbour cannot be surpassed, and this season promises to be a lively one among the boatmen... The fleets of boats at City Point are taking to to the water rapidly and several of the fast yachts of Dorchester have already put in an appearance. Among them can be mentioned the Scud, Oriole, Alice, Annie, Bristol and MacDuff. The season will be opened on the 21st of May by a review in Dorchester Bay. [44]

The importance of such reports cannot be denied as prizes upward of $1,000 in value were offered to the winners of particular races. While the Fourth of July Regattas were popular, the annual meeting between the Eastern Yacht Club and the New York Yacht Club held in August likely drew the greatest public response and interest. In 1871 no less than five steamers (and probably more), carried spectators out into Massachusetts Bay to witness the regatta between America's two leading yacht clubs, permitting the passengers freedom from the crowded City and allowing them "to sniff for a few hours the delicious salty air that pervades the Eastern coast, and to enjoy their brief holiday from the cares and worry of business." [45]

The regattas and cruises continued throughout the nineteenth century permitting Proper Bostonians to parade in their most ostentatious manner, reinforcing their social distance from the working class. In winter with their craft in dry dock, the Clubhouse became the meeting place of Boston Society, much in the manner of the equestrian schools, while an article in a City newspaper for 1871 alluded to the existence of ice-sailing in the vicinity of "the Hub," describing its value, design, technique and dangers adding that "The 'Storm King,' owned in this city and used at Wakefield,... has run a mile in a minute on a course of only one mile." Yet even yachting was not immune to the encroachment of the lower classes. As inter-club competition was organised and increased incentives provided, the skilled sailors of the working class who had learned the art on board merchant vessels, took to the sail in search of pecuniary reward. Such an intrusion was often blamed for exhibitions of degrading behaviour aboard the yachts, particularly the growing incidence of gambling and alcohol consumption, the latter of which led to the following warning issued in 1872, "... intoxicating drinks should never be taken on board, for many of the accidents in our harbour are traced directly to that cause."[46]

It is quite fitting that a seaport of such international prominence as Boston should possess a prized reputation and history in yachting. However, the apparent absence of similar patronage by the middle class in Bristol is difficult to comprehend, for during the years 1870 to 1900 evidence of such interest was limited to the formation of the Bristol Model Yacht Club following a meeting at the Black Swan on November 11th 1897. Perhaps, while the working class sailed their miniature replicas on the lakes and waterways of the City in emulation of the bourgeoisie, the wealthy themselves, with the relative distance of Bristol from the open sea, abandoned the polluted and silt-laden tidal waters of the Avon, which were even less inviting to yachtsmen than rowers, in favour of the more fashionable and distant sailing centres of the South Coast of England and the Mediterranean.[47]

While at the outset thoroughbred horse-racing, rowing and yachting remained the reserve of the affluent and select members of Bristol and Boston Society maintained through the necessary requirement of time and wealth, the establishing of clubs, and the introduction of rigorous membership selection procedures that laid down demands on social position; the gradual democratisation of society and most particularly the institution of competition between individuals and clubs facilitated an erosion of class boundaries throughout sport providing the less privileged some opportunity for participation and not merely observation, in equestrian and aquatic pursuits. However, in reaction to the perceived intrusion, the middle class frequently erected additional barriers (even changing the very nature of a sport), to protect the values of their kind, social perimeters which were less easily conquered so that true democracy in such pursuits was seldom realised in either City by the fin de siècle. While the horse and the yacht represented the apex of leisure living, the sporting life of the middle class traditionally reached beyond to encompass "athletics" or track and field promoted in those bastions of bourgeoisism, the English "public" school, the university and the athletic club.

Athens, Athletes and Their Clubs

Organised track and field evolved in England out of the hare and hounds, and harrier clubs formed at the nineteenth century "public" schools and universities of the nation. Nothing could be more natural in the eyes of the Social Darwinist, than Man's desire to test his strength, speed and agility against others of his kind, for the ancient Greek athlete, the Roman gladiator and the Gaelic shot-putter of the 1820s had all participated in formal games long before the first modern track and field match held at Oxford in 1864 between teams from Oxford and Cambridge Universities, with the first national championship being conducted in London two years later. In Bristol, early promotion of track and field was seemingly the responsibility of the "public" schools (see Chapter IX), while several other middle class sponsored agencies, including the Ariel Rowing Club and various bicycle clubs, scheduled annual meets at the Zoological Gardens in Clifton and the County Ground at Ashley Down throughout the years 1870 to 1900. Greater structure and specialisation was brought to the sport in 1882 with the formation of the South Bristol Harriers. Wearing their characteristic green and white hooped vests, the Club's members held their first Annual Sports in 1889 and travelled to meetings throughout the South of England, later changing their name to the Bristol Athletic Club in 1897. The intervention of professionalism into the sport during these years represented a major concern to its middle class patrons for as lavish prizes were furnished, typified by the total of sixty guineas offered at the Exeter Athletic Sports advertised in Amateur Sport for May 29th 1889, so accounts of ungentlemanly conduct crept into "athletics" which had once been attended by the most desirable of aristocratic traits. Eventually track and field became so popular among the urban masses that the public pleasure grounds at Avonmouth and Horfield were more fully equipped. The growing number of events held in Bristol during these years attracted enthusiastic support from less active quarters as Helen Meller was prompted to suggest that "Athletic meetings in the last quarter of the century became the main spectator sport in the city."[48]

Diffusion and decentralisation was the characteristic that most typified the organisation of sports clubs in Bristol during the nineteenth century. Although cricket, Rugby and Association football provided exceptions as leagues and controlling bodies were established during the 1890s; cycling, tennis and rowing clubs maintained their individualism partly in defence of exclusivity and partly through the prolongation of rivalries and jealousies. Evenso, a local newspaper reporter of 1886 noted the expedience of amalgamating Bristol's bicycle clubs, the parent organisation to be housed in a central clubhouse which would provide "a storehouse for your machine,... wherein you can find papers, periodicals, chess, draughts, billiards, etc. and a gymnasium." Such a perception of an "athletic club," even if it related to one particular sport, was alien to Bristol whereas the existence of a similar body in Boston from the late 1880s was viewed as the paternal institution of sport for the Brahmins.[49]

While the intention of Gordon Bennett Jr.'s belief in 1884 that "Social scientists in America may yet find some of their knottiest problems solved by the athletic clubs,"[50] is unclear, the rapidly growing number of sports organisations in urban America certainly supported the significance of such institutions to the industrial city which had become enshrouded by a cloudy malaise, the growing popularity of such clubs being recognised by a writer in 1887 who observed that:

> Athletic clubs are now springing into existence in the United States in such profusion as to baffle the effort to enumerate them. Scarce a city can be found having a population of more than 30,000 inhabitants, in which there is not at least one club of this class. In the large cities, there are from five to twenty-five; sometimes even more. Many societies, founded for social, literary or military objects, have added gymnasiums to their other resources for the entertainment of their members... Nearly every Caledonian, St. George's and German society of the country is, to a certain extent, an athletic club. Nearly every college and academy has its own athletic association.[51]

The primus inter pares of the group was the elite Athletic Club. More akin to the private club alluded to earlier, it emerged out of a need to promote, organise and control track and field in the United States. Following the pioneering efforts of the Scots through their Caledonian Games (see Chapter

XIII), the New York Athletic Club was founded in 1868, although it was not until 1879 that a larger body able to cope with broader administration appeared in the form of the National Association of Amateur Athletes of America. Formed on April 22nd 1879, the Union Athletic Club of Boston became one of the seven charter members of the N.A.A.A.A., which eventually foundered on a bed of internal dissension, to be replaced in 1888 by the Amateur Athletic Union.[52]

The Boston Athletic Association (B.A.A.), established in 1887, grew out of the Crib Club, an old boxing organisation of the City. Within its first year, the Association membership had reached twelve hundred including such men of eminence and wealth as Messrs. J.G. Blake, H.A. Ditson, Augustus Hemenway, Henry L. Higginson, John Boyle O'Reilly, Harrison Gray Otis, R.D. Sears and Dr. Morton Prince. The new Club house on the corner of St. James Avenue and Exeter Street in the Back Bay was opened on December 29th 1888. Costing $300,000 and considered to be "the most perfect structure of its kind on the continent," Mr. Frank Morrison addressed the assembled members at the inaugural ceremony, underlining the changing times in stating:

> Twenty years, yes, a dozen years ago, it would have been impossible to have raised one half this sum for such a purpose. A hundred years ago a club which was organised for the purpose of improving the physique, and where the wicked games of billiards and bowls could be played, would be looked upon not only as a temple for the wicked waste of time, but as a device for the devil for alluring the youth of puritannical Boston. So great has been the change in sentiment that we believe to-day that this noble building has been erected for a noble purpose -- the cultivation of these bodies of ours.[53]

The Club house was certainly a grand and imposing structure, a shrine to the flesh offering turkish baths, a swimming pool, bowling alleys, billiard room with six tables, and a gymnasium. Yet the Association and Club house offered more to its middle class patrons who sought exclusivity and freedom from the masses and malaise of Boston. In the lounge and morning room, lavishly furnished with sofas, easy chairs, tables, newspapers and writing materials, social intercourse among Proper Bostonians was facilitated while the provision of a barber shop, laundry, drying rooms and dining room on the premises, ensured a minimum of departure from that Brahmin atmosphere. Nevertheless, although the Club permitted opportunity for fraternisation among members on a business and intellectual level, the focus of the building remained the gymnasium, described together with the physical programme offered, by a correspondent to the New York Herald for December 30th 1888 in the following manner:

> Above the "social floor" is the gymnasium, a splendid, high studded hall, measuring 90 by 54 feet, and lighted by windows opening on both streets. In the roar is the sparring room, in which three couples may spar at one time. This floor has been provided with everything which Dr. Sargent, of Harvard, could think of in the way of appliances for running, walking, rowing, dumbbell exercises, trapeze work, double bars, etc.; and there are plenty of dressing rooms and lockers. On what is known as the third floor are the tennis and racquet courts. These have been fitted up under the supervision of ex-Champion Sears, who is a member of the club, and he says they are the best in the world...
>
> Tevies, the Harvard instructor in sparring, is to have charge of that department, now that Kilrain has declined the position. [54]

Permitting the sons of members privileges on certain days of the week and ladies, who were accompanied by members, to bowl providing they did not stray beyond the "social floor," the Club nevertheless remained a stronghold of male Brahmin sentiment, reflected in the values attributed the

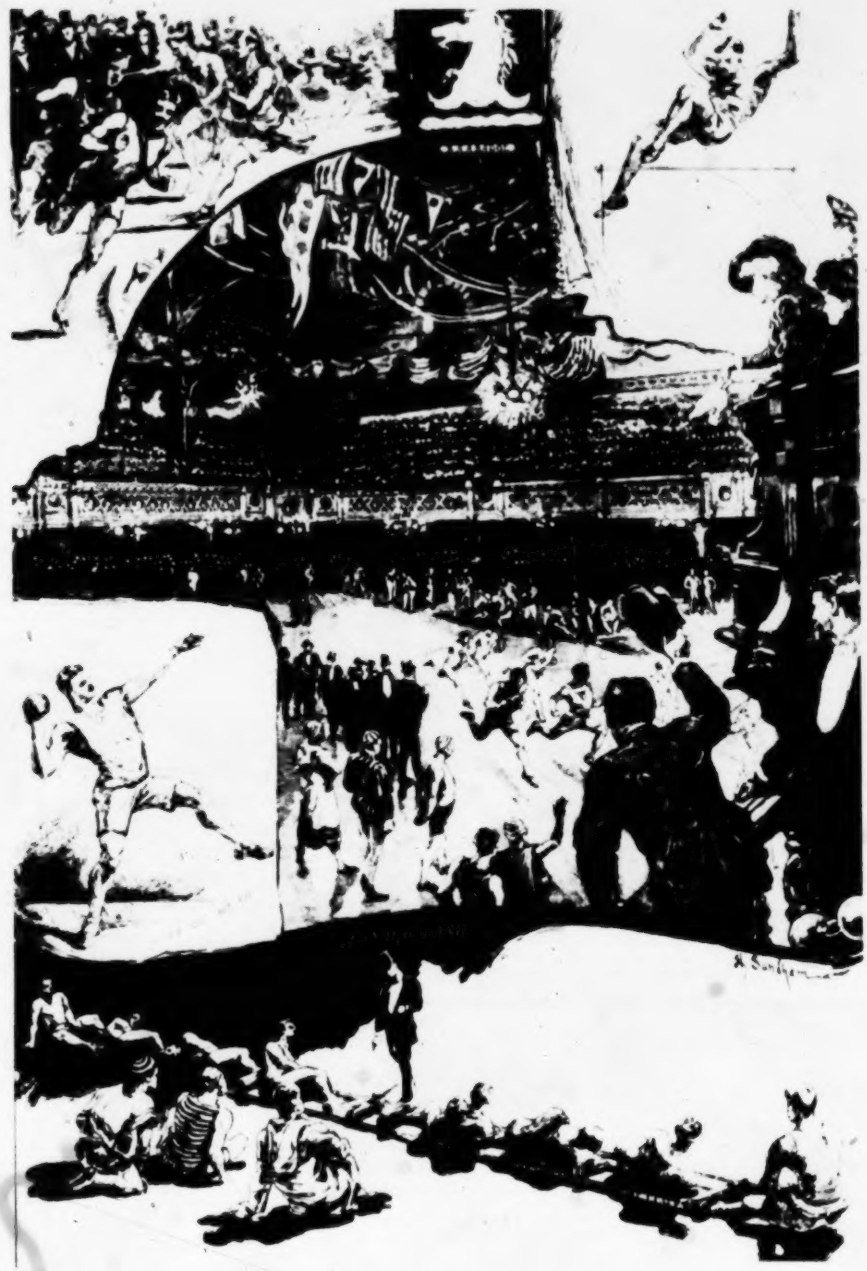


PLATE XVIII

The Boston Athletic Association

Indoor athletic meeting during the Winter of 1890.

sports programme of the B.A.A. As late as 1890, one observer claimed that:

> Thus far the Boston club has not undertaken to maintain a race of runners, hammer throwers, putters of the shot, and other experts, for the purpose of winning prizes. It may be, in the time to come, that the Bostonians will grow up to the adoption of this trick, but thus far they have been in the habit of doing their own feats of strength and agility, as they have usually sailed their own yachts, even in those momentous preliminary trials in which the cup defenders were chosen. [55]

However, the Club's physical pursuits were not restricted to the middle class sports of tennis, racquets and yachting for although team sports found limited acceptance (probably through their necessity for competition and hence the threat of interaction with other social classes), a baseball team was formed in 1895. Selecting its opponents, the B.A.A., team faced Harvard with the result that relations between the two institutions became strained as the former "showed that prowess which is a distinguishing characteristic of New England athletes and handled Harvard without gloves." Yet track and field remained the sport in reference to which the B.A.A., was to be remembered. At an international track and field meet organised by the New York Athletic Club in 1895 which brought together the pride of America and England, Bernard J. Wefers of the B.A.A., won the 100 yards dash in 9.8 seconds, equalling the record set by John Owen Jr., in 1890, and the 220 yards race in 21.2 seconds, a world record which remained unbroken throughout the next quarter century. Even still, the greatest recognition afforded the athletes of the B.A.A., was to come the following year as an American team travelled to the first modern Olympic Games at Athens.[56]

As a young man, the French aristocrat, idealist and pacifist, Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), had enjoyed participation in fencing, boxing and single sculling. An anglophiliac, de Coubertin's interest in the English "public" school and its attendant games-playing tradition had been prompted by his reading of Hippolyte Taine's *Note sur Angleterre,* and Thomas Hughes' *Les années de college de Tom Brown*, and had led to numerous crossings of the Channel from 1883 to study the English bourgeois halls of academe, Oxford and Cambridge Universities and selected "public" schools. Through these experiences, de Coubertin pictured athleticism as an instrument with which to instil once more, the spirit of nationalism and pride lost in his nation's defeat at the hands of the Prussian army in 1870 while at the same time restoring world peace. Establishing the Committee for the Propagation of Sports and Physical Exercises in Education in 1889 and the Union des Societes des Sports Athletiques two years later, de Coubertin attended the Conference in the Interest of Physical Training held at Boston in November 1889 as Secretary of the French Educational Reform Association. It was through the beliefs and labour of de Coubertin supported by the new sense of internationalism emerging out of the Industrial Revolution that the Modern Olympics were born. Although not a unique concept, for Robert Dover's "Olympick Games" in the Gloucestershire countryside dated from the seventeenth century and other similar athletic festivals had been staged across Britain and North America earlier in the nineteenth century, the unifying of nations and emphasis on the "amateur gentleman" did represent innovatory ideas.[57] Drawing on the support of seventy-nine delegates representing twelve countries at The International Congress of Paris for the Re-establishment of the Olympic Games in June 1894, de Coubertin staged the First Modern Olympiad at Athens from April 5th to April 15th 1896, in which 311 men from thirteen countries competed in forty-two events across nine sports which included track and field, cycling, fencing, gymnastics, shooting, swimming, weight lifting, wrestling,and lawn tennis, while planned contests in yachting, rowing and cricket were cancelled due to bad weather and limited entrants. The true international flavour of the event must be questioned however, as seventy-four percent of the athletes were Greek, supported by the largest foreign contingents from Germany, France, America, Britain and Hungary.

At the time the B.A.A., received de Coubertin's circular with regard to the proposed international event, the coach and trainer of the Association was one John Graham who, born in England in 1861, had been appointed to the position after teaching track and field at Harvard and having spent some time in Germany during the 1880s learning more of physical education. Met at first by ridicule from the Boston athletes, typified by Arthur Blake's exclamation that "Oh, I'm too good for Boston, I ought to go over and run the Marathon at Athens," after having won the 1,000 yards race at a meet in the Mechanics' Hall, Boston during January 1896, the proposal that the B.A.A., should send a team was eventually accepted with deference to a City stock-broker, Arthur Burnham who offered to finance the trip, and Massachusetts Governor Oliver Ames who agreed to meet any deficit out of his own coffers. Comprising in the main, members of wealthy, prominent Boston families of Irish heritage, the B.A.A., contingent included Blake, Thomas Burke, Thomas P. Curtis, and William Hoyt all of whom were Harvard alumni, together with Ellery H. Clarke, then an undergraduate across the Charles who received a special dispensation from the Faculty due to his high academic average. An exception to this group was James Brendan Connolly, a member of the Suffolk Athletic Club of the City and who, hailing from South Boston showed little claim to wealth at the time. Himself a Harvard undergraduate, he fared less well than Clarke for when his Dean advised him to forsake the trip to Athens on account of his low scholastic standing, Connolly replied in no uncertain fashion, "I am not resigning and I am not making application to reenter. But I *am* going to the Olympic Games, so I am through with Harvard right now. Good day, sir."[58] Joined by two more Bostonians, John and Sumner Paine, brothers and Captains in the army, the group travelled to Hoboken, New Jersey where they joined the Princeton University team before departing to the cheers of "B.A.A. Rah! Rah! Rah!" from the dockside supporters on March 2nd 1896. Their first class passage on board the S.S. Fulda provided an opportunity for training in mid-ocean, before reaching Bremen and continuing their journey by ship and railroad via Gibralter, Naples, Brindisi and Patras to Athens. The fraternal behaviour exhibited between the Boston (perhaps more accurately Harvard), and Princeton groups left much to be desired, although the American athletes recorded considerable success in winning nine of the fourteen track and field events. Perhaps more remarkable still was the high profile and honours achieved by Bostonians (summarised in Table XIX), as they brought home eight silver (first place), and three bronze (second place), medals to "the Hub." Welcomed by cheers of "Zito Hellas!" by boys wearing red fezzes, and politicians attempting to better one another through their grandiose eulogies of the civic heroes, an official reception was given at Faneuil Hall while the largest banquet in their honour was furnished at the Vendome Hotel, attracting two hundred and fifty guests.

Table XIX

The Success of Boston's Athletes at the First Modern Olympic Games at Athens in 1896

Name	Affiliation	Event	Performance	Position
Arthur Blake	B.A.A.	1,500m	4m 35.4s	2nd
Thomas Burke	B.A.A.	100m	12.0s	1st
		400m	54.2s	1st
Ellery Clarke	B.A.A.	Long Jump	20' 10"	1st
		High Jump	5' 11 1/4"	1st
James Connolly	Suffolk A.A.	Triple Jump	44' 11 3/4 "	1st
		High Jump	5' 5"	2nd
		Long Jump	20' 0 1/2"	3rd
Thomas Curtis	B.A.A.	110m Hurdles	17.6s	1st
William Hoyt	B.A.A.	Pole Vault	10' 10"	1st
Herbert Jamison	Boston	400m	55.2s	2nd
Sumner Paine	Boston (Army)	Pistol, 50m	442 pts.	1st

Greek frustration and anger over the American dominance in events for which their athletes had trained so hard led to ethnological explanations of such superiority, as one Athenian newspaper put the success down to a combination of "the inherited athletic training of the Anglo-Saxon [and] the wild impetuousity of the redskin."[59] Softened by the victory of Spiridon Loues in the Marathon (an event which saw Arthur Blake retire after 23 kilometres), it would appear that the sheer inexperience and even ignorance of the modern Greek athletes might have accounted for their poor showing as Thomas Burke explained to a correspondent of the Boston Daily Globe upon his return to "the Hub":

> The Greeks were not in it with our team. Those fellows are undoubtedly great athletes, but they don't know the game. They run like chumps. They are not up to snuff and know few of the ropes.[60]

Pierre de Coubertin's dream had been conceived (to be fulfilled in Paris), and obviously Boston's athletic talent recognised for in 1898, the pioneer of the modern Olympic movement wrote to Charles W. Eliot asking him to send Harvard's best athletes to Paris for the second Olympiad in 1900 assuring the University President that "The only thing we shall look for, will be good sport and first class athletes -- also, of course, pure amateurs."[61]

The experience of B.A.A., officials in Athens prompted the establishment of the nation's oldest annual Marathon race in 1897. Hardly reminiscent of Pheidippides' fatal twenty-five mile ordeal from Marathon to Athens bringing glad tidings of victory in 490 B.C., the Boston Marathon (known at the outset as "America's Marathon Race"), was inaugurated on April 19th 1897

(Patriots' Day), to commemorate the ride of Paul Revere in 1775. Although the first Marathon ever held on American soil was run from Stamford, Connecticut to Columbus Circle in New York City during October 1896, the Boston event claims greater tradition and endurance than any other. The early course extended twenty-four and one half miles from Metcalfe's Mill in Ashland, its finish providing the highlight to a track and field meet scheduled for the Irvington Street Oval, Boston. By 12:15 pm on the day of the race a large crowd of spectators had assembled at the start line, having travelled out by train with their bicycles some would follow the runners back to Boston while others took the return journey by train to witness the race's conclusion. With fifteen athletes participating in its inaugural running, John J. MacDermott from New York City, favourite and winner of the earlier race, crossed the finish line in a time of 2 hours 55 minutes and 10 seconds, 7 minutes ahead of his nearest rival and that despite losing ten pounds in weight, stopping five times between Boston College and the finish line, and his unannounced intrusion into a funeral procession on Massachusetts Avenue. Local pride was restored in 1898 as a twenty-two year old student from Boston College by the name of Ronald J. McDonald, completed the course in 2 hours 42 minutes wearing bicycle shoes, while a second native of Cambridge, Massachusetts although very different in stature and background, was crowned with a laurel wreath in 1899. Lawrence Brignolia, a blacksmith and at 173 pounds the heaviest victor in the history of the Boston Marathon, crossed the finish line ahead of his competitors despite pausing for a three minute kerbside respite. The new century brought a refreshing international flavour to the race as Canadians entered for the first time. Responsible for the only false start in the history of the race, the northern neighbours went on to account for the first three finishers in 1900, with James J. Caffrey of Hamilton, Ontario recording a then record time of 2 hours 39 minutes and 44 seconds. Out of the modest inception of the Boston Marathon by the B.A.A., in 1897 grew the City's premier annual spectator event of twentieth century years. With the citizens of Boston and surrounding districts lining the course, the middle class values of gentlemanly amateur participation were maintained, although "outsiders" were allowed to slip in as evidenced by the Vulcan victor of 1899, and trophies and medals were awarded to the cream of the finishers. While the foremost achievements of the Boston Athletic Association during the years 1887 to 1900 are most often remembered as the successes in Athens and the establishment of America's oldest annual Marathon, the earlier contributions and later ones sometimes in collaboration with other administrative bodies, suggest a sporting significance to the City unmatched by any other middle class, multi-sport institution.[62]

Indeed, the B.A.A., was prominent in the organisation and management of the Sportsmen's Show held at the Mechanics' Building, Boston from March 12th to 26th 1898 under the auspices of the New England Sportsmen's Association, incorporated one year earlier. Presenting a most lavish exhibition and arena for competition in sports ranging from shooting to bicycling and aquatics, the familiar Brahmin names of Crowinshield, Lowell and Lathrop instrumental in the event's administration, together with the pursuits selected, was indicative of middle class patronage. Included within the programme was a series of revolver and rifle matches under the direction of John B. Paine and others. Necessitating the construction of ranges, "twelve silver cups with buck-horn handles... and about fifty cash prizes" were presented to the winners. With bicycling acknowledged as the "leader in popular out-door athletics," its inclusion was limited to an exhibition of contemporary American-made machines while aquatics were accorded the greatest prominence throughout the fifteen day show.

In an "artificial lake" measuring sixty by forty feet and seven feet in depth, filled with 120,000 gallons of water, was conducted a variety of canoeing, swimming, diving and water-polo competitions and demonstrations. With Club Tug-Of-War events being contested by members of the Inniton Canoe Club (of Woburn), Lawrence Canoe Club, Micmac Indians, Puritan Canoe Club, Taunton Boat Club, and Wawbewawa Canoe Association (Newton), under the direction of Mr. Louis Stoughton Drake, Vice-Commodore of the American Canoe Association (founded in 1880), the winners of this "American Tournament" were pitted against the visiting Lachine Boating and Canoeing Club of Montreal in what represented the Grand Finale of the Show's proceedings. "Fancy Swimming," comprising a demonstration of natatorial stunts including undressing in water, the waltz stroke, "how to partake of refreshments," porpoise swimming, and life saving, was performed daily by either Lionel A.B. Street, teacher of swimming for the Harvard Summer School of Physical Education, Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, Brookline Public Schools and Brookline Swimming Club or Peter S. McNally described as the:

> Champion Swimmer of the world and noted Life Saver. He will demonstrate the various styles of swimming and perform the most difficult evolutions known to expert natators, closing his performance with a most humorous impersonation of the seal. Rescued over sixty persons from drowning. Awarded national medal for life-saving, under special act of Congress. Received highest honors from Massachusetts Humane Society. [63]

Further, professional swimming competitions were scheduled with contestants travelling from as far afield as Jersey City, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco to face local talent. In amateur swimming competition entrants included A. Blake and other members of the Boston Athletic Association, together with swimmers from the Brookline High School Swimming Club, Brookline Swimming Club and nonrepresentative gentlemen. With water-polo being played between teams from the Boston Athletic Association, New York Athletic Club, Knickerbocker Athletic Club of New York and the University of Pennsylvania, the Show became a veritable aquatic extravaganza, and one which had no equal in former years and seemingly none during the final years of the nineteenth century.[64]

Track and field was organised and promoted by the middle class in both Cities during the nineteenth century. With the "public" schools, bicycle and rowing clubs leading the way in Bristol, the City's first athletic club was established in 1882. While the multi-sport athletic association failed to become reality in Bristol, the bourgeois patronage of track and field in Boston led to the early formation of the Union Athletic Club in 1879 and the subsequent founding of the Boston Athletic Association by leading citizens and Harvard alumnists in 1887. The construction of the Association's magnificent premises so providing salubrious surroundings for its patrons, attests to the wealth of the Club members as the high cost was defrayed in such a short time. Best remembered for the Association members' performance at Athens in 1896 and the subsequent organisation of the Boston Marathon in 1897, amateur participation and gentlemanly values were assured through control of the National Association of Amateur Athletes of America from 1879 and latterly by the Amateur

Athletic Union (1888), while the Amateur Athletic Association (and its forerunner, the elite Amateur Athletic Club founded in 1866), controlled such events in England. Nevertheless, the increased intrusion of professionals into the sport and the perceived decline in moral values led the middle class to climb a higher peak of exclusivity in deserting the city for the "Great Outdoors" witnessing a reversion to the aristocratic pursuits of former years and the emergence of a new home for the leisure class, the country club which increasingly played host to athletic pursuits, equestrianism, shooting, lawn tennis and golf by the fin de siecle.

"The Great Outdoors" -- Life at Country Club and Golf Club

As improved transportation provided man with better access to the outdoors and an opportunity to escape the foul air, congestion and worries of urban life, so the more affluent took up the challenge to explore, shoot and fish in the virgin territory beyond. The Appalachian Mountain Club was formed at Boston in 1876 "to explore the mountains of New England and the adjacent regions both for scientific and artistic reasons." Under its first President, Professor Edward C. Pickering, America's oldest mountaineering club (the British middle class Alpine Club had been founded in 1857), was instrumental in creating and maintaining mountain trails throughout the north-east states. Yet it was a return to the earlier Barbarian sports of the aristocracy that best characterised adventures beyond the perimeter of urbanisation.

Hunting, a traditional pastime of the European landed gentry was perpetuated in Gloucestershire by the Duke of Beaufort while its popularity soon spread to America with the first pack of hounds in Massachusetts being deployed by E.F. Bowditch (brother-in-law of the founder of The

Country Club, Brookline), at Framingham in 1866. As early as 1803 hunting trips and turkey shoots were organised in "the Hub" (see Chapter II), while the coastal bays and marshes of Massachusetts supported a flourishing bird population at mid-century which led to a growing popularity for duck and quail shoots among Boston's elite. However, by 1866 Charles Portluck, himself a resident of "the Hub," worried at the diminishing bird life of New England introduced a spring trap that threw up glass balls as targets, hoping to satiate the seemingly omnivorous appetite of the City's marksmen without cost to nature. Such concern was taken up by a Boston newspaper in 1870 which, after explaining that "the means of destruction have become more formidable," went on to observe that "It is not surprising that the birds are disappearing before such wholesale slaughter, and unless a check is put to it the canvas-back will soon become extinct in Susquehanna Bay." With game laws opposed by the prominent middle class gunners in 1870, the populace of the city were provided an opportunity to secure a fowl for their dinner table when, on the occasion of a storm in November 1871, "the ducks which abound in the harbour and bay were driven up Charles River in large numbers," while "The driver of Steamer No. 10 located on the bank of the river, [was] reported to have shot about forty of them."[65]

The Civil War years brought the formation of the Massachusetts Rifle Club which together with other clubs and militia groups, afforded increased organisation and democratisation to the sport. At a shooting competition of the Cambridge City Guard in 1870 at Fresh Pond a silver medal was awarded to the winner while the poorest marksman was presented a pair of leather spectacles. While prize shooting matches accounted for the most frequent sporting meeting between militia groups, track and field events of an informal nature commonly accompanied such contests while companies increasingly scheduled contests on the diamond as the century progressed. Yet, fear that the serious nature of military purpose might be relegated to one frivolity was voiced as the suggestion of a drill competition between two of the City's regiments in 1871 failed to materialise, the Boston Morning Journal reporting that:

> Challenge Not Accepted. Company D, First Battalion M.V.M., at a meeting last evening, refused to consider the proposition of the Montgomery Guards to drill for $500 a side, the company not wishing to be classed in the same category with sports, or to lower the military standard to that of horse or boat racing.[66]

In like manner Bristol's militia exhibited a marked enthusiasm for shooting as members of the Bristol Engineers and Bristol Rifles dominated the volunteer regimental marksmanship contests from the 1850s while their annual sports at the Zoological gardens attracted large attendances throughout the years 1870 to 1900.[67]

With the military promoting and organising much of the shooting competition of both Cities during the nineteenth century the middle class officers were provided the opportunity to participate in the former aristocratic pursuit and one which they might well have practiced at one of the private schools and universities where the sport was promoted by clubs and cadet corps. Fishing, presented the middle class with an escape from the City and a leisure activity, participation in which was not dependent upon militaristic ambition. Providing bourgeois exclusivity through game fishing on private estates or yachts, coarse and sea angling grew in popularity among the less affluent citizens of Bristol and Boston by the fin de siècle. The authors of a handbook for Bristol's fishermen in 1887 underscored the sport's following in the west country City in writing:

> If, as honest Izaak Walton quaintly said, "Angling is somewhat like poetry -- men are to be born so," then Bristol must have its fair share of "complete anglers" native and to the manner born, for it can not only boast of many hundreds of followers of the "gentle craft," but amongst these are some of the most ardent and successful anglers to be found in any similar fishing centre. [68]

With the Avon, Frome, Severn, Yeo and other local rivers providing fruitful resorts for "the contemplative man's recreation," railway companies offered angler's discounts and excursions to fishing grounds farther afield (see Chapter VII). Bristol's oldest fishing organisation, the Avon and Tributaries Angling Club was joined by the Bristol Golden Carp Club (1879), the city of Bristol Angling Association (1883), the Spotted Trout Angling Club (1883), the United Anglers (1883), the Clifton Angling Association (formed as the Bristol City Angling Club in 1884), and the Bristol West-End Anglers' Association (1886), as enthusiasm for the sport flourished.[69] In Boston, where organised fishing was popular as early as 1825, leading promoters of the sport were the Boston Excelsior, North End, and South End Fishing Clubs, the latter of which, formed in 1871, claimed sixty-five members and a budget of $1,500 within its first year. Further, these clubs offered more than a mere opportunity for use of "the rod and reel" as socials, balls, picnics and boat races made frequent appearances on the club calendars, while on one occasion in 1872, the Jackson Fishing Club defeated the

Franklin Association in a game of baseball held on the Aurora Grounds in Charlestown. Perhaps the pursuits of hunting and fishing reflected Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption as readily as any other sport for while such practice most often required time, wealth and status, productivity was of minimal concern as seldom did "the catch" appear on the hunter's plate.[70]

Yet, middle class patronage of sport was not only restricted to the traditional and elite pastimes of their forefathers, the fast horse, the yacht and the outdoor life. As the private schools and universities had been responsible for the rise of track and field in both Cities so it would seem fair to assume that team games which found favour in these select institutions of education would remain a reserve of the middle class. While this was not the case, for reasons discussed in Chapters Vi and XII, examples of socioeconomic discrimination in games-playing abound. At Weston-Super-Mare where the Rugby football club had been formed in 1875 for "the sons of gentlemen," class restriction led to the formation of Weston Rangers described as a "tradesman's club" which played its first game against Bridgewater Dreadnoughts at home on Boxing Day of 1879.[71] Further, with the Bristol [Field] Hockey Club playing its first match against Blackheath in 1875, the game soon received the support of the City's private schools, first as an alternative to the cross-country runs at Clifton College (1878), and later as an accepted sport on a par with other team games in Bristol's "public" schools, particularly those attended by girls. After the National Hockey Union was established in 1886, one dozen clubs (comprising between 150 and 200 players), were reportedly playing in the west-country City according to the "Rugby" game in contrast to the "Association" rules adopted by most of the Schools (see Chapter IX). Likewise, social class was a determinant of spectator and player involvement in baseball, as one observer wrote in 1894:

> Baseball games nowadays attract the very best class of people; of course the "great unwashed" is well represented on the "free seats" but the occupants of the grand stand consist of reputable business men, lawyers, doctors, ministers, priests, theatrical men, and hundreds of fashionable society women. 73

Possibly the most blatant expression of socioeconomic elitism in baseball was recorded with the visit of the Savannah Base Ball Club of Georgia to Boston in the summer of 1871. Described as "a purely amateur organisation" comprising some forty gentlemen members of "the best classes of society," their defeat at the hands of the Lowell Club of Boston represented only one match of a tour which "is the way they have chosen to spread their annual vacation..." What greater exhibition of ostentatious living could these southern gentlemen have chosen than a baseball tour to New England where the social conscience remained touched by abolitionist sentiment. 74

While wealthy Bostonians continued to ape their forefathers by shooting and fishing in the vicinity of "the Hub," and the most affluent ventured even further afield in search of better sport, the bourgeois found themselves increasingly tied to their desks as the gospel of wealth took hold of American business. With the horse, yacht, rod and gun no longer providing a daily respite, the middle class turned to other pursuits to fill their leisure hours. As a fringe suburbia grew up about "the Hub" and the patchwork of fields became transformed into a grid of streets, so the Proper Bostonian realised the true potential of his escape from the City.

Free of the physical and social impurities of urban living, and the complexities of business, the outlying suburbs provided an ideal environment in which to enjoy his non-work time. Out of this need combined with an extension of group identity and exclusivity there emerged a concept seemingly unique to America of the 1880s, the country club, a barrier to social change and a home where Boston's patrician class could practice and reinforce the values of its forefathers in a micro-society relatively divorced from the forces impinging upon the City. In an environment which became symbolic of upper class status and sometimes proved to be an instrument to social mobility, the needs and nature of its patrons encouraged dilettantism in sport and other pursuits as "the Hub" gave birth to this new enclave of bourgeois sentiment during the 1880s, a fact reinforced by one nineteenth century observer who noted:

> To Boston must be given the credit of first revealing the possibilities and the delights of the country club. I never journey to the "Hub" that I do not envy Bostonians, the geographical situation of their city, which is superior, from a sportsman's point of view, to that of any other in the United States. 75

Founded in 1877, the Longwood Cricket Club seems to have been categorised as an athletic rather than country club. With cricket only lasting eight years tennis soon became the most popular sport at the Club which was selected as the venue for the first Davis Cup match in 1900. However, by the mid-1890s the advantageous "geographical situation" brought the scattering of a number of select country clubs about "the Hub," supported by the Proper Bostonians they were identified by Edward Martin in 1895:

> Boston has the Brookline Country Club, one of the oldest organisations of the kind, and perhaps the best

> example of what a country club ought to be; it has also the Essex Country Club at Manchester, where golf, polo, and tennis greatly flourish, and the dames of the North Shore gather in amazing force and beauty to lend them countenance; the Dedham Polo Club, a modest organisation of vigor and increasing renown; and the Myopia Hunt Club on the North Shore at Hamilton.[76]

America's first country club was founded at Brookline, Massachusetts in 1882. Known simply as The Country Club it was conceived of an idea by James Murray Forbes, a Proper Bostonian and member of the City's coaching fraternity who explained:

> The general idea is to have a comfortable clubhouse for the use of members with their families, a simple restaurant, bedrooms, bowling alley, lawn tennis grounds, etc; also to have race meetings, and occasionally music in the afternoon, and it is probable that a few gentlemen will club together to run a coach out every afternoon during the season.[77]

Perceived as a logical terminus for his coaching colleagues, horse racing and other equestrian events became early attractions as a half-mile race track and steeple-chase course were laid out around a polo field at the Club. It was the picturesque estate and proximity to the City that ensured the Club's growth as Caspar Whitney suggested in 1894:

> No other club possesses a hundred acres of such beautiful land within such easy access, for it is only five and a half miles from the State House, and can be reached from Boston without going off pavement, and, better still, in its immediate neighbourhood none of the rural effects have been marred.[78]

Providing a healthy jaunt atop his bicycle or a leisurely drive for his family, the Country Club became a favourite destination of the Boston

Brahmin. With membership initiation fees of $25 and annual dues of $30, the Club claimed four hundred members in its first year, restricted at the outset to the higher strata of Boston Society a trait readily admitted by its chroniclers who felt that the very nature of the Country Club represented:

> ... a denial of the spirit of democracy, since a small group sets itself apart from the majority, building, as it were, a wall around its pastimes, and making admission thereto more or less difficult according to the temper and social requirements of its members. [79]

Even this most prestigious of middle class institutions was not immune from the insurgence of a less desirable element, for as early as 1895 professionals were reported to be competing in horse races although, it was added, "with no advantage to the sport." As horses, trainers and owners arrived from such distant locales as New York and Canada, and competitive excesses crept into the sport, one observer expressed the feeling that "the old-time flavour has departed." Yet while steeple-chasing, flat-racing, pony-racing, gymkanas, and polo matches represented the focus of early life at the Country Club, other sports gradually edged into favour. As a correspondent to Scribner's in 1895 noted that "the club abounds in what the theatrical managers call 'attractions,'" Casper Whitney had described them the previous year, as including "a shooting-box, where clay-pigeons are used, a toboggan-slide, golf-course, and good tennis-courts, both grass and gravel;..."[80] Curling was originally played on the frozen ponds during the winter of 1898 although its rapid rise in popularity led to the construction of indoor rinks at the Club. By the turn of the century, the Country Club had changed its image from a primary centre of equestrianism in the late 1880s, to that of an athletic club offering a wide range of sporting pursuits to its patrons, foremost of which was golf. Nevertheless, there remained certain restrictions, most notable of which was the absence of female members even if when faced with the hum of festive occasion the Club's grounds became "gay with fair women, brave horses, bicycles, grooms, carriages and gentlemen;..." Yet the very nature of The Country Club's family activity, proclaimed in the early statment of goals, contributed to a mingling of the sexes and more particularly, it represented a rendezvous where prospective spouses of the Brahmin ilk were brought together, further ensuring a perpetuation of Boston's respectable patrician class, as a turn of the century writer explained, The Country Club provided an arena where "this new race of clear cut, manly, modest athletic young men learn to make companions of these bright-eyed girls, to associate with them in frank *camraderie* and to win their friendship and respect."

First organised in 1875 by a group of men who all happened to be near-sighted, the Myopia Club was opened on Mystic Lake at Winchester, Massachusetts in 1879. It grew out of an interest in fox-hunting, for unlike in England where hunts continued to be organised by the landed gentry, exemplified by Lord Beaufort to the north of Bristol, the pursuit was promoted in New England by wealthy gentlemen whose business was most often centred in the city. Situated eight miles north of Boston and three miles from Mystic Park in Medford, the first pack of hounds was imported from Montreal in 1881. However, the easy access and wider opportunity offered by The Country Club at Brookline proved too great a competition by 1882 when the club at Winchester was reorganised and renamed the Myopia

Hunt Club which, eventually foundering in 1892, was subsequently revived at South Hamilton two years later.

Although the earliest sports club in Norfolk County was the Dedham Boat Club formed in 1874, it was another thirteen years before this rural expanse saw the birth of the Dedham Country and Polo Club. Founded by George Nickerson, Samuel D. Warren and other parties interested in the pursuit of polo, the Club lost its first such match to the Myopia Hunt Club. One year later, the Nahant Club was founded for and by the summer residents of the long-favoured resort of the Boston Brahmin. Sometimes referred to as the Casino, baseball and lawn tennis proved to be the most popular of early attractions. The list of Boston's nineteenth century country clubs was completed in 1893 with the establishment of the Essex Country Club. Situated at Manchester on the respectable North Shore, and with a more moderate summer climate than the other clubs due to its proximity to the ocean, lawn tennis, croquet, baseball, cricket and polo soon became popular among its patrons. Yet, it was golf that drew the most attention for with one of the earliest nine hole courses in New England, and the polo field being relandscaped to provide six additional holes for the exclusive use of ladies and children, the National Ladies' Amateur Golf Championship was held on its greens in 1897.[81]

By the fin de siècle, the Proper Bostonian was provided a choice of membership to country clubs that offered reputations in pursuits as diverse as horse racing, hunting, lawn tennis and golf all of which were practiced in an environment sheltered from the metropolitan "rabble", an image and exclusivity justified by Robert Dunn in 1905 who wrote:

> ... while their origins may have been chiefly athletic, their significance is first of all social... It stratifies social development, and thus assures its permanence,... if a great leisure class results, the term carries no reproach in this workaday country, for that leisure class, beside being the hardest worked in the land, simply has by hard effort gained the means and intelligence to love outdoors, active tissues, and swift motion... [82]

Although such a perception may have been valid in the case of the emerging bourgeoisie, a more objective view would not have denied the existence of an elite Boston group which on account of its inherited wealth and status found no need for hard labour. Theirs truly was a life of leisure enjoying the fresh air of the countryside and participating in all that was fashionable, polo, bicycling and lawn tennis while golf increasingly became their joie de vivre during the final decade of the nineteenth century.

While the roots of golf in America are uncertain, the birth of the organised game is most often attributed to the founding of the St. Andrew's Golf Club at Yonkers, New York by the Scotsman Robert Lockhart and friends in 1888, although there is evidence of the game being played long before. An early incident in "the Hub" was related in September 1891 by Samuel Parrish, President of the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club on Long Island, New York who stated:

> It was gravely asserted to me... that someone else had discovered an advertisement in one of the Boston newspapers, published in colonial times, to the effect that a certain colonial governor, or other high British official, about to return to his home in Scotland or England, had inserted an advertisement in the local paper offering his clubs for sale. So far as I know, nothing was ever said as to the whereabouts of the links on which he played, or with whom... Possibly a lonesome on the Boston Common with a leather ball stuffed with feathers.

The fact that golf was very much the gift of Scotland was further substantiated by George Wright, professional baseball player, joint owner of Wright and Ditson Sporting Goods Store founded at Boston in 1871 (see Chapter VII), and generally considered to be "the Father of New England Golf" when, in answer to various claims to the pioneer of American golf, he recalled an experience in his native New York when aged sixteen:

> Why if they want to talk about hitting a ball around a field, I can take them back to 1863, when I was a member of the St. George's Cricket Club, the oldest in New York. There was a Scotsman who was a member of the team and often talked about golf. He had some clubs and golf balls and one day he and I went out beyond the cricket grounds with them, on a level field. It was a strange, new thing for me and I didn't know how to hold the clubs or hit the ball. But the Scotsman showed me how it was done and then gave me a club and walked over to the other side of the field. He hit the ball over to my side and I drove it back. This incident sort of dropped from my memory until recent years when I began to hear so much about the origin of the game and so many claims set forward.[83]

Indeed, after Wright's arrival in "the Hub" as a founder member of the Boston Red Stockings Professional Base Ball team in 1871, his innovatory contributions to sport were immense. It was he who led an international tour of American collegiate roller-polo players to Niagara Falls, Ontario where the Canadians convinced their visitors to play ice hockey as well, and it was the company of Wright and Ditson which became one of America's foremost importers of English lawn tennis equipment during the late 1870s.

While examining an English sporting goods catalogue in 1889, Wright happened upon a section devoted to golf supplies and he promptly ordered one dozen clubs and balls with the intent of promoting the game in Boston.

Unfortunately the equipment was not accompanied by a set of rules, so Wright in typically enterprising fashion sought to learn more about the game of his own accord, he recalls:

> I told one of the clerks in my store to use the clubs and balls for window dressing. It wasn't too long before a Scotsman, visiting Boston, saw them and came in looking for a golf course. I saw an opportunity to learn something of the game and he told me about the rules and the kind of course needed and promised to send me a book on golf.[84]

Conscious of the need for a place to play, Wright inadviseably selected Franklin Park but was promptly directed to the Park Commissioner for permission. Refused at the outset on the basis of the risk of injury to pedestrians, a subsequent meeting bore fruit as Wright was granted a permit to play. Directing his young assistant John B. Smith, to lay out a nine hole course in accordance with the Badminton Library golf book, a modern day golfer would have been amused at the criss-crossing of fairways and four inch square holes that characterised the first Franklin Park Golf Course in 1890. Accompanied by Smith and three other colleagues, all of whom wore Scottish tam-o'-shanters especially purchased for the occasion, Wright led his party around the course with a score of fifty-nine. Charles Bramwell, a correspondent for the Boston Herald, recorded the memorable occasion in writing that:

> The royal game of golf was played on local grounds yesterday for it is believed, the first time in the history of the city.
>
> For some weeks it has been whispered in athletic circles that a game was on the tapis, but those principally interested kept their own counsel and when the contest came off, spectators were conspicuous by their absence, except a Herald man, who was on hand by invitation.[85]

Shortly thereafter, the discovery that many of the courses in Britain were laid out near the ocean led to the choice of Revere Beach as a likely venue for golf, although one which was subsequently abandoned as George Wright managed to destroy all his clubs in his first outing on the concrete-like sand. Yet the new game had nothing to fear in Boston as a six or seven hole private course laid out on the lawns of Arthur Hunnewell's estate at Wellesley in 1892 was soon followed by the opening of other courses about the City. Indeed, by 1899 a member of "the Hub's" golfing fraternity was able to state that, "So firm a hold has the Scotch game taken upon the people of Boston and its vicinity, that within a radius of twelve miles from the Boston City Hall, no less than twenty-nine links may be found..." It would seem that such a figure might well have been a gross underestimation, for a compilation of golf clubs and courses within reasonable proximity to Boston (included in Appendix G), reveals thirty-eight. With the better courses tending to be located to the south and west of the City to avoid flooding, The Country Club at Brookline early became the premier organisation of the region.[86]

An entry in the Executive Committee Minutes of The Country Club for November 29th 1893 read:

> A letter from Mr. Lawrence Curtis requesting that a golf course be constructed was read. Voted: that Messrs. Arthur Hunnewell, Lawrence Curtis and Robert Bacon be appointed as a Committee on Golf to lay out the course and spend a necessary amount up to $50.[87]

With a three hole course being laid out in that year it was later expanded to six, nine and finally eighteen holes in 1898. Members were expected to provide their own equipment although in 1894 the Club did offer one full set of clubs for rent at 25 cents per hour. Caddies were introduced in 1896 at a charge of 20-25 cents per hour, allowing the middle class golfers to enjoy their time spent on the course to the full. Boasting among its members Theodore Havemeyer, founder of the United States Golf Association (U.S.G.A.), in 1894, together with Lawrence Curtis and W.B. Thomas, both Presidents of the U.S.G.A., The Country Club claimed a fine reputation in the game as its teams defeated opponents from the St. Andrew's Golf Club and the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club both of New York, and the Tuxedo Country Club in 1894, while an annual competition with the Royal Montreal Golf Club (fouded in 1873), was inaugurated in 1898. Promoted in the colleges, the middle class grip on the sport strengthened as the young ladies of Wellesley found golf "a part of the prescribed physical training under the direction of Miss Harriet Randall, the accomplished athletic director" in 1899, while north of the Charles, students at Harvard became "the first Sunday golfers" to be arrested in America.[88]

Other private clubs maintained the sport's exclusivity during the 1890s, their location in the suburbs and surrounding towns ensuring middle class patronage through further restricting access to the urban populace. However, the one exception in Boston was Franklin Park which had remained a popular arena for those followers of the game who showed no desire or were unable to take advantage of the private and elegant courses on the periphery of the City. At a meeting on April 18th 1896, the Board of Park Commissioners decided in favour of requiring all neophytes of the game to obtain a special "learner's permit." Meanwhile, a move was afoot to establish a public course in the Park and prompted by two members of the Board who were themselves golfers, the Franklin Park Links was opened in October 1896, offering golf to all who could afford the green fees of fifteen cents per round or twenty-five for two rounds. Nevertheless, public safety remained a prime consideration as George H. Sargent explained:

> On public holidays and on Saturday afternoons in summer the links are closed, for experience has shown that there are yet many Park visitors who know nothing of the game, and, therefore, fear nothing from standing fifty yards in front of the duffer, whose ball may fly anywhere should he be fortunate enough to hit it.[89]

That these words, spoken by a member of Boston's middle class golfing fraternity, might be interpreted as a reflection of the author's contempt for the urban golfer is not surprising, for the intrusion of the lower classes into any of the pursuits of "respectable society" frequently met with disdain. However, such exhibitions of ineptitude on the golf course were eased with the appearance of the wooden tee. Patented in 1899 by Dr. George F. Grant, a black Boston dentist, graduate of the Harvard Dental School Class of 1870 and better known for his work in the treatment of cleft palate, he earned no riches from the tee which he chose to pass freely among his friends. It is fitting that Boston should lay claim to such a significant addition to the game of golf for in a little over ten years the sport had climbed from modest beginnings in "the Hub" to become one of the leading pastimes of the leisure class. By the year 1900, 157 golf courses were to be found throughout Massachusetts, second only to New York (165), and it is interesting to note that neither Bristol nor the west of England could claim anything like the upsurge in popularity that the Scottish game witnessed in New England during the final decade of the nineteenth century.[90]

The practice of golf in Bristol predates its nineteenth century introduction to Boston as a pupil of Clifton College recalled his earliest experiences of the game in the School magazine for March 1887:

> ... At last, after toiling up the slippery approaches to the Downs, we came to a small bank on the edge of a road, and here I was informed by my loquacious friend was the place swipe off. It was here too that I gained my first idea of the unreasoning perversity of this remarkable game...
> ... Robinson now deposited a perfect sheaf of implements on the ground, from which he selected a hideous looking article, not unlike a thin hockey-stick laid up with gout, and producing a morsel of cork from his waistcoat pocket, pegged it securely into the ground and setting my ball thereon, bade me swipe. I swung the tomahawk round my head in true Muck-a-Muck fashion and struck with all my might, but was extremely surprised to find the ball unmoved at my feet...
> ... though the Downs contain many smooth places, the golf course leads over some of the worst ground the Downs can show...
>
> Before long we encountered a preparatory school indulging in hockey right across our path. We yelled, but they took no notice... [91]

This description of a seemingly primitive pastime typifies the informal nature of golf in Bristol during its early days. That its practice was known throughout the City's parks at the beginning of the 1890s is evidenced by the inclusion of golf along with earlier mentioned sports in the revised byelaws applying particularly to Eastville and Victoria Parks dated October 13th 1891 and already discussed in Chapter V. However, despite the relatively early account of the game provided by the Clifton schoolboy in 1887 and a subsequent call for the institution of a golf club in the City, through the columns of Amateur Sport for 1889, it was not until 1891 that the Bristol and Clifton Golf Club was founded, sounding the gradual rise of a new sport, for while it represented an ancient game to the Scots, dating from the fifteenth century, its conquest of the Southron was to be primarily a twentieth century phenomenon.[92]

The emergence of golf in both Cities represented more than just a new game as it was promoted by a middle class elite intent on preserving a group identity and social distance from those below. Although neither Bristol nor Boston claimed such a large and influential populace as other more highly developed industrial cities, the balance of power and influence, once the reserve of the middle class, gradually underwent transition to reveal a more democratic system of government in both Cities by the late nineteenth century. The process of embougeoisement, a product of urbanisation and industrialisation, had created a society broadly divided into a wealthy upper stratum comprising the old established aristocracy who were emulated and accompanied by an emerging neo-bourgeoisie professional and commercial class, and an urban populace characterised by poverty and ill health. As power made a recognisable shift to the left and the working class stepped into political and social view, so the middle class withdrew deeper into their sanctuaries at Clifton, Beacon Hill or alternatively, escaped to the security of the peripheral streetcar suburbs of Boston.

Perpetuated and protected in the private schools, Clifton College, Groton Academy, St. Paul's, and the prestigious universities, Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard, the foundation and promotion of cultural, intellectual and philanthropic institutions characterised middle class values and represented the greater proportion of its life's work. While private clubs were established by Boston's elite as a further refuge for their kind, the bourgeoisie utilised sport in erecting social barricades once other protective devices had been broken down. With large reserves of time and wealth, Veblen's "leisure class," in perceiving "conspicuous abstention from work" and "conspicuous consumption" as hallmarks of respectability, chose to adopt the non-productive pursuits of thoroughbred horse-racing and rowing at the outset. With meetings, clubs and competition typified by ostentation, horse-racing witnessed a short life in Bristol (1873-1880), as enthusiasm for the sport waned and with incidents of professionalism impinging upon Boston's racecourses, the middle class withdrew to establish the elite driving clubs and riding schools which guaranteed a sense of exclusivity and respect to their members. Similarly in rowing, the inhospitable nature of Bristol's waterways sounded a premature decline in popularity as the sport that had been conceived by the contests between wherrymen in both Cities was increasingly neglected by the Proper Bostonians as excessive competition and professionalism eroded the middle class ideals of gentlemanly participation. While yachting found no home in Bristol, its popularity in Boston was marked by the formation of numerous clubs following the construction of America's first private sloop at Salem in 1801. Beyond the economic reach of the new middle class, the formation of clubs was an essential factor in the promotion of the sport as businessmen and professionals held joint stock in the ownership of craft, along with other club members. In replication of earlier pursuits, track and field found its earliest proponents among the ranks of the middle class. Promoted by the "public" schools, cycling and rowing clubs in Bristol, and the Scots and Harvard University in "the Hub" athletic clubs emerged at Boston in 1879 and at Bristol three years later. Providing increased structure and organisation for the sport, the Boston Athletic Association spread its wings in extending opportunity for participation in baseball, boxing, swimming, tennis and other sports to its members by the turn of the century. Best remembered for its accomplishments at Athens in 1896 and its institution of the Boston Marathon one year later, the Association's home offered, in contrast to the Bristol Athletic Club, a social atmosphere in the mould of "the Hub's" more established private clubs. However, as track and field competitors evaded the amateur control of governing bodies in both Cities, the middle class once more abandoned its support for a sport which it had once nourished. Reverting to the aristocratic life of the great outdoors, mountaineering, hunting, shooting and fishing found themselves the favoured pursuits of the city gentlemen in the middle of the nineteenth century, although the generally free and relative ease of access to such environments was conducive to a gradual democratisation of field sports by the fin de siècle.

While team games represent the earliest example of cultural diffusion in sport, working class adoption was slow at first as the urban labourer was restricted in terms of time and space in which to play. However, legitimized by their practice in private schools and universities and through the appearance of increased leisure hours and breathing spaces in Bristol and Boston, the populace increasingly adopted the games of football, cricket and baseball, gradually introducing an element of professionalism into their performance (see Chapter XII). Disillusioned at the perceived deviance accompanying such intrusion, the "respectable class" took a most radical step in escaping the reality of an emerging democracy. As Bristol's most affluent citizens chose to retire to the traditional Tory resorts on the south coast of England or across the

Channel, Boston Brahmins set down roots in the suburbs and out of the considered reach of the urban masses, establishing lavish, select bastions of male Yankee sentiment the earliest of which was The Country Club founded at Brookline in 1882. Representing an early centre of horse-racing, it provided an exclusive atmosphere in which "races may be run freed from the presence or control of those persons who have made this sport objectionable to Gentlemen..."[93] However, a later insurgence of professionalism led The Country Club's members to adopt golf in a search for class identity after its intriduction to "the Hub" by George Wright in 1890. Although Bristol's first golf club predates that of Boston, the upsurge of enthusiasm for the game in the American City during the 1890s went unmatched by the English City and possibly any other centre in the world.

As Bristol's middle class demonstrated a moderate enthusiasm for sport, practiced in their homogenous grouping through increased competition with representative teams of the working class, The Boston Athletic Association and country clubs all but dominated the social life of Proper Bostonians during the latter years of the nineteenth century. The Club represented more than mere sporting organisations and suburban "parks" for the middle class. It became the very focus of an homogenous class of wealthy, respectable gentlemen intent on preserving the values of their forefathers which were rapidly becoming eroded by a changing society, a function described in somewhat confused manner (particularly in the interchange of "businessmen," "masses" and "respectable persons"), in an 1891 directory of Boston's clubs;

> The early clubs of Boston were considered a gathering of certain cliques, classes or parties.

> with no pretense of being representative of the metropolitan life of the city. But this was to be expected of a place that from its settlement had pursued such conservative methods in its social, political and business affairs, and only during the past decade has it been able to support a club in which no specifically defined qualifications were necessary to entitle one to membership... But the transformation of the city from a provincial to a metropolitan state, created a demand among her businessmen for clubs devoted to the masses, those having a liberal policy in which any respectable person possessing the means and acceptable in the best sense of the word would be welcome.[94]

That Man should seek comfort, security and identity among his own kind might well be attributed to human nature although the determined jealous action of the middle class to construct a protective wall around them could be interpreted in less than generous terms. However, such barriers seldom stood the test of time as the increasing affluence, status and leisure time afforded the working class combined with the advent of professionalism in sport and the growing involvement in competition by elite sports clubs, created a society in which few indeed, were the physical pursuits that were closed to the turn of the century labourer. But what had been his experience in Bristol and Boston during the previous thirty years? That he had found entry to certain sports difficult on the basis of economic determination has been discussed, but had he created alternatives, sports that might be identified as characteristic of the populace and which, in their own way, ensured group identity and a perpetuation of working class values?

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CHAPTER XII

THE POPULACE AND PROFESSIONALS AT PLAY

"Man is born free and is everywhere in chains"

- Jean Jacques Rousseau

> On the one side we have to deal with the upper and middle classes, in fact with all that large class who are sent to private and Public Schools or training colleges for their education, and proceed to the army, to the Universities or to business life. On the other side is the still larger class of those whom the nation educates, a class which the subject of gymnastics may be thought to touch more nearly, in as much as, after an early age, they have little or no time for recreation like those socially above them,...
>
> The requirements of these two classes physically are in themselves distinct, and must be dealt with from an altogether different standpoint.[1]

This recognition of the differing needs of classes by Wallace MacLaren in 1895 reflected the bipolarisation of late nineteenth century English society. Out of a feudal agrarian society characterised by a landed gentry and manor of peasants, the Industrial Revolution wrought far-reaching changes in social structure, bringing mechanisation to farming and factories to the emerging cities. Yet while serfdom was abolished and a new breed of professional and commercial capitalists appeared as owners of the "means of production," the former rural peasants flocked to the city and became welded into an urban mass, a populace typically exhibiting poor health and poverty and which by 1869, in the eyes of Mathew Arnold, was finally "issuing from its hiding-place to assert an Englishman's heaven-born privilege of doing as he likes."[2]

The working class had found itself drawn by hunger into the congested confusion of urbanisation, rendered impotent by its subservient role in a complex, industrial division of labour. The early toil of Jeremy Bentham during the 1820s culminating in the approval of the Reform Bill by the Whigs in 1832, was followed by the establishment of the Chartist Movement in 1838 and the work of other individuals, each seeking to improve the all of the working class. Herbert Spencer's belief in the evolutionary growth of the masses; Karl Marx's prediction of a revolutionary rise of the proletariat; and John Stuart Mills' call for an improved distribution of wealth through direct taxation and a rising standard of living through political legislation, promised an ongoing hope for democracy. Yet while a general material improvement was witnessed across England's populace throughout the nineteenth century, the extent and depth of urban degradation realised little significant melioration. The cramped, dark, disease-ridden living quarters of the city made a mockery of the advances in science and technology. Further, industrialisation encouraged an ever-closing relationship between prosperity and respectability for as G.D.H. Cole suggested, "Social status came to depend more than ever on income." But while real wages thoughout industrial Europe rose by fifty percent between the years 1870 to 1900 and the workers' distance from the "means of production" remained stable, improved affluence resulted in political moderation rather than embourgeoisement. Conscious of the status value of wealth, the labourer increasingly adopted the idea of "self help," investing his superfluous earnings in Friendly Societies, Savings Banks and the Post Office Bank. Making him more tolerant of the social inequalities with which he was faced, and affording greater mobility within society, no longer did residential segregation guarantee exclusivity in the city, and soon the working class found itself able to afford membership to the middle class sports clubs and the equipment necessary for participation in shooting, bicycling, tennis, golf and other former bourgeois refuges. Yet status and non-work time remained important constraints to the workers' participation in sport, although these were problems that would be gradually eased through legislative procedures.[3]

The French Revolution had shown the English working class that its lifestyle and status might be elevated. No longer content with passivity, a more vociferous and self-conscious populace was instrumental in promoting the passage of various Parliamentary bills intended to improve the conditions of dwelling and labour, together with the status and rights of the worker. With acceptance of the second Reform bill in 1867, England moved closer to becoming a political democracy and by 1884 all men over the age of twenty-one years were provided the right to vote. So also did the standard of living rise as local governments were empowered to institute and maintain adequate sanitary and utility services by the Public Health Acts of 1848, '72 and '75. Further, the Artisan Dwellings Acts and the Housing of the Working Class Act (1868, '75, '79, '82 and '85), provided for local government control of urban slum districts in England. However, perhaps the greatest progress was witnessed in labour related laws of the nineteenth century. From the Factory Act of 1833 which curbed female and child labour, to the Ten Hours Act (1847), Trade Union Acts (1871 and 1876), and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act (1875), a legal platform was provided upon which the workers and employees came to arbitration, and which facilitated political leverage in promoting the Employers and Workmen Act (1875), the Employers' Liability Act (1880), and culminating in the

Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. By the turn of the century, Parliamentary reform had ensured a new recognition to the status and rights of the working class which was reflected in its increase in real wages, participation in leisure activities and improvement in its standard of living and working conditions. But where did Bristol fit into this metamorphic matrix, and did the City's relative industrial inactivity exempt its less-fortunate citizens from the new found benefits provided them through Parliament?[4]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Bristol had been the centre of British trade although subsequently forfeiting its status to Liverpool and other ports of the industrial north as a result of the excessive unloading fees charged in the west country entrepôt. By 1811, the City was one of eight provincial towns in England with a population of more than 50,000, yet the inability of the municipal government to cope with the problems accompanying the growth of population and expansion of industry led to conditions of overcrowding, poor health and squalor among the working class, exploding in the Bristol Riots of 1831. Supported by the confidence gained from the French Revolution of 1830 during which the "Citizen King," Louis Philippe was deposed, sparked by a further rejection of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords, and ignited by the visit of Sir Charles Wetherell (Recorder of Bristol and one of the leading opponents of the Bill in the House of Commons), to open the assizes, the worst outbreak of mob violence in the history of the City created headlines throughout England's newspapers (see Chapter II). However, to one local historian the riots "were not merely a livid isolated incident, [but] the most spectacular event in a vitally historic decade," heralding a new era of awareness for the industrial worker in England.[5]

Although perhaps atypical of the urban product of the Industrial Revolution, Bristol could certainly boast its fair share of factories and was a pioneer in the development of engineering. While the City showed little resemblance to the black and smog-shrouded industrial centres of the north and midlands, its proximity to the Somerset and South Wales coalfields ensured a ready supply of fuel. The tradition and locale of Bristol accounted in large part for the nature of its industrial enterprise. Together with the manufacture and refining of consumer products, footwear, clothing, soap and sugar which represented characteristic concerns of most large urban centres, the assembly of agricultural implements was critical to Bristol's claim as entrepôt of the west country, while cocoa, confectionary, tobacco and even pianos provided the City's affluent with the luxury items they sought after. Heavy industry was limited to shipbuilding, chemical, gas, corrugated iron, and wagon works generally located in the eastern districts of St. Phillips, Netham and Eastville where dank, bare, Spartan-like housing was erected to provide shelter for the workers.[6]

The Bristol Riots had instilled a sense of militancy in the City's working class which was perpetuated throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century. After the Act of 1847 had limited a day's work to ten hours in the factory, the labour leaders continued their quest in search of an even shorter work day, a song appearing in a Bristol Socialists' Society Leaflet urging "Eight Hours for every worker," and asking "Shall workers ne'er have time for thought, -- For pleasure, rest, or play?" The call for labour recognition in England came from three district sources, the body of workers themselves; the Trade Unions, their numbers exaggerated while their dynamicism was not; and a group of social intellectuals and politicians. Trade Unionism grew out of the Friendly Societies and Mutual Aid Associations of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. After the repeal of the Anti-Combination Laws in 1824, early aggregate Trade Unions under the leadership of Robert Owen stepped into prominence, although their relative failure was to precipitate the rise of the Chartist Movement in 1836. Out of the smaller skill-specific trade unions emerging in the 1840s, grew a potent weapon for the defence of workers' rights as thousands flooded to join them. In 1871, the same year that the Trade Union Act recognised the Unions as the legal representatives of their members, 289,000 workers joined, while by the end of the century the figure had multiplied nearly seven-fold as Trade Unions claimed a total membership of 1,972,000 workers.[7]

Although the Bristol Trades Council was formed in 1873, and the City provided the site for the Trades Union Congress five years later, Trade Union activity in the west country capital might be considered moderate at most, as early working class action was seemingly limited to an economic rather than political level reflected through the endeavours of the Co-operative Movement. Influenced by the beliefs of Owen, The Bristol Industrial Cooperative Society was founded on March 15th 1859 and while subsequently dissolved in February 1861, it functioned as the model for later organisations which included the Bristol Industrial and Provident Society, the Bedminster Industrial Cooperative Society Limited (1881), the Bristol District Cooperative Society Limited (1884), and the Shirehampton and Avonmouth Cooperative Society Limited (1892). Nevertheless, the most militant action on the part of Bristol's working man came with the revival of Socialism following the establishing of The Fabian Society in 1883 which claimed the Labour party as its political voice. One year later saw the founding of the Bristol Socialists' Society "for the purpose of winning Political, Social, and Economic Freedom for all." Seeking the higher ideals of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," the Society followed its motto, "Agitate, Educate, Organise" in aiming toward "the abolition of private ownership of land, and of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, by the state or community absorbing the same, thus making them the property of all." Concerned with the social, economic, political, educational and physical betterment of the working class, Bristol's Trade Unions, Cooperative and Socialist societies provided identity, structure and shelter for the populace, advantages which were increasingly put to use with regard to their new found affluence and leisure hours. In Boston the experience of the working class was not all together different as the nation struggled with an apparent incongruence of the pervasive ideals of democracy and individualism while the traditional ruling Yankee oligarchy of the New England port, perceiving little threat in preindustrial years, reclined in their Beacon Hill mansions, ignorant and unaware of the emerging immigrant and industrial populace, rising in the pestilent shadow of the wharves.[8]

Contributing to the North American Review through an article entitled "The Failure of Universal Suffrage" in 1878, Francis Parkman brought to the attention of Boston Brahmins the eventual and unavoidable conflict witnessed in cities where "bloated wealth and envious poverty" lived side by side, so creating a "tinseled civilization above and a discontented proletariat beneath."[9] Yet Parkman's warning may have come too late and without hope for change, addressed to an aristocratic class that generally showed indifference to the plight of the worker. True, opportunity for social mobility and even embourgeoisement did exist for the labouring man, but as Stephan Thernstrom has pointed out, the values of traditionalism and social stability were so clearly set that "The common move was not from rags to riches but from rags to respectability and there was much less complementary movement from respectability back to rags."[10]

The city born of the Industrial Revolution provided a home for the convergence of uprooted agricultural workers and immigrant artisans who, being forced to coexist in a world characterized by exploitation and poverty, laboured under the prevailing philosophy of laissez faire (which remained popular in America for at least one decade after its decline in England), facing long hours and appalling conditions, for as G.S. Watkins, an early twentieth century scholar of American labour policy observed with regard to the century past, while "Economy in the application of capital, replacing of worn-out machinery and conservation of natural resources received careful consideration. Waste of human life, accumulation of fatigue and destruction of health in industry received no such attention." Indeed, during the years 1870 to 1900 the proportion of children and women employed in industry actually increased as prohibitory legislation was ignored in many states, and it was 1913 before the first government report on the welfare of the working class was published. While urbanisation and industrialisation brought an eventual rise in the standard of living to the populace, the intervening years of transition were characterised by poverty, ill-health and homelessness.[11]

Trade Unions failed to find the popularity in America that they did in England during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. While less than five percent of American workers found membership in Unions by 1870, progress was slow as the figure failed to reach ten percent, even by the start of World War I. It was a combination of factors which limited the workers' interest in "combination," the deepseated American belief in individualism; the aggressive tactics of large employers in dealing with strikes and picketing, and exemplified by the employment of Pinkerton spies at the Homestead strike of 1892; the recurrent economic panics of 1837, '57, '73 and '93; and most important, the cohesion of social stucture in which self-employed workers found themselves able to switch employers intermittently. Not wishing to jeopardise this world of perceived industrial freedom, the appearance of a labour movement was slow to materialise. However, prompted by self interested artisans and supported by the piecemeal reform measures of middle class humanitarians, a recognition of workers' rights was gradually called to the Nation's attention after the National Labour Union was established at Baltimore in 1866, and although foundering in 1872 was responsible for early lobbying on behalf of an eight hour work day.

Workers in the shoe manufacturing industry located throughout Boston's satellite towns of Milford, Lynn, Stoneham, Haverhill and Brockton, found their call for cooperative enterprise taken up by The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labour of Massachusetts which claimed a membership of five thousand by the mid-1880s. Disillusioned at the loss of jobs through mechanisation and a sole emphasis on competitive capitalism, the quest for an eight hour day occupied the time and energy of this Socialist oriented institution led by George E. McNeill. While the Massachusetts branch had disappeared by 1890 the national body organised in 1878 was, through its shrewd lobbying procedures, instrumental in persuading Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), and the Alien Contract Labour Law (1885), in protecting the wellbeing of the workers. Almost as soon as the true potency of The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labour had been realised it was destroyed, as the Haymarket bombing and riot of 1886, which resulted in the death of seven policemen, sounded the death knell of militant Socialism and a return to unadulterated Trade Unionism. Led by an Englishman, Samuel Gompers, the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.), emerged out of an earlier craft organisation, in 1886. Within a year, Boston's printers, cigar and shoe makers were successful in establishing a Massachusetts branch of the A.F.L. Setting its rights at a more realistic and tolerable level than the early Socialists, its members accepted capitalism, competition and the gospel of wealth, and worked toward improving the system with particular emphasis being laid upon the condition and rights of the workers, focused upon an ongoing call for the eight hour day. The story of hours employed in monotonous labour in American industry is confusing due to the extremes of state recognition and legislation during the nineteenth century. As early as 1840, navy yard employees had enjoyed the introduction of a ten hour work day and an eight hour bill for government workers had become a reality by 1868, while six states passed similar laws encompassing industry by 1870. However, the extent to which this and other related legislation was enforced made a mockery of the American political and judicial systems of the time.

In Massachusetts, the Grand Eight Hour League was formed in 1865. Prompted by the self-educated Boston machinist, Ira Steward who was referred to as "the eight hour monomaniac," the Movement soon found another strong supporter in the form of Wendell Phillips. Born of a Brahmin family and educated at Harvard, he challenged the traditional middle class oligarchy of Boston and it was in this role as liberal reformer that he received poetic remembrance from John Boyle O'Reilly upon his death in 1884:

> Come, workers; here was a teacher, and the
> lesson he taught was good:
> There are no classes or races, but one human
> brotherhood;
> There are no creeds to be outlawed, no
> colours of skin debarred;
> Mankind is one in its rights and wrongs --
> one right, one hope, one guard;
> By his life he taught, by his death we learn
> the great reformer's creed:
> The right to be free, and the hope to be
> just, and the guard against selfish greed.[12]

Yet to some, the moderate image presented by the A.F.L., and eight hour leagues was insufficient and the year 1893 brought a revival of national socialism as Eugene Victor Debs, an industrial unionist, established the radical American Railway Union. Further, a Socialist party had been founded by German immigrants in Boston during the 1870s and remained an important voice of the working class immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century. Supported by The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labour of Massachusetts, Boston's working class found a leader in the form of Frank K. Foster who succeeded McNeill as editor of the Labour Leader, the official organ of the State's Trade Unions. However, the populace, suffering through the hardy winter depression of 1893-94, were to witness limited relief before the middle class reformers of the Progressive Movement, led by Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson, set to work on behalf of the labouring class during the first two decades of the twentieth century, although it was 1907 before Roosevelt gave his presidential approval (although no federal legislation was forthcoming), to the eight hour day.

In marked contrast to that of the "Proper Bostonian," the story of the "Other Bostonian" is markedly sparse and incomplete. The investment of Yankee capital in trust funds, designed to preserve the traditional order of Boston Society, and the relative distance of "the Hub" from major seams of raw material, led to an industrial and economic decline throughout much of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the cheap labour precipitated by immigration and poverty provided those willing to invest in manufacturing, a guaranteed return. The textile centres of Lowell and Laurence to the north of Boston had early been called "the Lancashire of America," a label which was unfortunately borne out as poverty and disease so reminiscent of England's industrial Northwest increasingly became evident. With its textile hegemony gradually slipping in favour of the South after the Civil War, and trade suffering from the poor transcontinental railway link, Boston's occupational structure underwent a gradual transition starting in the 1870s for as Thernstrom has explained, "less than a third of the city's workers held white-collar jobs in 1880; 80 years later the proportion had risen to nearly half." Yet "the Hub" claimed as many as 7,942 manufacturing establishments with a capital investment of $118,198,539 in 1890. Employing over 90,000 workers at an average annual wage of $607, the City could not deny the rising incidence of unemployment; crime; intemperance; poverty; and ill-health. Refered to in general as "Civilization's Inferno" and the "Social Cellar" by Benjamin O. Flower, overpopulated and dilapidated slums emerged in the

North End perceived as "Boston's classic land of poverty," and the South End labelled "the City wildness" by Robert A. Woods. "The Hub's" first workhouse had been opened in 1739 and it was the nineteenth century settlement houses that provided the most significant source of food, clothing and shelter to the needy from 1870 to 1900. In search of homes close to their work place the labourer was forced to rent accomodation for, despite an acceptance of the gospel of thrift and self-help encouraged by a Massachusetts law of 1877 which facilitated purchase through a system of shares and loans, home ownership was only a dream of the populace. While the construction of tenements in Boston during post bellum years "amazed all observers," its rate failed to keep pace with the increasing populations resulting in overcrowding as Allan Nevins noted, "By the time of the Panic more than one fifth of the whole population, or about sixty thousand people, dwelt in the twenty-eight hundred registered tenement houses." Indeed, between the years 1870 and 1900 the construction of houses in and around Boston was restricted to the suburban villa, the Back Bay row house and the new workers' tenement buildings the latter of which were grossly insufficient in number.[13]

While Boston failed to achieve the industrial status of other more beneficially-sited centres, and may well have even slipped in its output, the manufacturing activity of the City, supported by an excess of cheap immigrant labour, ensured the existence of a populace whose continued fight was one of survival and claim to those rights granted to them in the Declaration of Independence. However, despite the efforts of The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labour; the American Federation of Labour; the Grand Eight Hour League; and middle class liberal reformers, Boston remained very much a City tied to Yankee tradition and dwelling on its colonial roots and glories. To the working class philosopher, life in "the Hub" must have been confusing at least with regard to its very alienation to the ideals of American democracy, as one citizen testified in writing:

> The secret is that I am only geographically, and by virtue of birth and long residence, a Bostonian. I am too good an American to be a truly good Bostonian; too enamoured of the American tradition to surrender to the administrative fervors of its political hetmans.[14]

Yet it is Arthur Meier Schlesinger who so perceptively colours the inconsistency of urban life during post bellum years and more particularly in Boston, in explaining that:

> ... While capitalistic greed ground the faces of the poor under its iron heel, individual potentates of wealth lavished millions upon hospitals, libraries, colleges, churches, museums and art galleries for the good of all. [15]

Bristol and Boston typified this polarisation of classes during the nineteenth century for both Cities claimed a patrician class born of their earlier maritime trade and a populace precipitated out of their tempered industrial activity. Although Trade Unionism and Socialism might have been considered a more potent force in the English City, by the turn of the century both Bristol and Boston witnessed the existence of slum districts typified by overcrowding, poverty and disease. Despite the long hours of labour, the swallowing-up of open spaces by urban expansion, and the increasing unsuitability of the Cities' streets for the maintenance of traditional pastimes, the working class managed to furnish the necessary time and money for the practice of organised sport. While status remained an insurmountable barrier to some pursuits, and the labourer found scant or no equivalent to the games-playing tradition of the "public" schools and universities, organised sport filled an increasing proportion of the workers' life as the fin de siècle approached.

Sport for the Working Man

An avid reader of the day might well have lent support to W.T. Marriott who, writing of the wants of the British working class in 1860, lamented that "Despite all the talk, fashionable as is the so-called muscular Christianity, still little is DONE for their improvement."[16] Yet mechanisation, scientific management and industrial legislation was soon to bring marked changes to the life of workers in both Cities. Increasing hours of nonwork (see Chapter III), a recognition and partial fulfilment of the leisure needs of the populace (see Chapter IV and V), and the growing affluence of the labourer, contributed to the emergence of a characteristic display of working class sport. While in Bristol "Pigeon-flying, particularly on Sundays" was considered "a great recreation for the poorer class of boys and men" by a reporter of 1885,[17] the mechanics and firemen of Boston's West End congregated on the Common, throughout the years of the Civil War, to play baseball. Indeed, as early as 1856, one of the best baseball teams "playing on the Boston Common, where games were often scheduled at five in the morning so as not to interfere with the players' work, was made up of truckmen."[18] Such games remained popular, as a review of the City's newspapers for the early 1870s resulted in a list of representative clubs of Jordan Marsh and Company; Abram French and Company "Crockery Nine"; and "the Hub's" lithographers, railroad workers, watch factory employees, theatre employees, hardware dealers and various dry goods firms contesting the diamond at such venues as the Boston Base Ball Grounds, Nantasket Beach and of course, the Common. Neither was industrial sport restricted to baseball as the following appeared in the Boston Morning Journal for July 1st 1870:

> Boat Race By Printers. A boat race between the printers of Messrs. Rockwell & Churchill and Messrs. Mudge & Son took place in the harbour Wednesday evening. The former crew won the race in 16 minutes 48 seconds...[19]

Three months later the printers and bookbinders of Houghton's Riverside press in Cambridge met on the Charles for a similar event.

In Bristol the tobacco company of W.D. and H.O. Wills was one of the pioneers of industrial recreation in the City. William Bascombe, an employee of the firm from 1884 later recalled that two of the most popular nineteenth century pursuits of the workers were cycling and cricket:

> At week-ends the Wills employees, like H.G. Wells's Mr. Polly, would set off in their brown Norfolk jackets and breeches for bicycle rides along the lanes of Gloucestershire and Somerset.
>
> The cricket club played on the site of the present Nos. 3 and 4 factories. Cricket balls were often lost -- and as they cost three and sixpence each, cricket was not the cheapest of pastimes.[20]

The Wills Cricket Club had been founded at least as early as 1889 as it joined representative teams from Avonside Tannery and Wholesale Clothiers in playing middle class district and socioreligious "Elevens" at Bristol (see Appendix B). An Association Football Club was formed by the tobacco company in 1893 with J. Walden as Chairman and R. Mann as Secretary, and with facilities provided for tennis and lacrosse, all of the clubs, which received subsidies from the firm, were flourishing by the turn of the century. The employees of E.S. and A. Robinson were less fortunate as the management showed no inclination to provide such recreative opportunities. However, after the workers had organised their own cricket and football clubs during the 1880s the firm conceded, in providing better facilities for cricket in 1893 and football twelve years later. While a recognition of the workers' sporting needs by industrial employers led to the establishment of firm clubs, a more common and earlier occurrence was the annual outing of a company's workforce. With railways and pleasure steamers offering cheaper travel en masse, Bristol and Boston factories increasingly provided a respite from the monotony of long hours of labour, realising the possible benefits of such excursions.[21] The Boston Carpet Dealers instituted their annual outing in 1867, taking their employees to Atlantic House at Nantasket Beach aboard the steamer Rose Standish in 1871. The same year saw a group of sixty insurance clerks of the City travel to Lowell Island aboard the "Escort" where they spent the day fishing and playing a pick-up baseball game between the Ice Water and Red Hot nines.[22]

In Bristol, the annual outing of W.D. and H.O. Wills' employees dates from 1851 with a visit to the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London. Twenty-one years later they travelled to another London exhibition and, followed by more local visits, five hundred workers travelled to Plymouth in 1885 after which the following incident was reported in the Weston-Super-Mare Gazette:

> Braving a rather rough sea, 400 of them went on the Channel trip and, the majority of them being the gentler sex, they so entirely succumbed before

> the rough treatment of Father Neptune that of the 400 only twenty saw the Eddystone. They recovered, however, in time for dinner. [23]

The annual jaunts of the Bristol tobacco workers continued with 750 travelling to Teignmouth in 1888 and more than 1,000 employees enjoying their free trip to Tenby in 1890. Yet the true benevolence of such action may be questioned, for the decision by Wills to grant a one week re-creative paid holiday for all employees in 1891 appears to have been economically determined as the Directors made the following statement:

> We have pleasure in informing you that instead of the usual outing we have decided to grant annually to our employees in the Bedminster and Redcliff Street works a week's holiday with a week's wages.
>
> We hope that our employees will reap the full advantages of this arrangement by endeavouring, as far as possible to obtain change of air and scene, and trust that thereby the health and happiness of all will be promoted. [24]

Such trust in the workers' ability to entertain themselves in a beneficial way is a welcome contrast to the lack of confidence shown in former years (see Chapter III), yet whether their employees spent the time profitably and in recreative pursuit rather than in a less wholesome manner might be questioned. Nevertheless, such efforts by Bristol and Boston employers represented a significant contribution to the informal and organised sport of the populace, one which was to be enhanced further by the action of social reform agencies concerned with the condition of the working class in both cities.

In the words of Peter Bailey, "The Working Men's Club Movement provides the most prominent example of rational recreation formally organised on a national scale,"[25] in Victorian England. Established and tended by the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (founded in 1862), the Movement derived its initial dynamic from middle class philanthropists. At Bristol, The Working Men's Club and Institute was opened on Victoria Street, Clifton in 1885, and was the culmination of efforts by interested citizens of the middle class suburb who, by 1891, had been successful in securing "a great variety of amusement for the Working classes, viz., one splendid full-size Billiard Table and one smaller Table : also other games such as Chess, Draughts, Dominoes, etc."[26] Contrary to Bailey's belief that "by the 1880s the Clubs had become exclusive working-class preserves, and the original designs of its mentors had been all but frustrated,"[27] the Clifton organisation followed a strictly middle class ideology as gambling was prohibited and, in emulation of the more established bourgeois private club, subscribers were permitted to nominate others for membership, although the existence of "black-balling" is not mentioned. Predating the Working Men's Club and Institute was The Bristol Club located on Old Market Street and opened in 1880 "for the convenience, comfort and enjoyment of the working-classes," a refuge where, for a small subscription of two shillings and sixpence per annum:

> ...a working man can get advantages that he cannot obtain elsewhere: such as cheap eatables and drinkables, clean and comfortable rooms, as well as opportunities for instruction and information.
>
> Where a man may sit and have a pleasant chat or comfortable game of cards, draughts, or chess, for an hour without expense.[28]

Providing adequate space for dining, reading, fraternising, and playing billiards, bagatelle and skittles, The Bristol Club became one of the leading social and recreational centres of the working class. Similar institutions were opened in Boston where the City's populace was expressing a need for a home and organising body as the Working Boys' House was opened in 1883 and one for girls five years later. The former, started by the Reverend David H. Roche, a Roman Catholic priest, soon provided a comfortable dormitory, refectory and well-equipped gymnasium for one hundred boys "without distinction of race or creed."[29]

However, while some organisations functioned in providing suitable and needed accomodation for recreation others proceeded to organise activities to fill the growing hours of leisure faced by the working class. One such group was the Bristol Co-Operators' Rambling and Social Club which aimed:

> To promote healthy recreation and social intercourse among its members, by visiting places of historical and other interest in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and by arranging indoor meetings of a social character.[30]

Out of the Bristol Socialists' Society (founded in 1884), emerged the Boys' Socialist Club (1894), which, meeting in the Baptist Mills Coffee House on Sunday mornings, claimed literature and nature study, rambles, cricket and football as its leading activities. Neither did the senior Society ignore recreation as ambulations to Combe Dingle, Dundry, Frenchay, Keynsham, Kingsweston and other outlying villages were organised by The Bristol Socialist Rambling and Propaganda Society which was formed in 1895. Intended for the dual purpose of disseminating Socialist literature to the villagers and "helping to keep members fit for the everyday work of the movement," Samuel Bryher recalled that:

> Frequently a hundred or more members and friends, with their wives and children attended. Miles of country lanes and fields were traversed, tea being partaken of at a pre-arranged beauty spot, after which games were participated in...[31]

With fifteen rambles being organised between March and September 1899 popularity for physical pursuits continued, with cycling joining walking and the occasional sports meeting as The Clarion Cyclists were united in 1895 carrying the Society's propaganda further afield to Bath and the miners of Radstock, and on occasion meeting up with the ramblers. Not everyone in Bristol and Boston possessed the means necessary for participation in many physical pursuits at mid-century, but through the support of employers, political, reform and socio-religious societies, the worker was presented with increasing opportunity to play and observe sport. Provided with a new found affluence and leisure time, the populace was able to step out into the expanding "lungs of the cities" to practice cricket, baseball and football, automatic choices for as Bailey has suggested, "the simple fact that athleticism was practiced by the respectable made it legitimate practice for the lower orders."[32]

In 1887, five years before his final term as Liberal Prime Minister, William Gladstone warned against "that imitative luxury which is tempting all of us to ape our betters."[33] The middle class had always held a strange fascination for the labourer and emulation (as has been discussed in Chapter XI), represented a critical pathway to respectability. While it must be noted that popularisation of bourgeois sport was in no part reflective of a middle class desire to share its cultural heritage with the social cellar, its very promotion of competitive meetings encouraged diffusion to the masses as skill and proficiency rather than wealth and status became the determining factors in participation. Whether through the regattas between Boston's established amateur rowing clubs and the professional Irish wherrymen on the Charles, or Bristol Grammar School's Rugby match at Nailsea in 1892 against "a somewhat disorganised team, the members of which were... country bumpkins and those engaged in the colliery in the neighbourhood,"[34] a new meaning to sport was provided by middle class liberal reformers of both Cities who perceived it as being a fundamental component to the cause of democracy, perhaps no better observed than in the cricket field as C. Box explained in 1877, "A cricket club is the great band of union between... the rich and poor," while Lord Harris later added:

> ...pastimes serve good purpose in causing the young noblemen and gentlemen of England to rub shoulders with those who are lower than themselves in the social scale, but in the republic of the playground are, perhaps, their superiors, and so force upon the minds of the former a respect for industry, honesty, sobriety, and any other of the qualities that are necessary to produce an efficient athlete;...[35]

Notwithstanding, football in Bristol might be considered an exception to this belief, for although the early rise of mob football might have promoted social unity, the subsequent bifurcation of the game lent to Rugby football protecting middle class ideals through patronage by the "public" schools and other bourgeois institutions, while the initial encroachment and success of the working class, professionalism and commercialism into Association football promised a sport with which the City's populace might identify.

Similarly, to an early American sport historian organised sport represented "a potent factor in spreading democracy. [In that] The similarity of tastes, attendance, and participation among men in different walks of life has led to a better understanding among them."[36] However, that the mingling of the gentlemen and rabble on Durdham Down or Boston Common created a milieu conducive to democratic growth might be questioned, for most interaction was controlled by the rules of middle class ideology and although Montague Shearman was able to claim as early as 1887 that, "The athletic movement which commenced with the 'classes,' and drew its first strength from the Universities and public schools, has finally, like most of the movements and fashions, good or bad, spread downwards to the masses," Chesterton's remark that "the Englishman is more interested in the inequality of horses than the equality of man,..." would seem a more justified conclusion in the light of evidence furnished for both Bristol and Boston.[37]

Indeed, once working class intrusion was witnessed in various sports the bourgeoisie typically withdrew further, particularly in Boston. Such action in itself might not be deemed discriminatory, yet conspicuous leisure of the masses precipitated a jealous guard of doubt, accusation and criticism levelled at the ability of the working class to enjoy sport on the terms of the middle class and even as late as 1900, H. Graves wrote that "the average workman has no idea of sport for its own sake."[38]

Preying upon examples of intemperance, cruelty, gambling and professionalism, the middle class was able to present a strong argument and justification for its ongoing revision of controls in sport and its eventual withdrawal. Most clearly reflected in the team games of Bristol and prize fighting, pedestrianism (see Chapter VII), and the "Fancy" of the racecourse in Boston, gambling and inhumane pursuits were extended into dark backstreets of "the Hub," in cockpit, ratpits, casinos and billiard halls. While a report of dogfighting in Belmont noted the arrest of sixteen gamins in 1870, cockfighting retained its premier status among such pursuits in Boston, especially during the winter months when activity at the racetrack was frozen, a reputation which was recalled by a correspondent to the Boston Morning Journal in 1870 who, writing of cockfighting in Washington D.C., mentioned that "The best fighters hereabouts,... are known as the 'Boston' breed, their ancestor having been brought from the 'hub'." Although illegal in Massachusetts, accounts of illicit mains appeared in the Boston press quite regularly, and are typified by the following report of 1871:

> ...the Chief of Police received an intimation that a "main" had been arranged for a cockfight to come off somewhere on Broad or Purchase streets... [He entered] a stable on Purchase street kept by John Quinn, where he found a number of game fowls, all preliminaries arranged for the brutal sport, and quite a large number of roughs, gamins, and others, who had assembled as spectators.[39]

Similarly forced indoors by the severity of New England's winter, accounts of raids on City gamblers were abundant in Boston newspapers with faro tables, chips and other implements being seized and fines ranging from $5 to $25 being levied, unless the infraction occurred on a Sunday in which case the penalties were often much heavier. Appearing in Court during May 1871, twelve card players found themselves facing a total of $266.65 in fines while the following year raids on gambling houses in

Boston led to the arrest of eighty-nine culprits, the confiscation of $3,000 worth of furniture and $2,000 worth of implements, while a further $2,000 in fines went toward fattening the City's coffers. Traditionally such violations were considered as typically working class in character and although the true extent of the Brahmins' patronage of gaming palaces would be difficult to determine, middle class involvement was not unknown as the Boston Morning Journal reported in January 1870, "A number of Boston businessmen were among the parties arrested for being present at the various gaming tables recently 'disturbed'."[40]

Billiards represented a more acceptable and wholesome alternative for the occupation of winter leisure hours for the baize-covered table had long been a symbol of ostentatious living among the aristocracy as the following advertisement in a Boston newspaper suggests:

> Billiard Tables are becoming very common, and by many are considered as important to private dwellings as pianos.[41]

With challenges, conditions, stakes, acceptances and reports of match games filling the winter columns of the City's press, the contests drew purses upward of $500 and crowds of between two and three hundred to a growing number of venues among which Bumstead Hall, Baker's Billiard Hall, Charlestown, Melodeon Billiard Hall, J.H. Flack's "Palace of Billiards", and Slade's Billiard Room, were the most popular. With the opportunity to observe the unusual skills of "Boston's Big Gun" Ed Daniels, R.E. Willmarth and J.F. Murphy also of the City, it was not unusual to find more than one spectator go broke of an evening, as his stake was lost. While the middle class cited the workers' patronage of these gambling dens of iniquity in support of their belief that the labourer was unsuited to participation in sport, the argument raised in Bristol was perhaps more severe as distinctions were made and traits attributed to the amateur and professional sportsman.

Gentlemen and Players

> Sports nominally open to gentlemen amateurs must be confined to those who have a real right to that title, and men of a class considerably lower must be given to understand that the facts of their being well conducted and civil and never having to run for money are NOT sufficient to make a man a gentleman as well as an amateur. They have a hundred and one tradesmen's meetings to fall back upon, and what more can they want? [42]

This extract from a letter written to the Sporting Gazette in July 1872 with regard to the definition of an amateur athlete clearly sets down the discriminatory attitude adopted by the middle class in protection of its value system which was incongruent with the perception of sport as being a type of work. With conspicuous leisure still being the mainstay of respectability, to work at play was an indication of social inferiority. Yet the working man found himself tied to a paradox within which Herbert Spencer and other Social Darwinists on the one hand, promulgated the idea that all men should apply themselves in a search for wealth, being rewarded in accordance with their ability, while on the other hand, being faced with the restrictive measures of an essentially impatient, jealous, and defensive bourgeois culture. At its strongest during the 1870s, a frontal attack on professionalism in sport continued into the 1890s and might be interpreted as a perpetuation and extension of what E.J. Hobsbawm labelled "militant labour-baiting" by the middle class. Even in the early years of Association football, during which the game was controlled by the bourgeoisie (although it later became a characteristic working class pursuit), team spirit, gentlemanly conduct and cooperation were stressed in contrast to the professional traits of individualism, gamesmanship and excessive competition, the introduction of which eventually led to the withdrawal of the middle class. Any perceived threat to the hegemony and human superiority of the bourgeoisie was met with a barrage of criticism by the wealthy, based upon the belief that professionalism promised a unification of work and play, its accompanying vices of intemperance, cheating, and gambling, together with the consequent neglect of "Classical Man" which favoured well-rounded over skill-specific human development, all designed as an additional line of defence against the infiltration of the working class, as a writer in The Times for 1880 explained:

> The outsiders, artisans, mechanics, and such like troublesome persons can have no place found for them. To keep them out is a thing desirable on every account. The "status" of the rest seems better assured and more clear from any doubt which might attach to it, and the prizes are more certain to fall into the right hands. Loud indeed would be the wail over a chased goblet or a pair of silver sculls which a mechanic had been lucky enough to carry off. The whole "pot-hunting" world would be simply so much the poorer, to say nothing of the ridiculous nature of such a defeat, and of the social degradation which the contest would have implied, whatever its results had been... No base mechanic arms need be suffered to thrust themselves in here. [43]

In Bristol, class prejudice had reared its ugly head during an athletic meeting held at the Zoological Gardens in 1869, when a gentleman amateur refused to compete against an artisan.[44] Such action was not surprising as the policy of the elite Amateur Athletic Club (A.A.C.), founded in 1866 was clearly stated as being, "to afford as completely as possible to all classes of Gentleman Amateurs the means of practicing and competing versus one another without being compelled to mix with professional runners." Although it was this policy which, designed to maintain social order, led to the dissolution of the A.A.C., in favour of the more democratic Amateur Athletic Association in 1880, the question of definition remained. As late as 1887, Montague Shearman identified the A.A.C.'s concept of an amateur as being:

> Any person who has never competed in an open competition, or for public money, or for admission money, or with professionals for a prize, public money or admission money, and who has never, at any period of his life, taught or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises as a means of livelihood, or is a mechanic. artisan or labourer.[45]

Arguing that its experience in manual labour provided the working class a very real advantage in sport, artisans, labourers and mechanics also found themselves excluded from competition under the auspices of the Amateur Rowing Association and the National Cyclists' Union. Nevertheless, the extent to which such legislation was enforced might be questioned, and it is interesting to consider the observation of a writer in the Athletic Record and Monthly Journal for June 1876 who concluded that, "From enquiries I have made I find that nearly all the members of the athletic clubs calling themselves 'Gentlemen Amateurs,' and who exclude tradesmen are, IN REALITY TRADESMEN'S SONS."[46]

The issue of professionalism soon arose among Boston's middle class sports institutions and not surprisingly the Suffolk Bicycle Club (founded on April 13th 1878), adopted a definition of "amateur" peculiarly reminiscent of the English A.A.C.'s, and read:

> An amateur is one who has never competed for public money, or with a professional for a prize, public money, or admission money, and who has never taught or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises as a means of livelihood. [47]

Similarly, in golf where the wealthy found themselves increasingly sharing the greens with a less desirable element of society, the United States Golf Association (1894), provided the following, very much more discrete description of an amateur golfer, being one:

> ...who has never made for sale golf clubs, balls, or any other article connected with the game; who has never carried clubs for hire after attaining the age of fifteen years, and who has not carried clubs for hire at any time within six years of the date on which the competition begins; who has never received any consideration for playing in a match or for giving lessons in the game, and who for a period of five years prior to the first of September, 1890, has never contended for a money prize in any open competition. [48]

In the light of such policy statements, it might be interesting to inquire into the status attributed George Wright, "the father of New England golf," whose sports goods enterprise would appear to have cast him a professional. With even the strongest refuge of middle class athletic ideology being permeated by the working class during the 1890s, whether in search of respectability, pecuniary reward or out of mere fascination, "sporting exclusivity" was rapidly becoming a redundant term, as the bourgeois response to such a process of change was summed up by Ernest Ensor in 1898, who wrote:

> The unutterable corruption of amateur athletics during the last few years need not be dwelt upon; the betting and swindling, the feigned names, the selling of races, pace-making, that hateful travesty of sport, and many other abuses are notorious. Football is on the same road: let us pray that the inherent virtue in cricket may continue to preserve it.[49]

Ensor's observations and fears may have been somewhat retrospective and they were certainly realised as professionalism extended an ever-tightening grip on football and cricket during the years 1870 to 1900.

With the middle class officers of both the Football Association (1863), and the Rugby Football Union (1871), strongly opposed to the payment of players at the outset, they soon found it necessary to pass regulations which made the receipt of "expenses" illegal. However, it was not long before socioeconomic factors overruled the pervasive ideals of amateurism as working class clubs gradually entered the limelight of Association football, after the game had been opened up to a mingling of the classes through the inaugural Football Association Challenge Cup competition in 1871. The dominance of the southern, amateur "public" school teams was brought to an end in 1883 as Blackburn Olympic, a team of Lancashire mill workers, defeated Old Etonians. The following year, in an attempt to counter the insurgence of professionalism into the game, the Football Association enacted a statute which was, at the time, effective in prohibiting professionals from playing in the Challenge Cup competition. Leading to resentment, particularly among the clubs of the industrial north, a British Association was formed in November 1884 which, threatening schismaticism, prompted the Football Association to conduct a remarkable tergiversation in the summer of 1885 by giving its official sanction to professionalism. Replacing the onus on results rather than moral ideology the middle class amateur clubs, in seeking to cling to their seemingly outdated values and anxious to taste victory once more, created the Football Association Amateur Cup in 1893, barring competition by professional teams.

As the acceptance of professionalism led to the eventual establishment of the Football League in 1888, Association football became characterised by an increasing emphasis on commercialism by the fin de siècle, a value-laden picture of the "goods" being coloured by Captain Philip Trevor in the April 1897 edition of the middle class Victorian sports journal, Badminton Magazine:

> His transfer papers have been prepared with all the detailed care and accuracy of the title deeds of a property and lis leasehold services have been acquired in accordance with the fluctuating conditions of the market and the then value of the article bartered. The old gladiator system lacked the completeness of the recognised procedure under which prominent football players are now bought, sold and manipulated, but the balance of sportsmanship probably lies with the Romans.[50]

To Percy A. Young, an historian of British football, the trend toward professionalism was no more than a manifestation of social reform and political battles being waged at the time and was divided, in like manner to Victorian society, by a line of demarcation between the industrial, Liberal-Socialist north and the rural, Conservative south of England. However, the oversimplification of this perception is borne out by pockets of industry to the south and landed estates to the north while football provided similar exceptions with remnants of middle class ideology being reflected in the northern Rugby Unions, and the formation of the Southern League in 1894 vouching for the extension of professional football throughout England.

Also formed in 1894, the Bristol South End Football Club was a strictly amateur organisation at its outset, although tales of incipient professionalism, "expenses" upwards of one pound and recruitment from outside of the City, were rife (see Chapter VI). Renamed Bristol City three seasons later, the Club joined Bristol Rovers, St. George's and Warmley in the Southern League and, with the intention of boosting its playing potential, chose to import established professionals from the north, rather than rely upon local talent. Quite unexpectedly, supporters ignored the loss of local character evident in the professional Club and, in search of identity to counteract the alienating effect of the City, unanimously approved of any method that would guarantee their community a victorious team. At this time a League club generally paid its players whatever it could afford which was, according to Young, "between 30s. and 40s. a week for a first-class player," twice the wage of agricultural workers yet perhaps on a par with the figure of thirty-eight shillings which was "the commonest rate for a highly skilled London craftsman," at the turn of the century. Bearing this in mind, it is hardly surprising that five players of the Ardwick F.C. (formerly West Gorton founded in 1880 and reorganised as Manchester City in 1894), accepted an invitation to play in America for a fee of ten pounds and a weekly wage of between four and five pounds each.[51]

While the battle between amateur and professional football was interpreted by the middle class as one of moral ideology, a choice between respectability and subversity, it was perhaps more accurately a struggle of socioeconomics waged on the football field for, paralleling such debate in Parliament E.P. Thompson concluded that to the Victorian, "everything, from their schools to their shops, their chapels to their amusements, was turned into a battleground of class." However, the older established game of cricket presented an interesting contrast to football and one to which its leaders might well have looked for solutions.[52]

Neither immune to the insurgence of professionals, nor to the conflict between gentlemen and players, paid cricketers took the field with amateurs early in the nineteenth century. Exemplified by the annual Gentlemen versus Players match inaugurated in 1806, early discrimination was of a latent manner described recently by Lincoln Allison:

> The Victorians saw batting as a graceful art form through which a gentleman could express himself. They saw bowling as skilled labour, requiring hard work and diligence. Moreover, you could learn to be a good bowler anywhere such as in the street or on the common. But good batting could only develop with access to a carefully prepared wicket and good coaching.[53]

Yet it was inevitable that class strains being witnessed in other sports should reach cricket, and in defence of the game's aristocratic heritage, the middle class amateurs erected a protective barrier of ritual and etiquette intended to highlight the social inferiority of the professionals, and which included separate locker rooms, gates to the field, and accomodations for away matches. Further, finding no initials preceding his surname on the scorecard, the professional was expected to fulfil such menial tasks as bowling to the amateurs in the nets, mowing and rolling the wicket and marking the boundary, in short, the chores given to fags in the "public" schools.

A somewhat cynical image of the professional was painted by a contributor to Cricket in 1888 who wrote, "He is generally dressed... in rather dirty white flannels, and always in the hottest weather wears thick woollen drawers, half an inch of which is generally visible above the waistband of his trousers." Realising the amateurs' need of him, the professional cricketer readily occupied his "station" in the game allbeit subservient as in his former life as agricultural worker or artisan. Seldom treated differently to others of his "class," he earned low wages and was equally subject to the hazards of poor health, intemperance and poverty.[54]

Founded in 1870, the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club expressed an early resistance to the inclusion of professionals in its playing ranks (see Chapter VI). Seemingly inhibited in allowing such change, the Club nevertheless paid James Lillywhite a sum of ten pounds for organising its game in Cheltenham as early as 1873, but it was not until 1875 that William Midwinter was proclaimed Gloucestershire's first professional player. However, acceptance of this fact in part denies the existence of shamateurism, that being the disguised payments (most commonly attributed to "expenses" or "lost wages"), to gentlemen, provided amateur status by way of wealth or influence, an interesting loophole being written into the Club Rules for 1898:

> ...only actual expenses shall be paid to amateurs playing for the County, except where special arrangements are made, such arrangements to be made from time to time by the Committee.[55]

Relying to a large extent on the playing ability of that "supreme shamateur" W.G. Grace (see Chapter XIV), the G.C.C.C., took pleasure in announcing its claim to being able to field the best amateur county eleven in the nation. Despite its proclaimed position, the Club continued to hire professionals until the financial exigencies of 1894 forced it to cut back. The trend was early replicated in America where an invitation by the Philadelphia Cricket Club had tempted English professionals to cross the Atlantic in search of fatter wage packets as early as 1869. Soon extended to the other cricketing centres of America, the Winnisimmet Cricket Club of Boston offered contracts to Carpenter and Louden, two English professionals in 1871 and 1872.

By the 1880s the English professional cricketer was receiving the recognition that he deserved, for as Lord Harris contended:

> A more discerning body of men it would be difficult to find. Their work, especially among those who do not rise to the top of the ladder, is very hard; they are always expected to be keen... It would be a distinct loss if such a body of men were to be withdrawn from our cricket fields... Therefore, let us by all means encourage them to persevere in their profession, so they may do their part towards the welfare of the community.[56]

But W.G. Grace, as leading exponent of the Victorian game saw more than mere industry in the rise of the professional, to him their hard work had paid off for by the end of the 1880s the Doctor was prompted to state that, "We must face the fact that the professional standard of all-round play is higher today than at any time since the game began. The professionals are now the equals of the amateurs in batting and fielding; and their superiors in bowling."[57] Motivated by the success of social reform crusades surrounding them and dissatisfied with the poor conditions and wages confronting them, a new breed of professional cricketer emerged during the 1890s, one glowing with self-assertiveness (and perhaps a secret confidence in his apparent indispensibility), his action culminating in the strike of 1896. Although labelled "malcontents" by W.G., the necessity of these specialised professionals to the game was underlined by Prince Ranjitsinhji one year after the strike:

> Now I should be the last to say that a man of ability should give all his time to cricket. That would be quite absurd. But I do not think that the life of one who devotes himself to cricket is either altogether wasted or quite useless to his fellow-men, for the simple reason that cricket provides a very large number of people with cheap, wholesome and desirable entertainment.
> ...I cannot see how cricket as a great institution for providing popular amusement, could, as things are now, exist without a class of people who devote themselves to it.[58]

Thus their survival was seemingly assured, but more important, the critical interdependence of middle class amateurs and working class professionals was allowed to continue unchecked, a relation which unlike football was vital to the preservation of cricket. In contrast to the professional footballer who, called upon to perform perhaps five or six hours per week, often found the temptation to idleness too strong, the professional cricketer was constantly reminded of his "station" in life as he attended the ground each day and when not engaged as a practice bowler for the gentlemen at bat, was expected to earn his keep in some other task of labour. Finding greater justification in his longer playing life and opportunity to coach upon retiring, the professional cricketer was more readily accepted than his colleague on the football pitch. Moreover, as Association football was perceived to have plunged to the depths of depravity with the advent of professionalism and commercialism, the willow continued to reflect middle class ideals and provided an instrument with which to inculcate all involved with those values of respectable society, as an observer of "Professional Cricket" noted in 1883:

> They [the professionals] are for the most part a very well conducted and responsible body of men, and many of them would do credit to any station of life in which they were placed, but it must be remembered that cricket brings them into association with men of the best manners, and above all, of impeccable character, whose tradition of the game, brought from school and college, make unfairness or even sharp practice as impossible to them as cheating at cards. It is from these men that cricket takes its tone in this country, and that tone is sustained by their determination to have no pecuniary reward of any sort in the matches in which they play.[59]

That there existed hardened middle class critics of professionalism in sport has not been denied. As shown in Chapter XI, the Proper Bostonian gradually retreated from one pursuit to another in seeking a refuge from the insurgence of the rude, professional populace. In Bristol, similar withdrawal was evident with regard to team games as disillusioned gentlemen cricketers abandoned the County Championship in favour of the more exclusive game played on the lawns of country houses, while the pioneering members of the first Association football club in Clifton later forsook the round ball for the Rugby game which, in the south of England at least, maintained its amateur status promoted in the "public" schools and universities.

Although earlier accounts of baseball, gambling and professionalism at prize fights, horse races, cycling, pedestrian and rowing meets together with illicit winter pastimes have been provided, the story of sport in Boston would be incomplete without brief mention being made of the rise of professional baseball in "the Hub" during the years 1870 to 1900. Founded during the same year as the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club, Boston's first professional baseball team was assembled in 1871 as established players were enticed to the City. Within a short while an impressive franchise had been built around a backbone of four of the pioneering Cincinnati Red Stockings led by Harry Wright. An indication of the incentives offered to players at this time is the $2,500 paid to Albert Goodwill Spalding to leave the Forest Citys of Rockford, Illinois to travel to New England. However, these figures soon snowballed and by 1887 Spalding, then Manager of the Chicago White Stockings, sold Mike Kelly to the Boston Club for $10,000, the player having accepted a contract reported to be worth $5,000 per annum.

In an attempt to quell the rising incidence of gambling and contract breaking in professional baseball, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players had been formed on March 4th 1871. Apparently unable to cope with the accompanying vices to which liquor consumption and player violence might be added, the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs was established in 1876 and took over effective control of the professional game. Being joined by the American Base Ball Association in 1882, a rivalry was born that was to colour professional baseball in the years to come. The arrival of a professional team in Boston was not met with open arms by "the Hub's" patrician class which believed in the ideals of the amateur gentleman and perceived such a transition as opening the door to "any man who could play the game skilfully without regard to his 'race, colour or previous condition of service.'" Somewhat justified in their prediction in the light of the aforementioned problems that accompanied the advent of professionalism these critics, tainted with an air of Puritanism, witnessed the failure of their cause and withdrew to the amateur diamond, cricket field and perhaps in final desperation, the country club. While first-class amateur players did survive, few were those innocent of shamateurism or as Spalding put it, "practicing semi-professionalism in an underhand way." Finding little security and frequently subject to the whims of the owner, the status of the professional baseball player realised a marked uplift with the formation of John M. Wood's National Brotherhood of Base Ball Players in 1885. After a Chapter was established in Boston, those Red Stockings desirious of joining found much comfort in the battles waged on their behalf, permitting them to lead the Boston Club to record unparalleled honours during its first thirty years.[60]

As the middle class looked down upon the Cities from their fortresses on Clifton and Beacon Hill, or as they periodically condescended to venture into the urban core, once abandoned in favour of the peripheral suburbs, so they witnessed a seething mass of workers evermore confident and evermore comfortable, rising out of the slums of Bedminster, St. Phillip's and Boston's North End. While their story is poorly told for want of evidence wrought through illiteracy and absence of a tradition to perpetuate, it is a story of great significance, of a majority which formed the very base of the Cities' industrial output and future.

As the Agricultural Revolution drove peasants from the fields to the city, and science contributed to longevity of life, industrial development failed to keep apace of urban expansion. Moreover, neither Bristol nor Boston provided the industrial resources necessary to both occupy the workforce and to feed its dependants. With the polarisation of classes at its most extreme during the first half of the nineteenth century, both groups witnessed a movement toward the median of democracy, particularly during the years 1870 to 1900. As the passage of Trade Unionism, Socialism and cooperatives into the wealthy, Conservative English City urged the once militant Bristol populace to search for an elevation of rights and living conditions, the Proper Bostonian, relatively free of federal legislation, withstood the early efforts of the labourer toward social betterment. With Trade Unions finding weakened national support to back them up in "the Hub," with the nation clinging to the American ideals of democracy and individualism through a confused sense of middle class deception, social change was sorely inhibited.

Eventually however, as real wages rose, the standard of living improved, hours of labour decreased and most important, political legislation recognised his rights as a member of society, the labourer was permitted to initiate his climb out of the poverty and pestilence of the social cellar. With more time and money in his hands, emulation of that which was considered respectable seemed inevitable. Assisted through the municipal provision of parks, playgrounds and baths (see Chapter V), and encouraged by the middle class to compete, the doors to organised sport were opened to the populace. Promoted by Working Men's Clubs, political organisations, employers and district groups whether for genuine or ulterior motives, the worker was provided increased opportunity to ape the "leisure class," his socioeconomic superiors. Nevertheless, as some reflected those characteristic working class traits of immediate gratification and risk taking, the middle class preyed on the excesses of competition and gambling in questioning the labourers' deserved access to sport. As wealth did not guarantee embourgeoisement in society, so neither did skill in sport promise respectability as an editorial in the English journal, Referee for 1878 made very clear:

> The fact that a man is exceptionally brilliant as a player is in no way an excuse for the assumption of unwarranted social rank; quite the reverse. 61

While his rank on the playing field improved, the Bristol working class sportsman found his adequate pecuniary reward tempered by a constant reminder of his proper "station" in life. The City's professional footballers, ignoring these reminders, changed the complexion of their game to suit the needs and wants of a working class culture as the sport's middle class founders willingly withdrew their patronage, finding the Rugby game more pleasing. In Boston, criticism of the professional sportsman appears to have been less verbose. While the City's Yankee, Puritan, heritage contributed to a system of sport more akin to the English model than some other American cities, the Brahmin seemed more content with life at the country club than on the baseball diamond, as the latter venue tended to become the playground of the metropolitan rabble by the fin de siècle although adequate representation was made by middle class clubs.

One characteristic of "the Hub's" populace has been hardly touched upon in previous chapters. Perhaps the single greatest threat to the hegemony of the Boston Brahmin since the early nineteenth century was the immigrant. Whereas the population of Bristol had remained relatively stable throughout these years, Boston was built upon the human export of many nations. While the following chapter is unique inasmuch as it centres solely upon Boston, the failure to offer such consideration would constitute an incomplete study and could only lead to a comparison of questionable reliability.

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CHAPTER XIII

BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS AND SPORT

> And if a stranger sojourn
> with thee in your land, ye shall
> not vex him. But the stranger that
> dwelleth with you shall be unto you
> as one born among you, and thou shalt
> love him as thyself;...
>
> – Leviticus, xix:33-44.[1]

The socioeconomic boundaries of Boston became drawn by the hand of demographic origin as alien immigrants came to represent a significant force in the life of the City during the nineteenth century. An outsider was presented a picture of the middle classes comfortably residing in their triple-decker town houses and suburban cottages and choosing to remember "the Hub" of yesteryear, its Yankee Puritan heritage creating a citizenry which, in the opinion of President Timothy Dwight of Yale (in 1769), was "almost without exception,... derived from one country and a single stock. They are all descendants of Englishmen, and of course are united by all the great bonds of society, language, religion, government, manners and interest."[2] In contrast, a succession of population invasions created a City which, by the year 1900, was typified by cultural pluralism, whose once secure, homogenous patrician class had surrendered to the arrival of more than twenty-five nationalities, each a stranger to one another in an urban sprawl of terra incognita. Unquestionably the most important factor in the evolution of the American City, Edward Everett Hale explained the impact thus, "Upon this simple village life, if you please, an ocean of foreign emigration was about to fall; and the Boston of today, more than half European by birth, does not recognise the homogenous population of the Boston of 1840."[3] Further, the late Oscar Handlin, historian and foremost student of Boston's immigrants, left his readers in no doubt as to the value he attributed to the influx of foreigners in stating that, "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American History."[4] With the conflict between Bostonians and immigrants deepening, the once stable foundation of New England's capital was shaken as national groups repeatedly turned down an invitation to assimilate to the once predominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestant values and lifestyle, choosing instead to segregate themselves in their independent ethnic enclaves within the City's slums, where they were able to perpetuate the beliefs and customs of their homeland. Although Israel Zangwill perceived America as "God's crucible, where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming,"[5] in his play of 1910, Boston might well have proved an exception as conflict in religion, polity, economy and even sport was perpetuated on an ethnic foundation as national group identity became all important.

Strangers in the City. Causes, Conditions and Reactions

While trans-Atlantic migration must be seen as the most important demographic shift toward Boston during the nineteenth century, intra-continental movement should not be ignored. Yet despite the fact that rural immigrants accounted for 14.3 percent of "the Hub's" population as late as 1880, and an increasing number of Southern blacks, and Canadians were attracted to the City after the Civil War, it was the arrival of thousands of European immigrants, driven by starvation and a search for political freedom, which was to have the most far-reaching impact upon Boston's government, economy and society at large.

The immigrants flooded into Boston during the nineteenth century in two distinct waves (1815 to 1865 and 1880 to 1900), separated by a fifteen year hiatus of relative demographic stability. The factors influencing their arrival differed in accordance with the times and their national origin. Early groups were prompted to leave their homelands as political exiles from Germany, France and Italy, or as fallen artisans and agricultural labourers of industrial Europe and Ireland who, witnessing the advent of mechanisation and land enclosure, were provided little opportunity for comfort. Despite the attempts of Britain (in 1782 and 1795), and other European nations to prevent emigration during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the promise of democratic freedom and equality coupled with dreams of affluence in the New World motivated the intending emigrant to scrape together the necessary funds for his passage. At first, such travel was restricted to the prosperous, but it was not to be long before Commonwealth Pier found itself gateway and immediate home to the penniless newcomer. While his motivation and ambition to emigrate expanded toward the fin de siècle, with America offering immunity from peacetime conscription unlike much of Europe after 1870; higher wages being paid in industry; and the ease of obtaining citizenship, the condition and status of the immigrant witnessed little improvement. Having expended all their savings in escaping from their homelands the strangers, upon their arrival in Boston and other American ports were rudely and abruptly awakened to reality for, with their geographical mobility restricted by poverty, Handlin explains:

> Thousands of poverty-stricken peasants,
> rudely transposed to an urban commercial
> center, could not readily become merchants

> or clerks; they had neither the training nor the capital to set up as shopkeepers or artisans.[6]

Ironically, it was their very existence and condition which lent to the creation and success of the Boston system of manufacturing, providing an abundance of cheap labour for the City's factories, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet the "New Bostonians" were of contrasting character for while the early immigrants from Ireland, England, Germany, France and Sweden tended to share the cultural pursuits and Protestant beliefs of the early settlers, the later arrival of Italians and Russian Jews following the agrarian crises of southern and eastern Europe heightened the tension between national groups and threatened both the traditional Brahmin hegemony and the rising Irish political platform. Accompanied by characteristic value systems, lifestyles and even prejudices, the groups' (particularly those comprising the second wave of immigration), search for identity in an already alienated urban morass was manifested through group identity which in turn led to the inevitable conflict between groups, a problem which deepened as more and more strangers arrived in the City.[7]

The number of "New Bostonians" arriving during the nineteenth century was so great as to make social change inevitable. The figures in Table XX clearly indicate the extent and nature of immigration to "the Hub," although the data should be treated with care in the light of the diversification of sources. By mid-century the first generation Irish immigrants represented the second largest group (behind the American natives), in Boston, accounting for more than one quarter of the City's

Table XX

The Nativity of Bostonians in 1850, 1880 and 1900.[8]

Country of Birth	1850		1880		1900	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
United States	88,948	65.0	240,043	66.2	363,763	64.8
Ireland	35,287	25.8	64,793	17.9	70,147	12.5
England, Scotland and Wales	4,110	3.0	11,936	3.3	17,647	3.1
Germany	1,777	1.3	7,396	2.0	10,523	1.9
Italy	134	0.1	1,277	0.4	13,728	2.4
B.N.A. (Canada)	-------	----	23,156	6.4	47,374	8.5
Spain	67	0.05	-------	----	-------	----
Prussia	39	0.03	-------	----	-------	----
France	225	0.2	-------	----	-------	----
Sweden	-------	----	1,450	0.4	5,541	1.0
Russia	-------	----	345	0.1	14,995	2.7
Others	5,038	3.7	4,788	1.3	17,174	3.1
Unknown	1,256	0.9	7,655	2.1	------	----
TOTAL	136,881	100.00	362,839	100.00	560,892	100.00
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	46,677 >	34.1 >	115,141 >	31.7 >	197,129	35.1
	47,933	35.0	122,796	33.8		

population. With the years 1865 to 1880 having already been described as a stable intermediary, an indication of the impact of the earlier and subsequent surges is provided with the realization that nearly 200,000 foreign-born immigrants entered the port of Boston during the years 1871 to 1880, including 31,676 in 1873. At the onset of the 1880s, intermarriage, death and a partial cessation in Gaelic migration had brought a gradual decline of Irish proportional representation in "the Hub" although their numbers had nearly doubled in a space of thirty years. Perhaps the most significant addition to the City's population during this period was the arrival of 23,156 Canadians following acceptance of the British North America Act and formation of the Dominion in 1867. Further, while both the number of Bostonians and immigrants to the City trebled, proportional representation of the latter shrank from between 34.1 and 35.0 percent in 1850 to between 31.7 and 33.8 percent in 1880.

However, such stability was merely a lull before the storm. By the end of the nineteenth century, Irish proportional representation had fallen quite sharply (despite the fact that their numbers had risen), as a culturally pluralistic society began to emerge comprising significantly large groups from Britain, Germany, Italy, Canada, Sweden and Russia together with those Americans born outside of Massachusetts who represented a numerically superior force to the Irish. Yet the early arrival of those evacuees from the Land of Erin was reflected in the number of first generation Irish Americans born in Boston. Numbering 156,650 in 1900, they represented nearly twenty-eight percent of the population of a City which housed more than 350,000 (or sixty-three percent of its total population), first generation Americans (see Table XXI), largely

Table XXI

The Parent Nativity of Bostonians in 1900. 9

Country of Parent's Birth	Number	% of Total
United States	207,028	36.9
Ireland	156,650	27.9
England, Scotland and Wales	23,493	4.2
Germany	21,618	3.8
Italy	20,164	3.6
B.N.A. (Canada)	49,298	8.8
Sweden	7,610	1.4
Russia	22,254	4.0
Others	52,777	9.4
TOTAL	560,892	100.0
TOTAL OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE	353,864	63.1

in its overcrowded, unhealthy slums, for these "New Bostonians" were seldom blessed with wealth.

Frederick A. Bushee, a turn of the century Boston ethnographer, highlighted the poor economic conditions of the immigrants. Claiming that on average, the Englishman arrived with forty dollars in his pocket, he noted that even the Irishman with fifteen dollars compared well with the Russian Jew and Southern Italian who brought only nine dollars per capita to the New World, leading him to make the following observations:

> ...it will be seen that the environment and standard of life of the racial groups in Boston correspond pretty closely to their characteristics as immigrants. The Jews who have known no other life than that of the ghettoes of European cities find no inconvenience in the crowding and filth of Boston slums...
>
> The Italians, a large number of whom are single men migrating for purely economic reasons, are living in the most crowded and on the whole the most unsanitary quarters of the North End, and are maintaining a standard of life which insures the greatest amount of saving possible.
>
> The Irish who came during the middle of the century were exceedingly poor and occupied correspondingly wretched quarters. They have now had time to improve their condition, and in general their standard of life has been raised in the same degree. The more successful conform pretty closely to American standards. The poorer class, however, occupy somewhat better homes than the Italians or Jews, but live on a low plane through ignorance and shiftlessness, rather than through a desire to save. [10]

Such a conclusion might be considered a trifle unfair, for rare was the opportunity for immigrants to save, particularly those from Ireland and Russia who patronised the unskilled, lowpaid workforce of Boston. The data in Table XXII supports and even extends the experience to other national groups as, in each of the three social classes identified by

Bushee for 1870 and 1885 a greater proportion of American citizens are seen to occupy the professional and mercantile positions, whereas a larger percentage of immigrants performed manual labour. More specifically, the author noted that while the Irish dominated the labour force in 1870 (31.3% of all Irish immigrants), by 1885 the Italians provided the highest proportional representation (20.5%), as little more than four percent of native Americans in the City were engaged in such activity during each year. With Germans finding their niche in production and the Irish maintaining their predominance in personal and domestic service, most professional and government offices were filled by American natives despite a rising Gaelic representation by 1885. Such a breakdown into more specific groupings permitted Bushee to make the following statement with regard to nativity and occupation, generalisations which have more recently received the support of social historians:

> ...the Americans, British Americans, English, Scotch, and Swedes enter much the same lines of employment. The rural Americans, more particularly those from northern New England, the British Americans, and the Swedes do not tend to form combinations, while artisans from the British Isles are the mainstay of the trade unions. The occupations of the Irish do not follow directly those of the above mentioned nationalities, but are of a rougher sort. The Italians tend to follow the occupations of the Irish. The Germans show about the same grade of skill as the English-speaking nationalities, though they differ from them considerably in detailed occupation. The Russians, on the other hand, have a narrower range of labor than most nationalities. [11]

Yet there remained in Boston, one group which stood apart by nature of the colour of their skin. Soon after the end of the Civil War, a growing number of Southern blacks, freed from their owners, migrated north

Table XXII

*Social Class and Nativity of Bostonians in 1870 and 1885.[12]

Country of Birth	1870			1885		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
United States	22	29	21	35	33	15
Ireland	6	19	66	30	31	48
England, Scotland and Wales	14	36	33	19	45	21
Germany	12	38	30	20	40	28
Italy	16	29	35	24	30	33
B.N.A. (Canada)	8	41	36	17	49	21
Sweden	3	30	51	8	53	28
Russia	--	--	--	15	22	46
TOTAL	20	27	37	26	34	24
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	10	32	42	19	34	32

*Figures refer to the percentage of groups represented in each class:
I. Professional and Mercantile II. Artisans and Skilled Workers III. Unskilled Workers

in search of the real benefits of emancipation. Gravitating toward the textile mills of "the Hub's" satellite towns, the negroes seemingly furnished the cellar of Boston society for although Handlin felt that "Even the Negroes, who stood closest to the Irish in occupational experience, fared better than they," more recent research has provided evidence to the contrary. In identifying the occupational rank of southern blacks in Boston for 1880, Elizabeth Hafkin Pleck has shown that eighty-four percent of her sample patronised the "low manual" class, equivalent perhaps, to Bushee's Class III which accounted for forty-eight percent of Irishmen in 1885.[13]

With their geographical mobility stunted through poverty, pockets of early immigrants laid down their roots in the peripheral townships of Cambridge, Charlestown, Chelsea, Dorchester, Roxbury and Somerville while the majority chose to occupy the decaying urban core of "the Hub", within walking distance of their place of labour as Handlin explained:

> The immigrants find their first homes in quarters the old occupants no longer desire. As business grows, the commercial center of each city begins to blight the neighbouring residential districts. The well-to-do are no longer willing to live in close proximity to the bustle of warehouses and offices; yet that same proximity sets a high value as real estate. To spend money on the repair or upkeep of houses in such areas is only wasteful; for they will soon be torn down to make way for commercial buildings. The simplest, most profitable use is to divide the old mansions into tiny lodgings. The rent on each unit will be low; but the aggregate of those slums will, without substantial investment or risk, return larger dividends than any other present use of the property.[14]

Already alluded to in Chapters XI and XII, this process of demographic removal and replacement, urban degradation and commercial renewal was clearly evident in Boston's inner nucleus during the years 1870 to 1900. As additional housing failed to keep pace with the increasing numbers of immigrants, the "New Bostonians" were provided little realistic alternative than to crowd into the already congested and pestilent slums. Further, not only was the incoming stream of immigrants maintained with the near daily arrival of steamships from Europe, but the lower literacy rate of the foreign-born in Massachusetts was used as explanation for a higher birth rate than that recorded by native Americans in 1870, while the Irish alone, who represented one quarter of the State's population, produced more than one half of its infants. Deepening their problems of socioeconomic status (however unconscious or unavoidable such action may have been), the majority of immigrants, in particular the Irish, southern Italians, Russian Jews and southern blacks, struggled throughout the nineteenth century to elevate their position in a traditionally middle class Protestant society which was, at first resistant to the perceived threat of the strangers, but gradually relaxed in showing benevolence toward them.[15]

Conflict among Boston's immigrant group was limited as the most prominent nationalities showed a peculiar divergence of interest in life, in the words of George F. Weston, "the Jew wanted to own the city, the Irishman to run it and the Italian to feed it."[16] Yet such an apparent absence of ethnic discord does not presuppose a pluralistic society at peace, as Boston's once stable and homogenous white Anglo-Saxon Protestant population became transformed into a citizenry marked off by intergroup rivalries on the basis of colour, race and religion. After the General Court of Massachusetts passed a law on April 28th 1854 which stated that no child could be excluded from any public school in the Commonwealth on account of "race, colour, or religious opinion," educational institutions became the primary agencies through which inter-group understanding was wrought, and a foothold with which the immigrants scaled the social ladder. Nevertheless, the Declaration of Independence did not spell cultural independence and the democratic ideals enshrined therein neither promised the perpetuation of traditional values held by the immigrants nor an equal opportunity with which they might reap the rewards of their new home. Looked down upon as an inferior being, the immigrant provided a new challenge to Boston's patrician class, one outlined in the following extract from an article appearing in the Massachusetts Teacher for October 1851:

> The constantly increasing influx of foreigners during the last ten years has been, and continues to be, a cause of serious alarm to the most intelligent of our people. What will be the ultimate effect of this vast and unexampled immigration is a problem which has engaged the most anxious thought of our best and wisest men. Will it, like the Muddy Missouri as it pours its waters into the clear Mississippi and contaminates the whole united mass, spread ignorance and vice, crime and disease, through our native population? Or can we, by any process, not only preserve ourselves from the threatened demoralization, but improve and purify and make valuable this new element which is thus forced upon us and which we cannot shut out if we would?[17]

Although the Civil War represented a temporary uniting factor to immigrants and natives, the evergrowing number of "New Bostonians" created frustration in the minds of "Proper Bostonians" as the former brought "not only a vastly lower standard of living, but too often an actual present incapacity even to understand the refinements of life and thought in the community in which he sought a home." However, not all observers were quite as kind as Francis A. Walker who recognised that such conditions were seldom the fault of the immigrants, although their impact upon the degradation of native Americans could not be forgiven.[18]

The highly secretive American Party had been formed in 1852. Better known as the "Know Nothings," it held power in Massachusetts from 1854 to 1857. Maintaining an anti-Catholic platform and denying civil rights to foreign-born Americans it nevertheless, did much for the cause of intemperance, women's rights and the abolition of slavery together with succeeding in the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Although pleasingly surprised by the response of the denizens to fight in the Civil War, anti-immigrant sentiments found guaranteed support in post bellum years with the formation of The Order of the American Union in 1870. The story of immigrant opposition was continued in 1882 as federal legislation replaced the chaotic and insufficient state controls, by levying a fifty cents per capita immigrant tax (raised to one dollar in 1884), and refusing admission to "convicts, lunatics, idiots, and all persons likely to become a public charge." The Federal government may have been at fault in promoting the ongoing flood of unskilled foreign workers to the nation's Atlantic shores for, with labour being in short supply following the Civil War, Congress had made contracts signed overseas valid and protected by their courts. Yet, by 1885 and in an attempt to stem the flow, Congress enacted the Contract Labour Law which restricted the signing of foreigners to professional and skilled occupations.[19]

No sooner had immigrants found improved acceptance than the Haymarket bombing at Chicago in 1886 refuelled the claims of xenophobes. Earlier in 1880, Carrol Davidson Wright had alluded to a relationship between the arrival of overseas workers and the rising incidence of strikes in Massachusetts, a suspicion that received greater justification as five Germans were sentenced to death after being accused of throwing the bomb which resulted in the death of seven policemen at the Chicago incident. As anti-immigration hysteria was fanned by such occurences and organised by the American Protective Association and others, so the 1890s brought a new aggressive expression of nationalism in the nature of Jingoism, most clearly evidenced by the quest to build an American Empire. Yet this period was also accompanied by the second wave of immigration from central, southern and eastern Europe, provided easy access to the New World by way of relaxed naturalisation procedures and shrinking steamship fares, a seemingly bottomless pool of cheap manual labour streamed through the maritime gateways of Boston and New York.[20]

But 1891 was to witness the culmination of efforts by a handful of scholars who questioned the ability of America to assimilate the unprecedented human cargo arriving daily in its ports. During that year, Congress approved legislation which placed the control of immigration wholly in the hands of a federal authority. Further, aliens who were found to have entered illegally could be deported with steamship companies being compelled to convey those passengers who were rejected, back to their place of departure. At the same time that group of prospective immigrants considered unsuitable for acceptance was extended to include polygamists and persons suffering from contagion. Yet despite these tightened restrictions mass immigration continued as a disgruntled Thomas Bailey Aldrich was prompted to write, one year after the law had been passed:

> Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
> And through them presses a wild motley throng---
> Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
> Featureless figures from the Hoang-Ho,
> Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,

Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,
Those, tiger passions, her to stretch their claws.
In street and alley what strange tongues are these,
Accents of menace alien to our air,
Voices that only the Tower of Babel knew! [21]

Apparently Aldrich was not the only disillusioned Yankee for while many middle class citizens chose to withdraw from the impact of immigration another group of recent graduates of Harvard and members of the City's exclusive Brahmin society, led by Charles Warren, Robert de Courcy Ward and Prescott Farnsworth Hall chose to challenge the "human invasion" by forming the Immigration Restriction League at Boston in 1894.

Earlier, during the 1880s, such organisations as the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship; the American Institute of Civics; the Citizen Association; and the Citizen Club of Boston, had struggled to preserve the middle class traditions of the former colonial port through eliminating corruptive practice in politics and indoctrinating the "New Bostonians" with white Anglo-Saxon Protestant values. Eventually spreading beyond the walls of "the Hub," the Immigration Restriction League concentrated upon guiding public opinion and was successful in channeling an amendment to the Immigration Act through Congress in 1902 which included the institution of a literacy test for all immigrants. Opposed by Boston's Unitarian ministers, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Edward Everett Hale and others, a counter Immigration Protective League was established in 1898 aiming toward the recognition of immigrants' rights. Yet the perceived exigency of this group was hardly realised as America witnessed a return to confidence by the fin de siecle.

While unbiased accounts of the effects of immigration upon the City are rare, Henry Cabot Lodge, himself one of the more prominent Brahmins and subsequent author of a forty-two volume report on the assimilation of old and new immigrants to Congress in 1911, offered perhaps one of the more objective views in 1892, writing that:

> In Boston, as in other great American cities, there has been in the last half-century a great addition to the population from immigration. This immigration was, of course, composed of persons who were unfamiliar with American habits and ways of thought. Many of them were illiterate, many more were poor. The task of assimilating these people and of converting them into American citizens has been necessarily attended with dangers and difficulties when they have been gathered closely in large cities. The crowding together of the extremes of wealth and poverty, the indifference of the former and the rise of the professional politicians to control the latter, the necessary expenditures of a great city with its horde of employees, the natural tendency of the man who pays no taxes to regard with indifference an extravagance which falls only on those who are taxpayers, - all these conditions offer temptation and produce evils which in many American cities have reached an alarming height. [22]

Confident that these evils might be eradicated through adherence to the values and ideals of the City's fathers, Lodge held firm while others of of his stock promptly escaped to their refuges of antiquity.

Boston of 1869 was very different to that described by Dwight a century earlier. No longer was the English descendant preeminent in the City's hierarchy although by means of affluence he retained the balance of power in municipal government. But the foundation of New England tradition had been rattled by the arrival of immigrants during the first half of the nineteenth century and was to be shaken further by the fin de siècle. Driven by starvation and declining political status, and attracted by the promises of democracy and affluence, the "New Bostonians" arrived, southern blacks and rural migrants; Europeans sailing into the Massachusetts port; and a less fortunate group who had crossed the Atlantic in the empty holds of lumber ships bound for Halifax, Nova Scotia and subsequently treading the path of a growing number of Canadians to "the Hub." Mostly poor, having spent their life savings on passage to the New World, the surge of "greeners" provided a tonic to industry in Boston. Seldom entering into higher level occupations (see Table XXII), and finding little in common with the traditional Brahmin, the immigrant received comfort in numbers, perpetuating the values, lifestyle and prejudices of his homeland in segregated enclaves creating an environmental matrix further described by Robert Woods in 1898:

> Neighbourhoods came to be made up of people who have no local attachments and are separated from one another by distinction of race and religion. There is no concerted action for a better social life, no watchfulness over common interests. [23]

At first unconcerned and disinterested at the City which surrounded them, the efforts of the Protestant church, education and later, the Immigration Protective League, sought to integrate the strangers in the urban milieu. As the established hegemony perceived a threat from this new breed opposition strengthened as the rise of xenophobia was manifested in the formation and appearance of the Know Nothing Party, Jingoism and the Immigrant Restriction League.

The pervasive issue throughout these years was one of assimilation and segregation. With philanthropists endeavouring to achieve the former, immigrant groups struggled, with apparent success, to maintain the latter for it might be stated with abundant evidence that in Boston, the "melting pot" had failed to reach the temperature necessary to forge a human alloy of superior quality during the nineteenth century. In contrast, as the cloud of immigration cleared there remained a pluralistic society marked off by ethnic boundaries throughout all facets of life. The role played by sport in this process of change or cultural persistence will be discussed with regard to each group in the remaining pages of this chapter. While certain characteristics do not permit consideration in chronological order each section will clearly identify the date of arrival, nature, significance and sporting contribution of various groups.

As racial and national groups moved around the world it was inevitable that they should take with them, as part of their cultural luggage, those sports that their forefathers had handed down to them. Perpetuating their ethnic pursuits in the cause of national identity and as a release from the monotony of hard labour, the "New Bostonians" were frequently freed of the Puritan constraints to play. Yet upon their arrival, the nineteenth century immigrants were often confronted by characteristically American sports, allbeit that they were developments of English games made necessary by the differing climate, resources and values. While the promoters of baseball sought to establish a national game, such pursuits as cricket flourished as long as there remained a supply of young English immigrants to practice them. However, it was not long before the "New Bostonian" perceived sport as a ladder to social uplift. Success in the boxing ring and on the baseball diamond was not dependent on one's name, manner of speech and behaviour as attested to by John L. Sullivan who, while born in Boston, strongly proclaimed his Irish heritage, and Harry Wright, conveyer of professional baseball to "the Hub", although it would be wrong to utilise his English birth in labelling him as characteristic of the City's immigrant population. Promising fame and fortune, the temptation of assimilation to America's sporting values concerned many immigrants as Handlin explained:

> The worried parents could see no sense in the athletics, the infantile antics of grown men playing at ball...But they could not deny that these were the ways to success, that these were the means of gaining the approval of the American onlookers. Even the older folk indeed derived a kind of satisfaction from the fame of men that bore names like their own, as if John L. Sullivan... somehow, testified to their own acceptance by American society. How could they then hold the youngsters to the traditional ideals of status and property?[24]

Fearful of the destruction of their long held cultural values, some groups rejected American sport but more common was their search for acceptance through the practice of those pursuits approved of in their new home. Such was the case with regard to Boston's growing black population which, fighting off social restriction, took to baseball and football although frequently on segregated teams.

Black Bostonians and Sport

After ratification of the Thirteenth Ammendment in 1865, resulting in the abolition of slavery, the Republican reconstruction policy of post bellum years was perpetuated by the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Ammendments which, in 1868 and 1870 respectively, gave civil rights to blacks and the vote to males. The early adoption of such legislation by Boston's government ensured the City a higher proportion of black citizens than either New York or Chicago throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century. Yet the southern black immigrant was confronted with a paradox as "the Hub," while offering legal equality, failed to provide them with the necessary means to achieve economic security. Despite the growing number of Black Bostonians (see Table XXIII), their proportional representation was generally rather low although the group's significance in a traditionally white Anglo-Saxon Protestant City particularly after the fifty-five percent intercensal growth of the years 1860-1870, was quite marked. Generally maintained throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century, the largest group of migrant blacks travelled from the southern states while others arrived in the northern City from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the West Indies so that by the fin de siècle 11,591 blacks were settled in Boston accounting for over two percent of "the Hub's" population.[25]

Joining forces with the Irish in filling the role of domestic servant to the "Proper Bostonians," the majority of blacks settled in the West End on what became known as "Nigger Hill," in close proximity to the residences of their wealthy employers on Beacon Hill, and to the food markets of Faneuil Hall. While clinging to a belief in the nuclear family (82% of all black households at Boston in 1880 were of the two parent variety), their standard of living and health appeared to be on a par with other immigrant groups. Indeed, as a group their mortality rate for 1890 was 31 in 1000, considerably higher than 24 in 1000, the latter figures provided for the City's white population. More important only 608 in 1000 black children lived to celebrate their first birthday in 1880, while the comparative figure for white progeny was 726 in 1000, although it should be recorded that these numbers had climbed to 780 and 811 respectively by the century's end, the closing gap of mortality indicative of a critical rise in the

Table XXIII

The Black Population of Boston, 1850 to 1900. [26]

Year	Number	% of Total	% of Intercensal Growth	Place of Birth (%)			
				Massachusetts	South	Other U.S.	Foreign
1850	1,999	1.5	1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1860	2,261	1.3	13	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1870	3,496	1.4	55	37	38	14	11
1880	5,873	1.6	38	31	48	13	8
1890	8,124	1.8	38	28	46	12	14
1900	11,591	2.1	43	25	53	12	10

standard of health of both groups, and particularly the blacks. Occupying the socioeconomic cellar, their attempt at betterment was recorded in the Boston Morning Journal as it carried the following observation with regard to the City's black population in 1871:

> Taken as a class they are as thrifty and industrious as any equal number of citizens, and the majority are well educated.[27]

Yet such characteristics combined with an elevation in human rights did not guarantee socioeconomic reward as the poverty of black Bostonians was perpetuated through racial discrimination by white employers and employees. Assimilation to middle class values had not provided the key to equality as Pleck explained:

> Blacks born in the North were bourgeois in deed and in thought but not in economic assets...
>
> In sum, the black experience was a continuous process of interaction between racial barriers in employment, poverty and acculturation to mainstream values.[28]

Perhaps such acculturation was no better evidenced than in the black Bostonians' acceptance of the City's sporting tradition. At first restricted to street games and coasting on the Common, the experience of other inner city residents, their gradual inroad into organised sport is witnessed across "the Hub." As early as 1859, Harvard employed A. Molineaux Hewlitt a negro, as Director of its gymnasium, a decision likely based upon his reputation as a boxer and gymnast together with his former experience in managing a private facility. However, it was not until the final decade of the nineteenth century that Williams N. Lewis became Harvard's first black footballer, playing at center and being named to Walter Camp's All-

American team in 1892 and 1893.[29]

Participation by black athletes in team sports had become reality some years earlier in Boston with the formation of the Resolute Base Ball Club, although the members' very right to such a name was questioned in September 1870 as a report in the Boston Morning Journal indicates:

> White vs Colored Resolutes. A novel match was played on the Union grounds yesterday afternoon, both of the contending nines (one composed of white players and the other of colored) rejoicing in the name of Resolute, and the game was to settle which should hold the name, the defeated club to choose another under which to gain fame and honor in succeeding seasons.[30]

Winning by a score of 25 - 15, the black Resolutes went on to enjoy relative success joining the Massachusetts Junior Association the following year. Soon sharing the diamond with other black baseball teams in Boston, the Resolutes also played black teams from other cities and upon one such occasion, facing the Resolutes of Portland in August 1871, were at the heart of reaction to a case of racial prejudice in the press as the following newspaper account explains:

> The partisans of the Boston club, numbering some one hundred and fifty, indulged in some riotous demonstrations toward an attache of the Herald, who, in his report of the game between the Resolutes and the Washington Colored Club, one day last week, made some remarks which they have erroneously construed into a reflection against their color.[31]

Such incidents might have been the exception rather than the rule for as Pleck maintained, "No other northern state passed as many civil rights laws or was as inclusive in its coverage of discriminatory acts as Massachusetts." As early as 1855, the Bay State had abolished separate schools and integrated both blacks and whites in public schools. Ten years later, Massachusetts passed a law forbidding racial discrimination in licenced houses and other public places, being further extended to include unlicenced places of business, following complaints that a Boston Skating rink had refused admission to a black citizen in 1885. The year 1886 saw the election of two black members to the State House of Representatives which paved the way for the annual election of one or two black men to the State Legislature throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century. The rise of the black Bostonian continued in 1883 as George L. Ruffin became the first black judge to be inducted in the north, as he joined the Charlestown District Court.[32]

Nevertheless, despite Boston's perceived recognition of civil rights, remnants of racial discrimination remained in the City. With the Ku Klux Klan presenting regular lectures in "the Hub" throughout the 1870s, and interest in Social Darwinism providing added support, the stench of racial prejudice permeated the City air for most of the nineteenth century before lynchings, floods and the boll weevil wrought social and economic havoc in the south, driving thousands of black workers north in search of equality and industrial labour.[33]

The similarities and relationship between this, and the largest of immigrant groups is an interesting feature of Boston's social history for as Pleck recognised, "The large Irish and the small black populations lived in an uneasy truce, with the two groups dwelling in close proximity in the west and south ends of the city."[34] Reflected in sport, perhaps evidence is provided by John L. Sullivan's vehement and repeated refusal to enter the ring with black opponents. Although "truce" might not be a good term, for the tension between the groups is more clearly demonstrated by the snowball fights on Boston Common (the ammunition becoming stones, half bricks and oyster shells in summer), between those citizens of the west end and South end of the City (see Chapter V). Contrary to Handlin's earlier belief, Pleck provides evidence to suggest that, whereas the Irish experienced social betterment during post bellum years, time stood still for the black Bostonian, in short:

> While the children of white immigrants moved up the occupational ladder, the black child, like his parent, remained fixed in a world of menial and temporary jobs. [35]

The life experience of the southern black migrant to Boston during the years 1870 to 1900 was likely characterised by confused disillusionment. Attracted by the industrial boom precipitated out of the Civil War and Massachusetts apparent liberal attitude to civil rights, the black Bostonian sought to gain the approval of the City's patrician class by readily adopting its established value system. Reflected in the formation of sports teams, their organisation also functioned to segregate and reinforce the identity of the black migrant. It appears that their sacrifice of cultural ideals was insufficient as the blacks found themselves battened down in the social cellar by racial prejudice, particularly in the work arena. The black citizen found his way to socioeconomic melioration impeded while the white immigrant, and especially the Irish majority, gradually climbed the heights of the political ladder and enjoyed greater social status as the nineteenth century years progressed.

From the "Maid of Erin" to "King" Kelly.

Irish settlement in Boston dates from the birth of the City itself.

Unlike the nineteenth century Irish Bostonian, many of the early Gaelic arrivals were of the professional, mercantile and commercial class. Arriving in the Winthrop fleet, John Cogan and his fellow Irish merchants landed at Boston in 1632. Followed by others, the General Court of Massachusetts granted land on the Merrimac River to Irish and Scottish gentlemen in 1634, at a site now identified as Newburyport. By the early years of the eighteenth century, the influx of Irish immigrants was growing. Bringing their cultural labels to New England, in particular the potato[36] and spinning wheel, they frequently were met with resentment by the anglophiliac Brahmins who perceived their passage as an escape from England. In search of greater identity the Charitable Irish Society was founded in Boston on St. Patrick's Day, 1737 by Peter Pelham and others, functioning to provide comfort to the thousands of Gaelic refugees arriving in the City, especially after the Society for Encouraging Industry (1749), extended an invitation which many workers on the Emerald Isle found difficult to refuse.

As their numbers increased so did opposition deepen, first on a patriotic level and later on a religious plane, for whereas the early Irish had been of the Protestant ilk, an expanding Roman Catholic congregation soon followed, threatening the Protestant hegemony of the City. The story of the Boston Irish is one of survival, conflict and progress, the significance and uniqueness of the intermediary stage being explained by the nineteenth century chronicler of the population, James Bernard Cullen, who wrote:

> The hostility to the Irish sometimes took a religious phase, but it is undeniable that no very bitter or long-continued opposition has been manifested against, say, the French; while against the Irish the excitement has run so high that on more than one occassion the peace of the city has been seriously threatened by it.[37]

Perhaps the best remembered manifestation of such conflict was the Broad Street riot of 1837. Discussed earlier, the intrusion of a fire company into an Irish funeral procession on East Street resulted in the mourners taking possession of the engine-house while the native American firemen, joined by reinforcements, trod a path of havoc through the immigrant tenements before Mayor Samuel A. Eliot called upon the militia to quell the disturbance which involved some fifteen thousand citizens. However, it would be unfair to remember the early Boston Irish solely for their contribution to social disorder, particularly in the light of the fact that John Hancock (1737-1793), first signator of the Constitution, traced his ancestry to Gaelic immigrants to Boston at the end of the seventeenth century, and the parents of John Singleton Copley (1737-1815), the eminent American artist, were from Ireland.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the biggest wave of Irish immigrants was yet to hit Boston. While an early contingent arrived after the War of 1812, it was a series of legislative and natural disasters which led to the greatest exodus during the 1840s. Leaning heavily on English taxpayers for support of their destitute, the Irish Poor Law of 1838 subjected the Irish landowner to higher taxes intended to provide assistance for his less fortunate countrymen. In reaction, Irish farmers were dispossessed of their land and forced to rent fields, receiving no guarantee of tenure. Provided little alternative, they raised cattle and cereal crops for market in order to pay their rent, while potatoes became the staple diet of this group and a substratum of cottiers. Exploited in a precarious economy, these agricultural labourers realised their true social paralysis as first the failure of the potato crop in 1842 and then the rot of 1845, led to the eviction of farmers and cottiers by landowners and their subsequent escape to the New World. Ironically, the problems faced in Ireland during the 1840s might well be attributed as much to American sources, as to English rule for, as Alistair Cooke explains:

> The rising competition of American agriculture made thousands of very small farmers (300,000 of Ireland's 685,000 farms had less than three acres), shift from tillage to grazing, on barren ground. And the potato blight, which was to putrefy vast harvests in a few weeks, had crossed the Atlantic from America in 1845. Within five years the potato famine had claimed almost a million Irish lives, over twenty thousand of them dropping in the fields from starvation. [38]

Worsened by the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, which destroyed Ireland's protected status in the English market, the Gaelic plight prompted departure to America. Further motivated by dreams of embourgeoisement and supported by the financial assistance of family and friends already established on the other side of the Atlantic, the newly opened (1842), Cunard transoceanic crossing offered frequent sailings and low rates, facilitating passage even to the poor. Earlier in 1841, the Post Office Commission of Inquiry had concluded that the most efficient method of getting mail to British North America was via Boston, making the New England port the terminus for the shipping line and thousands of its Irish passengers.[39]

It is estimated that 1,700,000 Irish (or nearly one quarter of the country's population in 1840), emigrated to America during the fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century, many of them landing in Boston. Without money, these labour hungry immigrants were soon put to work in the mills and on the railroads. By the year 1850 over 35,000 Irish by birth were resident in the City accounting for more than one quarter of "the Hub's" population. Unlike those who entered the port of New York and continued their passage westward, the Boston Irish found their home in the commercial and manufacturing centre of New England. Moreover, while eighty percent of the Irish immigrants were of rural origin (mostly from the southern and western counties), no more than six percent settled permanently on the land of the New World perhaps, as Oliver MacDonagh suggested, due to the fact that the cottiers had been accustomed to the close-knit community of their homeland rather than rural isolation.[40]

Although the condition in Ireland eased, immigration maintained its flow as the number of native Irish residing in Massachusetts during 1865 snowballed to 183,777. The Boston Irish rose in number to nearly 65,000 in 1880 and over 70,000 by the century's end although their proportional representation gradually declined. Further, their number, when combined with first generation Irish Americans living in the City, had reached 156,650 by the fin de siècle, accounting for nearly twenty-eight percent of Bostonians, certainly a significantly large body which had come to realise a new municipal status.[41]

Bringing poverty, disease, vice and crime to "the Hub," the City's early ability to cope with the rise of urbanisation, industrialisation, immigration and their attendant problems was brought to an abrupt end as thousands of strangers crowded into the commercial heart of Boston, converging on the docks, markets and garment shops. Outward migration did provide some solution to the problem as the low fares offered by the Boston and Lowell Railroad led to the emergence of pockets of Gaelic culture in Arlington, Old Cambridge and Watertown. Further, as the Irish edged into the former affluent section of the South Cove the wealthy were displaced, moving south to Dorchester and other fringe towns. Forced into a congested existence among the buildings that were bequeathed to them, utilities were frequently inadequate to cope with the unparalleled influx of residents, resulting in a pitiful standard of living, a picture painted by a Report of the Committee of Internal Health, in the following manner:

> In such a state of things, there can be no cleanliness, privacy, or proper ventilation... and, with the ignorance, carelessness and generally loose and dirty habits which prevail among the occupants, the necessary evils are greatly increased both in amount and intensity. In Broad Street and all the surrounding neighborhood...the situation of the Irish...is particularly wretched...This whole district is a perfect hive of human beings, without comforts and mostly without necessaries; in many cases, huddled together like brutes, without regard to sex, or age, or sense of decency; grown men and women sleeping together in the same apartment, and sometimes wife and husband, brothers and sisters in the same bed. Under such circumstances, self-respect, forethought, all high and noble virtues soon die out, and sullen indifference and despair, or disorder, intemperance and utter degradation reign supreme. [42]

With such amoral affliction brought about by the extortionate rents (itself reflective of the rising profits of middlemen), the plight of the Boston Irish must in part be perceived as a product of the City's wealthy, perpetuating and even extending their distance from the social cellar.

Frederick Bushee was not that kind at the turn of the century. Noting that a larger proportion of Irish, than any other immigrant group, fell to poverty he pointed his finger at the psychological, social and even physical constitution of the Gaelic people explaining that:

> It cannot be said that the ordinary Irishman is of a provident disposition; he lives in the present and worries comparatively little about the future. He is not extravagant in any particular way, but is wasteful in every way;... This disposition, combined with an ever-present tendency to drink too much, is liable to result in insecure employment and a small income. To make matters worse, in families of this kind children are born with reckless regularity...
> Although frequent instances of superior muscular development or of advanced age in individuals indicate the probable development of a higher physical type in the future, the present high rate [of illness]... shows that the Irish have not that toughness, that power to resist disease, shown by some of the other nationalities...
> While serious crime, to be sure, is not very prevalent among them, minor misdemeanours, especially such as are connected with drunkeness and pauperism, are exceptionally common. 43

In short, Bushee attributed the degenerating condition of the Irish to their national character and particularly to their slow rate of social development, perhaps more accurately, their reluctance and tardiness in assimilating to urban, industrial America.

For a group whose collective experience stemmed from the fields of the Emerald Isle they relied, more than any other national group in the City, upon unskilled labour (see Table XXII). By 1885, of the 28,705 Irish working men in Boston, 5,679 or twenty percent were engaged as labourers while other principal occupations of this group included masons, railroad workers, teamsters, longshoremen and merchants. Representing one of the most significant contributions to the economic history of the City, it was the deep pool of cheap labour provided by the Irish immigrants which transformed the New England port from a commercial entrepôt to a manufacturing centre during the nineteenth century. Engaged in long hours of monotonous labour, the leisurely independence of peasant life in Ireland was halted as the immigrants were faced with the realities of a new country and culture. It was to be several generations before Yankee resentment relaxed and discrimination declined, permitting the Irish access to economic opportunity and escape from poverty. While frustration later led the Boston Irish to utilize their numerical strength to sieze political power in the City, religion represented the primary consolidating factor for the early immigrants.[44]

Conscious of the erosion of Puritan predominance by the proselytisation of Irish Catholicism, Francis Parkman offered the following warning in 1890:

> New England Protestants will do well to remember that the Catholic population gains on them every year, as well as by natural increase as by emigration. New England families have dwindled in numbers in generation after generation through all this century, and it will be folly to provoke collision till the race returns to its pristine vigor, and promises a good supply of recruits for the war.[45]

But early religious conflict had already been witnessed in Boston, tied up in the ongoing battle between Yankee and Celt. An interim truce was wrought through the Irish immigrants' call to arms during the Civil War as few were the regiments of the North that could not claim soldiers of Gaelic birth among their ranks. Indeed, so distinctively Irish were two of Massachusetts' regiments that they were permitted to carry the flag of their motherland into battle, while Mary Elizabeth Blake, herself born in Ireland and travelling to Quincy, Massachusetts nine years later in 1849, remembered with pride, the role played by her fellow countrymen during the American Civil War, in the following prose:

They bore our starry flag above through bastion, gate,
and wall;
They stood before the foremost rank, the bravest
of them all;
And when before the canon's mouth they held the
foe at bay,
Oh, never could Ireland's heart beat prouder
than that day![46]

Yet even the Civil War failed to provide the social cohesion hoped for in Boston society. As the Irish demonstrated a group reluctance to accept traditional values and ideals, it was not unknown for some of the more aspiring immigrants to change their name. With the illiterate and impoverished Irish peasant of the 1840s and '50s gradually becoming a citizen of the past, opposition once more began to mount. The unparalleled melioration witnessed in life and a future guaranteed by the fact that in 1885 the children of Irish parentage outnumbered those of Massachusetts parentage in Boston, provided a base for an extension from economic to political significance.

Whether through the agitation of the Know Nothing Movement, the Immigration Restriction League and other organisations, or in a less structured manner, discrimination against the Boston Irish deepened. Eleanor Hallowell Abbot recalled that snobbery forced parents in Cambridge to confine their children to playgrounds away from the marshes where their humble Gaelic neighbours settled, while "Proper Bostonians" boarded separate streetcars from those filled by immigrant labourers on their way to work.[47] However, it was left to the juvenile openess of the Latin School-boys of Beacon Hill, and youths of the South End who, removing the moral veil that shrouded such prejudice, waged war on the Boston Common. Further, private schools functioned, in the same manner as country clubs, to preserve the hegemony of the Brahmin. In short, although the extremes of

Boston's citizenry later came to accept one another, throughout the years 1870 to 1900 "the Hub" was very much a City divided, geographically, politically, religiously, and economically but perhaps primarily on the basis of nativity. Each cultural group fighting to emerge victor, yet neither winning as Boston's global prominence shrank under a wave of social conflict.

Imperator of the Boston Irish was John Boyle O'Reilly, poet, journalist, novelist and actor, born on the Emerald Isle in 1844. An Irish Nationalist who had been influenced by the Fenian quest for independence from England, O'Reilly joined the British army at the age of nineteen with the intent of organising an Irish revolutionary force to bring an end to English domination of his homeland. Tried and convicted of treason just three years later, O'Reilly was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. After serving only two years in English gaols (about which he wrote Moondyne in 1879, a novel exposing the tyranny of English rule), O'Reilly was shipped to Australia. Escaping from the penal colony in 1869, he boarded a ship bound for Philadelphia. His subsequent arrival in Boston, one year later, heralded the start of a distinguished career as intellectual, radical and social reformer. An ardent democrat and editor of the Pilot, organ of the Boston Catholics, O'Reilly supported the rights of immigrants and working classes, once expressing the belief that, "Socialism is the hope of the People." While O'Reilly maintained his criticism of capitalism, racism, centralised government and the Republicans, it was through his opposition to the emancipation of women that he lost much of his support. A keen athlete, O'Reilly relished the active and outdoor life as he reportedly refereed at Harvard, sparred with John L. Sullivan and canoed New England's waterways, pursuits described in his book entitled The Ethics of Manly Boxing, first published in 1888. One year later, James Bernard Cullen recalled O'Reilly's preferences in life explaining that, "He is a famous athlete, and the serious, humane and patriotic purpose which underlies all the doings of this man, who is making the most of his life, can be found even in his pastimes."[48]

Yet O'Reilly's apparent personification of a new Irish Catholic Liberal must be viewed rather as an exception, for although considered a radical among Catholics (for social reform and Catholicism was still a rare mix), he was a moderate among non-Catholics. Perhaps it was this tendency toward mediocrity coupled with his status as intellectual that lent so well to a sound relationship and mutual respect with Boston Brahmins, further reducing the cleavage between the Yankee Puritans and Irish Catholics of the City, by the fin de siècle.

This fundamental religious conflict permeated life in the New England City throughout the years 1870 to 1900, deepening as the influx of immigrants (the majority of them Catholic), further threatened the traditional Puritan stronghold. The first Roman Catholic Church in "the Hub" dated from 1788, when the Church of the Holy Cross was established, although it was to be another twenty years before Dr. Cheverus became the first Bishop of the Diocese of Boston. As demand for the perpetuation of Catholic values and ideals strengthened after the initial wave of immigrants, Father McElroy founded Boston College (1860), and Father Robert Fulton the Young Men's Catholic Association of Boston College (1875). Also in 1875, the Catholic congregation had multiplied such that Pope Pius IX, established the Archdiocese of Boston, after which Archbishop John Williams responded to the discrimination of the City's system of public education by creating separate parochial schools in 1880.

Most important was the incongruence witnessed between the beliefs of Irish Catholicism and American Democracy during these years, as the church maintained that only God could solve the problems of social inequity, poverty, and ill-health, while opposing all crusades of social reform. This action in itself prompted antagonism and outright persecution of the Catholic Church by Protestants and atheists alike, as newspapers, books, and lectures endeavoured to annihilate Catholic beliefs, while legislation blocked further expansion of Catholicism producing a City in turmoil, a bifurcated society described with such clarity by J. Leslie Dunstan who pictured, on the one hand:

> A vast number of Irish Catholics, escaping from terrible suffering and almost certain death in their homeland, came to Protestant and Puritan Boston. They were forced into dark corners, places where no one else wanted to live, and when they laid claims to public services in order to meet their most elementary needs, were made to accept services given in an ungracious and niggardly manner. They struggled for their very livelihood and many died in the process. They were subjected to the worst kind of exploitation and open public abuse. And then, when they trustingly followed the guidance of their own religious leaders, who moved forward in faith, to gain the rights that belonged to them in a city whose citizens insisted upon the freedom of all men, they were hindered at every point.

While on the other hand there were:

> ...the people of Boston, descendants of those who had made the city what it was, sure of their accustomed ways, free churchmen when they were churchmen, counting the entire citizenry as individuals who should be regular church attendants, and discussing whether or not there were enough seats in the churches to accomodate everybody and giving generously through a number

> of effective agencies to win all men, the world over, to their understanding of Christianity. They faced a flood of strangers, whose religious faith was a form of Christianity which they repudiated, and which they thought of as not Christianity at all. They knew why the immigrants came, and were at the outset deeply sympathetic, but as they kept coming they inevitably sought to protect their own ways and make the newcomers conform.[49]

Assimilation of the Irish Catholics became less of a reality after 1864, the year in which Pope Pius (1846-1878), proclaimed his Syllabus of Errors, condemning public education, Socialism, Communism, "Clerico-Liberal Societies," secularism and rationalism. Yet the St. Vincent de Paul Society of Boston (1861), remained an important exception as it provided aid to released prisoners, poverty-stricken immigrants, unmarried mothers, and neglected children at the parish level, instilling the beliefs of Catholicism into its unfortunate charges.

Despite such progress, Catholics remained adamant over the fact that Man could not and should not change the social order in Boston, throughout much of the nineteenth century. Although the accession of Pope Leo XIII in 1878 brought a tempered acceptance of Liberalism, it was not until 1891, when his encyclical Rerum Novarum recognised the plight of the working class, that a new social gospel of Catholicism was promised. Utilising the Pope's attack on predatory capitalism and exploitation of the labourer, and his encouragement toward the formation of Catholic Trade Unions and Christian benevolence by the wealthy, James Jeffrey Roche (successor to John Boyle O'Reilly), resurrected the ideas of O'Reilly and Socialism as the Pilot supported social reform, bolstering the work of the Catholic Union (1873), and the Catholic Total Abstinence Union. Yet even before the Pope's encyclical of 1891, Catholic reform had commenced in Boston and by 1889, of the City's population of approximately 400,000, an estimated 225,000 Catholics, attending thirty-five churches, were responsible for the establishment of an ecclesiastical seminary, a college, three academies for girls, seventeen parochial schools, three hospitals, five orphanages, two homes for the aged poor, the Home of the Good Shepherd, the Home for Working Boys, and the Home for Working Girls (the latter two already considered in the last chapter), providing evidence of a new social conscience among the City's Catholic population. This interest was extended further into civic affairs and in 1887, the offices of Mayor, Chairman of the Board of Aldermen, President of the Common Council, City Clerk and Chairman of the School Committee were all filled by men of the Catholic faith as the Irish immigrants, in particular, rose to prominence in "the Hub."[50]

> Out of these narrow lanes, blind courts, dirty streets, damp cellars, and suffocating garrets, will come forth some of the noblest sons of our country, whom she will delight to own and honour.[51]

These prophetic words written by Orestes A. Brownson about the Irish immigrants appearing in the July 1st 1854 issue of the Pilot were certainly borne out in the remaining years of the nineteenth century. So often attributed to social fragmentation, the Irish contributed to social order as Boston's first Irish policeman, one Barney McGinniskin from County Cork, was appointed to the force by Mayor John Prescott Bigelow in 1851 with the hope of gaining the immigrant vote. Within the next twenty years the number of Irish constables in the City had risen to forty-five, reaching one hundred by the turn of the century. Nor was their interest in the maintenance of order restricted to law enforcement for politics became a near cultural obsession of the Gaelic newcomers as the City's first Irish mayor was elected in 1884, and the Council was coloured by an Irish majority for the first time in 1899.[52]

The political fascination and potency of the Irish immigrants represented both a source of fear to the traditional Protestant oligarchy and a sense of confidence for other immigrants and less fortunate as Bushee explained, "Their interest in politics not only perfects the political assimilation of their own people but it extends to more recent immigrants and helps to arouse in them interest in civil affairs."[53] Promising support for the ideals of American Democracy, the Editor of the Boston Evening Transcript for March 5th 1880, in recognising the Irishmen's infatuation with government, openly encouraged their arrival in writing:

> Let them come, then, as the waves come, and cause the absentee English landlords to mourn over their deserted glebes. It is very easy for every man of them to have a farm which they can soon call their own... If politics are necessary to the existence of Irishmen, they can get plenty of the needful in this country, in some parts of which they vote as soon as they touch the soil. Our Celtic friends are good at voting, they vote early and sometimes often, and as a general thing can be relied upon for the whole Democratic ticket. With all that drawback, we say the cry in Ireland should be, young men, leave Erin for the American shore.[54]

Promised greater representation, they were not to be disappointed in Boston where before the Civil War no Irishman had sat on the eight-man Board of Aldermen and Edward Hennessy was the only Irish name to appear on the forty-eight member Common Council. However, by 1870 the situation had changed as Hugh O'Brien was elected to the Board of Aldermen and six Irishmen sat on the Common Council. Probably the greatest victory of the Irish to that date was the success of Benjamin Butler in the 1882 Massachusetts gubernatorial election. Much to the distress of Brahmin Republicans, the former Civil War General, Democrat and friend of the Irish represented the antecedent of Irish predominance in the civic affairs of Boston throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century.

Worse was to come for the "Proper Bostonian," as the City's first Irish Catholic mayor was elected to office in 1884. Born in 1827, Hugh O'Brien travelled to Boston when just five years old. Ever-conscious of his Irish heritage (perhaps no better reflected in his closure of the Public Library on St. Patrick's Day), he was so popular that he was re-elected to four consecutive terms as mayor. Nor was it only his Irish heritage which gained him the vote as Cullen added:

> The cause of labour and the men who toil have ever found a champion in Mayor O'Brien, and while most eloquent when defending their interests, the memories of his own past years of labour have ever been present to his mind and impelled him to demand justice for the working men of to-day. [55]

As men in the mould of Hugh O'Brien enjoyed popularity in and around Boston, the Irish grasp of Bay State politics tightened and by 1890, they controlled the government of sixty-eight cities and towns in Massachusetts.

In Boston alone, the depth and diversity of Irish political control is appreciated by reviewing a list of Ward "bosses" which might include Martin "the Mahatma" Lomasney (West End); John F. "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald (North End); Joe Corbett (Charlestown); Patrick J. Kennedy (East Boston);

Joe O'Connell (Dorchester); and "Smiling Jim" Donovan (South End). The success of these Irishmen is reflected in their political preferences most clearly stated by Lomasney who felt that, "The great mass of people are interested in only three things --- food, clothing, and shelter. A politician in a district such as mine sees to it that his people get these things. If he does, then he doesn't have to worry about their loyalty and support."[56]

The City that claimed Irish settlement from its outset witnessed the greatest insurgence of Gaelic immigrants during the nineteenth century. Unlike the early Protestant Irish merchants, the peasants that crossed the Atlantic following the potato failure and rot of the 1840s were generally of the Catholic faith, presenting the first real threat to the preeminence of Boston Protestants. However, any fears that this traditional oligarchy might have held were soon allayed as any aspirations toward social elevation that the Irish immigrants may have shown were blocked by poverty, disease and their unavoidable exploitation at the hands of industrial capitalism. While representing the cornerstone to nineteenth century Boston's economic success, their seat in the social cellar was firmly cemented by low wages and high rents, for although it is true that the native traits of Irishmen may have contributed to their low status, society did precious little to assist their upward mobility.

Finding comfort and group identity in segregated communities, the Catholic church, and organisations such as the Shamrock Society (formed at Boston in 1844), their native coalescence led to group consciousness when their character and lifestyle was juxtaposed with Brahmin Society.

With early change prevented by ordinance of the Catholic church it was left to the likes of John Boyle O'Reilly and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to pioneer social reform allbeit contrary to their orthodox religious belief. Yet such action was moderate in the eyes of the "Proper Bostonians," and it affirmed their faith in the ability of public education to assimilate the immigrants to white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideology. But a new, self-confident breed of second generation Irishmen was emerging in Boston, an expanding group that had thrown off the shackles of poverty, ill health and illiteracy in its preparation to fight both the inferiority complex instilled in them by the pervasive traditional cultural heritage of "the Hub" remembered in the names of Emerson, Hawthorne and Thoreau, and their very real social, economic and political subordination. Realising the political advantage provided through their numerical majority, the new generation of Boston Irish enjoyed a life markedly different to their parents as William V. Shannon has observed:

> It is the first generation that meekly obeys the foreman, defers to the teacher, respects the corner cop. It is the later generations that rebel. Since the older people can remember the quite different society from which they emigrated, they never fully overcome their initial feelings of mingled fear, awe and gratitude. They rarely learn to speak up as if they really believe they own the world about them by right rather than by sufferance. The second generation who can remember no society other than America look out on the world around them with quite different eyes. In Boston in the late 1890's, the members of the first American Irish generation, those born in the 1860's and 1870's were coming to maturity.
>
> As the century closed, these younger Irish came roaring out of the slums and tenement houses propelled by a hard, aggressive urge to strike out at the world, to choke down all inner feelings of inadequacy, to master and punish their foes. Since the channels to conspicuous success in business were partly choked, politics was the obvious open raod. A score of young politicians came to the fore in these years.[57]

To some, there was another pathway which presented few obstacles to social success, namely sport. From the early arrival of Irish immigrants in Boston, the increased value and opportunity attributed sport in America was both utilised and mirrored in the aliens' search for group identity and the Brahmin encouragement toward assimilation. The extent to which sport reflected and contributed to the process of survival, conflict and progress of the Irish Bostonian during the years 1870 to 1900 is a story which has yet to be told and one which will be attempted in the remaining paragraphs of this section.

Writing in 1888, John Boyle O'Reilly proudly proclaimed that, "There is, in fact, no branch of athletics in which Irishmen, or the sons of Irishmen, do not hold the first places against all the world." Perhaps allowing his patriotic fervour to get the better of him it is nevertheless quite conceivable that, following Brahmin belief, O'Reilly too perceived Boston as "the Hub of the Universe," and influenced by his immediate surroundings it would appear that he was quite justified in such a statement as the City's foremost sportsmen of the time were John L. Sullivan and Mike "King" Kelly, both first generation Irish Americans. More recently, Carl Wittke has provided a more objective perception of Gaelic significance to American sport, explaining that:

> The Irish are fond of sports, from fishing to horse racing to baseball, and they have excelled in all its branches. When their efforts to introduce such native games as hurling and Gaelic football failed, they took what they found in their new home and made it their own.[58]

The range of athletic involvement shown by the Boston Irish is certainly borne out in Table XXIV, although traditionally, they are remembered for

Table XXIV

The Sporting Affiliation and Contribution of Some of Boston's Leading Citizens.[59]

Name	Birthplace and Date	Profession	Sporting Affiliation and Contribution
Edward P. Barry	South Boston, 1864	Journalist	Sports Editor of the *Boston Herald* for 1887.
Eugene Buckley	Florida, Mass., 1856	Journalist	Aquatic Editor of the *Boston Globe* and author of the *Base-Ball Record* for 1888.
Thomas C. Butler	Ireland, 1842	Hotelier	Former New England Sculling Champion and Member of the West End Boat Club.
William P. Carroll	South Boston, 1854	Politician and Businessman	President of the Seventh Ward Fishing Club (a strong political organisation), for four years.
James B. Connolly	South Boston	n.a.	Member of the Suffolk Athletic Club and first victor in the history of the Modern Olympic Games.
Thomas H. Cummings	Boston, 1856	Journalist	Member of the Megantic Fish and Game Club.
William F. Donovan	Boston, 1867	Journalist	Assistant Sports Editor of the *Boston Globe* for 1888.

Name	Birthplace and Date	Profession	Sporting Affiliation and Contribution
John J. Drohan	South Boston, 1866	Journalist	Former American National Indian-club swinging Champion at the Irish Athletic Club games of 1879. Baseball and general sports reporter with the *Boston Globe* and responsible party for the preparation of Michael J. Kelly's book entitled, *Play Ball : Stories of the Diamond*, (1888).
William A. Dunn	Boston, 1852	Physician	Member of the Boston Athletic Club.
James H. Gallagher	Boston, 1855	Businessman	President of the West End Athletic Club and the West End Boat Club.
Michael J. Kelly	Troy, New York	Baseball player	Premier Member of the Boston Red Stockings Baseball Club from 1887.
Patrick B. Kiernan	Boston, 1852	Lawyer	Member of the Chelsea Yacht Club.
John G. Lane	Philadelphia, 1854	Physician	Member of the National Irish Athletic Association and Member of the Irish-American Club of South Boston.
Edward J. Leary	South Boston, 1860	Music Compositor	Member of the South Boston Athletic Club.
Philip J. McLaughlin	Boston, 1850	Clerk	Secretary of the North End Fishing Club, the Lakeman Boat Club and the Atlantic Yacht Club.

Name	Birthplace and Date	Profession	Sporting Affiliation and Contribution
Hugh P. McNally	Charlestown, 1856	Journalist	Night Editor of the *Boston Herald* and Member of the Boston Press Rifle Club.
Peter S. McNally	Charlestown, 1865	Journalist	Sports Editor of the *Boston Advertiser* for 1888. A renowned lifesaver/swimmer.
John McNamara	Ireland, 1848	Builder	Member of the South Boston Yacht Club.
Patrick Maguire	Ireland, 1838	n.a.	Member of the Board of Park Commissioners.
Jeremiah S. Mahoney	Boston, 1855	Book-keeper	Former President of the Shawmut Rowing Club, 1885-86.
William J. Mahoney	Boston, 1854	n.a.	President of the Commercial Athletic Club for two years and Member of the North End Fishing Club.
James F. Marley	Ireland, 1857	n.a.	Secretary of the Shawmut Rowing Club.
Timothy Hayes Murname	Connecticut, 1850	Journalist	Former professional baseball player and manager. Founder of the *Boston Referee* and sporting correspondent to the *Boston Globe* and other publications.
Christopher O'Brien	Ireland, 1839	Businessman	Former active Member of the McClellan, Commercial and Boston Boat Clubs.
Patrick O'Connor	Ireland, 1842	Grocer	Member of the National Irish Athletic Association.

Name	Birthplace and Date	Profession	Sporting Affiliation and Contribution
Edward B. Rankin	Ireland, 1846	Journalist	Member of the Boston Athletic Association and Honorary Member of the Hull Yacht Club.
Daniel J. Saunders	Boston, 1860	Journalist	Sports correspondent to the Boston Daily Globe for 1888.
Roger F. Scannell	Ireland	n.a.	First President of the American-Irish Athletic Association.
John L. Sullivan	Boston, 1858	Prize fighter	World heavyweight Champion from 1882 to 1892.
John N. Taylor	Halliwell, Mass., 1859	Journalist	Sports Editor of the Boston Daily Globe.
John H. Walsh	Ireland, 1842	Hotelier	Organiser of the Irish Athletic Club of Boston.

their enthusiasm and contribution to pugilism, rowing and baseball, providing a perpetuation of Gaelic activity and an assimilation to the pursuits of their new home.

The history of the nineteenth century American prize ring is coloured by such names as Donovan, Heenan, Hyer, Kilrain, Morrissey, Ryan, Sheehan and Sullivan, attesting to the immediate patronisation of the sport by Irish immigrants. Possessing questionable moral virtue in the eyes of some intellectuals, the brutality of the early bareknuckle fights might well have hindered the Gaelic arrivals' acceptance into middle class, Protestant America for as J.C. Furnas has pointed out, "The rugged young men who survived such ordeals did their share to give the Irish a bad name by being usually either Irish or of second-generation Irish stock."[60] However, while retarding the process of assimilation there seems no doubt that the ongoing prominence enjoyed by John L. Sullivan (see Chapter XIV), provided a continual source of social uplift as the nineteenth century gladiator became the hero of the immigrant as well as many other Americans, and the model of success to which the sons of Boston Irishmen might aspire. Yet while the self-confidence of immigrants was charged by the achievements of professional fighters with whom they might identify, and to some "the ring" promised economic survival in the New World, it was a very different sport which provided the greatest opportunity for cultural conflict with the traditional white Anglo-Saxon Bostonian.

The employment of early Irish immigrants as wherrymen along Boston's waterfront encouraged the perpetuation of rowing in the nature of regattas held in their homeland, being clearly identified by christening their craft with such Gaelic appelations as T.F. Meagher and Maid of Erin. As early as

1854, one newspaper's description of the latter's crew as being Protestant prompted an immediate response from the displeased rowers, which read:

> They embrace this opportunity to inform the public, through your talented, widely diffused and useful paper, that they firmly adhere to their religion which stood the ordeal of English tyranny and prosecution for nearly four centuries, and which their forefathers professed and they believe to be the only way to salvation, namely, the Roman Catholic religion.[61]

So early had cultural identity (or mis-identity in this instant), aroused group consciousness leading to the resurrection of those deepseated beliefs in their values and lifestyles which might so easily have resulted in conflict.

Yet perhaps such contests served as a cathartic outlet, for with the words of a ballad written by the Reverend William R. Huntingdon, of the Harvard Class of 1859, seeming to reflect a disguised satisfaction at his boat's triumph over the Irish-crewed Fort Hill Boy at the Fourth of July City regatta in 1858, might such a victory be interpreted as reinforcing the hegemony of the Boston Brahmin? Comprising of two songs, the lyrics, reproduced in full in Appendix H, mock all that is Irish, their accent, dialect, and self-confidence, while questioning the trustworthiness of the losing crew whose payment of bets is dependent upon victory, an indication of their poverty and professional status. Reversing the Irish ridicule of the Harvard "lady pets," "fops" and "Beacon Street Swells," the superiority of the University shell over the flat-bottomed ferry scow is put beyond all contention as the defeated crew found little sympathy in verse hardly reminiscent of a muscular Christian.[62]

Irish enthusiasm for the oar did not fade throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century as the biographic profiles in Table XXIV indicate. Among the best remembered of Boston's rowers was Thomas C. Butler, a City hotelier born in Ireland in 1842, he won the single scull championship of New England in 1868 and 1869, and the same event in "the Hub's" Fourth of July Regatta of 1871, pairing up with his brother J.H. Butler and other partners to win the double-oar races from 1869 to 1872 as well as in 1874 and 1878. A prominent member of the West End Boat Club, he joined James H. Gallagher, the Club President, in ensuring an Irish tradition therein, similar to that built up by Jeremiah S. Mahoney (President), and James F. Marley (Secretary), of the Shawmut Rowing Club.

The native pursuits of Ireland were further perpetuated in Boston by the formation of the Emerald Football Club, the Shamrock Hurling Club and other organisations which provided the immigrants with vivid reminders of hours spent at Gaelic football and Shillelagh in their homeland. It was however, the establishment of the American Irish Athletic Association, under its first President Roger F. Scannell, an Irish immigrant who arrived at Boston in 1864, that secured the sporting heritage and self-esteem of the immigrant athletes in America. The Gaelic Athletic Association had been formed in Ireland during 1884 to enable "the Irish people to take the management of their games into their own hands."[63] Previously subject to the controls and whims of the English Amateur Athletic Association, Irish athletes had been forced to sacrifice traditional games at the expense of English pastimes, competition in which, frequently led to defeat and humiliation. As the American Irish patronised their native Association they also supported similar organisations in the New World, as Boston (see Table XXIV), and other large American cities could boast Irish

Athletic Clubs by the end of the 1880s. At the same time the Irish immigrants, showing little inhibition in their search for social acceptance and elevation, chose to try their hand at "America's National Game."

As early as 1870, Boston's newspapers were reporting matches played by the Hibernian Base Ball Club of the City, Irish representation on the diamond being extended two years later with the formation of the Shamrock Base Ball Club. The peculiar affinity that the American Irish held with the game has been recognised more recently by Carl Wittke who wrote:

> The Irish adopted the national pastime of baseball with greater immediate success than any other immigrant group... The reputation of Irish ballplayers was so great that others frequently took Irish names to help them in their baseball careers. [64]

"King" among the American Irish professional baseball players was Michael J. Kelly who, the son of an Irish immigrant papermaker of Troy, New York, recorded a superlative career as catcher, outfielder and shortstop with the Cincinnati Reds from 1879 to 1887, leading the League in batting during his penultimate season in Ohio. His subsequent sale to the Boston Club in 1887 brought the "Ten Thousand Dollar Beauty" immediate renown as his name was immortalised in the popular song entitled "Slide, Kelly, Slide," celebrating the eighty-four bases that he stole for the Red Stockings in his first season with them. Neither was this the only musical relationship drawn between the Irish and baseball during the nineteenth century. In 1888, Ernest L. Thayer a native of Worcester, Massachusetts and graduate of the Harvard Class of 1885, first published his ballad entitled "Casey At The Bat" (reproduced in full in Appendix H). Later adapted for the stage, a production of which cast "King Kelly" in the title role alongside the

London Gaiety Girls at a Boston theatre in 1894, the lyrics quite significantly included the characteristic Irish names of Blake, Cooney, and Flynn which were becoming so common on the baseball diamonds across America, although one might wonder whether Casey, the hope of the Mudville Nine, would have hit a home run instead of striking out had his creator not been of the Brahmin stable.[65]

In similar fashion, Irishmen and their sons found recognition on the football field once they were accepted into the Nation's universities, so that rare was the All-American team that did not include at least one player of Irish descent from 1895 onward. Yet American Irish participation in sport reached beyond the replication of those traditional pursuits practiced on the Emerald Isle, pugilism, rowing, Gaelic football and hurling, together with the adaptation of American games on the grid-iron and diamond. A summary of the sporting interaction of Boston's most prominent Irish residents (see Table XXIV), reflects other interests as diverse as fishing, riflery, gymnastics, swimming, track and field, and yachting, although it should be noted that the individuals selected by James B. Cullen were clearly of a bourgeois class and not representative of the labouring Irish majority. Most important, the information also indicates a strong preponderance for the Boston Irish to involve themselves in journalism.

Combining improved literation with an interest in sport, gentlemen of Irish descent appear to have dominated the sports pages of Boston's newspapers by the end of the nineteenth century. Foremost among the City's sports reporters were Peter S. McNally, Timothy Hayes Murname and John N. Taylor. McNally, sporting editor of the Boston Advertiser from January 1888, is perhaps best remembered for his achievements as a long-distance swimmer, holding the record "from Bath, Me., to Fort Popham, on the Kennebec river, a distance of sixteen nautical miles," and as recipient of a silver medal from the Massachusetts Humane Society for repeated feats of bravery (see Chapter XI). Timothy Murname devoted the first thirty-five years of his life to baseball connected, in the roles of both player and manager, with such clubs as The Savannah (Georgia), Middletown (Connecticut), Athletics (Philadelphia), Boston, and Providence, while Cullen added that:

> In 1874 he went to England and Ireland with the American ball-players, as a member of the Athletics of Philadelphia. He has been instrumental in bringing before the public many great ball-players, notably Messrs. Crane and Slattery, of New York; Sullivan, Farrell, and Duffy, of Chicago; Farrer, of Philadelphia; McCarthy, of St. Louis; Nash and Johnston, of Boston; Hughes, of Brooklyn; Hackett, Shaw, Morgan, Murphy, and others. In 1884 he organised the Boston Unions, and in 1886 the Boston Blues.[66]

Founding the Referee, a sporting newspaper at Boston in the spring of 1886, he was subsequently employed by the Boston Globe as special correspondent to the Red Stockings while maintaining his contribution to the Sporting Life, the New York Evening Telegram, the St. Louis Sporting News, and the Press Association.

Joined by fellow Irish Americans, Eugene Buckley, William F. Donovan, John F. Drohan and Daniel J. Saunders in the sports office of the Boston Globe, John N. Taylor was appointed the newspaper's sports editor in April 1888. The events leading up to his promotion were recalled by Cullen in writing that:

> In the spring of 1887 the yacht races between the "Volunteer," "Puritan," "Priscilla," and "Mayflower," excited the curiousity of the country, and the Boston

> journals were eager to command the news for this section. Competition was lively among the representatives of the different Boston newspapers. There were only two wires from Boston to Marblehead Neck. The Boston "Herald" had full control of one, and the "Associated Press" of the other. It was said that the "Globe" would fail to get the news. Mr. Taylor was assigned to the discouraging task of obtaining the details of the race, hired a telephone wire, borrowed a sufficient amount of battery, made a telegraph circuit of it, and not only saved his paper from loss of news, but sent his report ahead of all other papers in the city on the start and finish of the race. Again, during the famous yacht race between the "Volunteer" and "Thistle," he extended the wire from the editorial room to a platform in front of the building, and had it put through to Sandy Hook, defeating the other Boston papers all the way from five minutes to half an hour on bulletins. [67]

But Taylor's finest journalistic achievement was reserved for his first assignment upon becoming sports editor. Lying in wait aboard a tug outside of the Boston Light for two days, Taylor was the first person to shake the legendary hand of John L. Sullivan upon the Champion's return from his tour of Europe in 1888. Evading quarantine, the Boston Globe published Taylor's interview four and one-half hours in advance of other City newspapers. Unlike others, Taylor did not allow his journalistic endeavours to cloud his reputation as an exceptional allround athlete in later years, as he successfully managed the Boston Globe's famous newsboys' baseball team so providing another strand of Irish contribution to sport in "the Hub."

The enthusiasm and success of native Irishmen and their descendants in the sporting life of Boston during the years 1870 to 1900 was unquestionably marked. Whether viewed through the eyes of the Gaelic prize fighter who utilised the ring in guaranteeing the survival of himself, family and national group, or the baseball player who experienced mounting success as he was slowly assimilated into the American diamond, the relationship struck up between the Boston Irish and sport was of particular significance to the social evolution of the City. Conflict of cultural values was witnessed across most sports as the Brahmins rejected prize-fighting as Barbaric and the wherrymen's boat races on account of the professionalism that had crept into their practice (for rowing was a mutually accepted sport, see Chapter XII). However, it is suggested that athletic meetings between these groups may have functioned as a safety valve, permitting cultural biases and jealousies to overflow and be tested in a relatively controlled environment, in short, rather the Irish and Brahmins waged war without weapons in the City Regatta than engage in open battle on the lawns of the Boston Common. Whatever, it is certain that these events also served to break down some of the class barriers surrounding certain sports as greater cultural understanding was facilitated. Thus, while middle class Irishmen, in particular, accepted American tradition on the sportfield the labouring masses, for which limited evidence remain, despite their gradual acceptance into nearly all pursuits, perpetuated the cultural incongruence through sport as well as politics, as Bushee concludes:

> ... the contribution which the Irish have made to games and sports of all kinds should not be lightly esteemed, although they have not always raised them to a very high place. -- base ball, pugilism, and politics being perhaps their favourite sports. [68]

This cultural battle was not new to the Irishman who had been forced to leave home partly by the discrimination of an English government intent upon shipping its values and ideals across the Irish Sea in much the same manner that colonial merchants had created a traditional hegemony in New England during the previous century.

Englishmen and Scotsmen at Play

In reference to the rise of America, Rowland Berthoff, leading student of the trans-Atlantic migration wrote that, it was a British acorn from which the young oak had sprouted."[68] With a longstanding tradition of British settlement, since the founding of the New World, natives of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales were well established on American soil by the onset of the nineteenth century. Yet the influx continued as more than three million British immigrants arrived in the United States between the years 1870 and 1900, with the Irish (48%), English (42%), Scots (9%), and Welsh (1%) each making their characteristic cultural contributions to American society.

With modesty and shyness characterising the English immigrant of these years, evidence of his cultural segregation is scant although the appearance of St. George's Societies across the land attests to a desire to cling to his native roots. While most were of the middle class, wealthy and respected members of Society, they frequently assimilated quite comfortably, secure in the bourgeois world of American capitalism and business. However, the passage of English labourers were not uncommon, tempted by the promise of socioeconomic amelioration in the New World. Although such dreams were not always realised, a British consul noted in 1880 that English textile operatives employed in the mills of Philadelphia were enjoying a most pleasing existence for working men. In similar manner it was observed that, while a Staffordshire potter was content to wear "a flannel shirt and a handkerchief around his neck from one week's end to another," his arrival in America prompted the purchase of "a White shirt and white collar and nice necktie and a pair of patent-leather shoes."[69]

It is important to note that the status afforded English immigrants, and Anglo-American relations in general, fluctuated in accord with the spirit of the times. This fact was most evident as the middle class began to lose the balance of power in a rapidly dividing society of the late 1800s. Perhaps disguising a former trace of Anglophobia, English antecedents became the measure of all that was good in the eyes of the Boston Brahmin and other middle class Americans of the fin de siècle. To some, a belief in Social Darwinism promised more, that an Anglo-American blend would prove all-powerful for as Francis A. Walker suggested in 1891:

> The Climate of the United States has been benign enough to enable us to take the English shorthorn and greatly improve it... to take the English race-horse and to improve him... to take the English man and improve him to, adding agility to his strength, making his eye keener and his hand steadier, so that in rowing, in riding, in shooting, and in boxing, the American of pure English stock is today the better animal. [70]

Such allusion to the purely physical qualities of Man by a leading educator and prominent New England intellectual is perhaps peculiar. Yet, the very importance attributed the Body is in itself indicative of a characteristic Victorian view of Man (see Chapter III). Despite Puritanical constraint, it has been seen that the Anglo-Saxon affinity for sport was replicated in America throughout the nineteenth century and before, prompted by both individuals and institutions of the middle class and maintained through ongoing international relations.

Whether it was the arrival of Britain's first ever professional touring team (an English cricket eleven), on American soil in 1859, or the achievements of Sheffield-born Harry Wright as professional bowler with the St George's Cricket Club of New York or as Manager of the

Cincinnati and Boston Red Stockings, the debt owed by American sport to England is indeed great. To Hope Narey a nineteenth century Boston commentator on women in sport, it was the very progress made on the other side of the Ocean that created the environment in which American women would soon enjoy the outdoor life, further explaining that:

> Again the much abused Anglomaniacism has had its part in changing public sentiment among both men and women. It is nature's law to make always the best of everything, to evolve good from evil, to find always compensation; and so even Anglomaniacism, being not wholly lawless, has made it here in America, because in England, the fashion is to ride, to cycle and to play games. 71

Perhaps the relationship of Anglomania to sport in America is no better reflected than in the following extract from the New York Times of July 6th, 1877:

> That English Sports may remain as long as England remains, and that they may remain among the descendents of Englishmen to days in which perhaps England herself may exist no longer, is our wish as sportsmen;... 72

In fairness to the perception and respectability of the correspondent, a concluding clause safeguarded the destruction of the valued model and read:

> ... should it ever become unreasonable in its expenditures, arrogant in its demands, immoral and selfish in its tendencies, or worse of all, unclean and dishonest in its traffic, there will arise against it a public opinion against which it will be unable to hold its own. 73

While these fears certainly became realised by the end of the nineteenth century, the most English of sports, notably cricket, maintained an air of respectability about it. Accounts of English cricket and other sporting events continued to crowd the columns of Boston's newspapers, supporting the value and interest afforded such pursuits by immigrants and natives alike. In August of 1889 a letter arrived on the desk of the Editor to the Bristol journal Amateur Sport, from one Samuel A. Miles of Chicago. Explaining that, "As an old Bristolian I take great interest in your newsy paper, which reaches me weekly, and eagerly scan the cricket, cycling and athletic departments," Smiles, co-author of the Chicago Referee, personifies the English immigrant in America who both relishes news of sport in his native land and goes on to offer wholesale criticism of athletics in his adopted home.[74] While most accepted the practice of baseball in preference to cricket, few were the English immigrants and Anglophiles who were tolerant of changes in the ideological foundation of sport which had been England's most important gift to the world. No better reflected than in team games so well-nourished in the "public" schools, William Blaikie considered that the influence of Tom Brown on American sport, "has been greater, perhaps, than that of any other Englishman."[75]

Although few specific examples have been provided with regard to the relationship of English immigrants and sport in Boston, the clearest evidence is to be found in the review of cricket clubs of the City provided in Chapter VI and the influence of muscular Christianity and team games upon "the Hub's" schools and universities, discussed in Chapter IX. Finding little cause for segregation and group identity through their very patronage of Boston's middle class, Englishmen and citizens of Anglo-Saxon heritage ensured a perpetuation of English games and ideals through the leisure activities of the City gentleman at the Athletic Club, the

Country Club and golf club.

While it would be incorrect to suggest that American sport borrowed solely from England, there seems little doubt that English teams and athletes became the yardstick along which American athletic performance and progress was measured, particularly when visions of an American Empire toward the end of the century precipitated a new feeling of Jingoism, a revival of Anglophobia and a desire to prove Walker's belief in the superiority of "the American of pure English stock." With the Irish and English immigrants representing the extremes of assimilation to Boston society, British immigration included the arrival of two smaller groups of denizens to "the Hub's" wharves. Although the Welsh came to represent a fleeting minority of the City's population, they maintained a group identity through the formation of The Welchmen of Boston Society, a benevolent organisation that subsequently became known as The Sons of Cambria Mutual Aid Society, whose members enthusiastically celebrated St. David's Day on the first day of March each year. In contrast, the numerical inferiority of Scottish immigrants (in comparison to those of Irish and English origin), was not indicative of their impact upon New England Society as they clung tenaciously to the customs of their homeland.

The earliest organisation of Scottish immigrants in America was the "Scots' Charitable Society of Boston" founded in 1657 for the provision of mutual aid among its members. Within the next two hundred years a variety of Caledonian organisations sprang up in Boston and other American cities, such as a Border's Club or a Highland Society, often reflecting the geographic origin of the Gaelic immigrants. The year 1870 brought the formation of The North American Caledonian Association intended to unite the multitude of Scottish societies established across the United States and Canada. By 1875, many of the younger members of this parent body withdrew to form The Scottish American Club, an organisation which was to become one of the most prominent athletic clubs of the eastern seaboard throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century.

The Boston Caledonian Club founded on March 19th 1853 (and incorporated in 1869), was joined by Burn's Societies, St Andrew's Societies and clan activities in preserving the cultural heritage of Scotsmen and women in "the Hub." Instituted in Boston on November 30th 1878, the Order of Royal Scottish Clans functioned in maintaining the tradition of earlier charitable organisations by offering insurance, free physicians, death and sick benefits to its members, all for a subscription of fifty cents per month. Few were the neighbourhoods of Boston that were not represented by clan chiefs, tanists, officers and physicians as a list might include the Clan McKenzie (founded in Boston during 1888), MacGregor (Quincy), McLean (Lynn), McCormack (East Boston), Malcolm (Dorchester), MacDougall (Somerville), Campbell (Chelsea), Lindsay (North Cambridge), Farquharson (South Boston), Stewart (Charlestown), MacLeod (Hyde Park, 1892), Ramsay (Roxbury), McPhail (Wakefield), McNeil (Malden), and Chisholm (Revere). Indeed, so active did the Order become in Boston that the City was chosen as the site of The Royal Clan Convention in 1888, drawing delegates from across North America.[76]

In the words of The Boston Caledonian Club, its purpose was to preserve "the manners and customs, literature, the Highland costume and the athletic games of Scotland, as practiced by our forefathers."[77] Characterised by a physical prowess that stood above that of other nations, the New England disciple of muscular Christianity, Thomas Wentworth Higginson observed just such a trait as he disembarked from a steamship upon his arrival at the Games of the Providence Caledonian Club in 1871, later recalling that:

> ... I saw some well-built manly young fellows, as athletic in their build as any Germans, but better set up and less slouchy than the average.[78]

While the formation of the Star and Thistle Cricket Club in 1857 suggests a Gaelic contribution to the revival of the willow in Boston, it is through the perpetuation of Caledonian Games that Scotland bestowed its most significant legacy on sport in "the Hub" and across North America. Characterised by tests of skill, strength, speed and agility on track and field, athletic games were first recorded in their homeland at the Braemar Gathering of 1832. It seems likely that these pursuits were carried across the Atlantic almost without hesitation as the earliest reference to Games being held under the auspices of an American Scottish society appeared in the *Emigrant and Old Countryman* of October 19th 1836.[79]

Also predated by Highland Games held in Montreal and Toronto during the preceding fifteen years, the first formal Caledonian Games in the United States might, nevertheless, be attributed to those first run by the Boston Club in 1853. Celebrated at Fresh Pond Grove during the early years, the organisers later purchased Caledonian Grove in West Roxbury which became the site of the Annual Scottish Picnic and Highland Games after 1889. Open only to members at their outset, the Caledonian Games welcomed "allcomers" as they entered their golden age during postbellum years, the Boston organisers planning morning events for their fellow countrymen while afternoon contests became "open to the world." The nature and function of these spectacles was early recognised in and around Boston, with Thomas Wentworth Higginson travelling to Somebody's Point on Narragansett Bay to observe "A Day of Scottish Games" held under the auspices of the Providence (Rhode Island) Caledonian Club in 1871. Being impressed with the prominence of the Scottish standard, "the rampant lion on the orange ground," the "bonnie burr" of conversation and the "horrible drone" of the bagpipes, Higginson provides a vivid description of the day's festivities which included cricket, quoits, dancing, a clambake and the athletic events themselves ranging from putting the stone to the sack race. His conclusion that "the games, if not physically astounding were yet so honest and innocent and manly, that I was well content," seemed to be echoed in part by the Marquess of Queensberry who, upon viewing the Boston Caledonian Games of 1885 "expressed himself as very much pleased with the sports."[80]

By 1870 a new complexion characterised the Boston Highland Games. No longer a closed event for members of the City's Caledonian Club, it became a major sporting spectacle in "the Hub" encouraging peddlers, hucksters and the like to step out in force, eager to prey upon the pursestrings of those in attendance, a situation not altogether disapproved of by the organisers as Berthoff explains:

> Americans as well as Scots soon flocked by the thousands to Caledonian games in cities the country over. If the Scots frowned on these motley crowds, they welcomed the flood of silver at the gates and soon threw the competitions open to all athletes, be they Scots, Americans, Irish, Germans, or Negroes.[81]

The arrival of "pot hunters" from the land of the thistle was not uncommon during the 1870s. As early as 1870, Donald Dinnie "the famed champion athlete of Scotland" paraded before those in attendance at the Boston Games wearing "sixty-five gold and silver medals, which had been presented him for his superiority in athletics in Scotland, England and America." Although not competing in most of the day's proceedings, Dinnie gave exhibitions at the conclusion of putting the heavy stone, throwing the heavy hammer, throwing the light hammer and running high leap, in each case recording performances far superior to the victors' (see Appendix H for a compilation of the results). However, the Scottish champion turned down an invitation to toss the caber "which consisted in throwing a pole, 18 1/2 feet in length, and of end diameters of five and seven inches, end over end the longest distance," on the basis that it was only "a hen-roosting pole." The apparent absence of pecuniary reward for Dinnie's performance was rectified when he was awarded a prize of twenty-five dollars for throwing a fifty-six pound weight 24'6", 6'1" futher than his only competitor, Charles Mitchell. Even still, this victory left the Champion considerably short of the forty-one dollars in prize money pocketed by Thomas Buchan, winner in seven of the twenty-one events.[82]

Nor was Dinnie the only such professional Scottish athlete who, tempted by the promise of fattened coffers, patronised the North American circuit of Caledonian Games. The following year saw the arrival of James Fleming, "the celebrated Scottish athlete and dancer" who ranked "next to Donald Dinnie among the athletes of Scotland," to participate in the Fifteenth Annual Festival of the Boston Caledonian Club at Fresh Pond Grove. In partial replication of Dinnie, Fleming performed exhibitions in putting the heavy stone, putting the light stone, throwing the heavy hammer, and throwing the light hammer, while also taking home his share of the prize money by projecting the fifty-six pound weight 29'3 1/2" and winning the first prize of ten dollars contested in two special competitions for putting the heavy stone and tossing the caber. With Thomas Buchan bettering many of his performances of the previous year, he won five of the twenty-three events before his effective reign was brought to an end in 1873 by the first appearance of George Goldie at the Boston Games. Having been appointed Director of the Princeton Gymnasium in 1869, Goldie's reputation in athletics was elevated as he won three events and placed in seven others, pocketing thirty-three dollars for his efforts.[83]

By the 1870s, the Boston Caledonian Games was becoming one of the most significant events on the sporting calendar of the City. In 1871, the Boston Morning Journal reported that:

> These festivals grow more popular every year among the lads and lassies of Auld Scotia, to which the constant increase in the attendance at the annual gatherings fully attests, and the day is passed in various ways, the athletic members of the club indulging in various games peculiar to Bonnie Scotland.[84]

Nor was growth limited to the number of spectators and contestants for, as the following advertisement which appeared in the Boston Daily Globe for 1878 suggests, expanding monetary incentives became an important factor to all involved:

THE BOSTON
CALEDONIAN CLUB
accompanied by the 79th Highlanders Old Guard
25th Annual Picnic and Games
on Thursday 29th August
Grand Athletic Tournament
$450 in prizes
Tickets 50 cents, children half-price [85]

The following year saw eight hundred dollars offered in prize money for the Games which were held at Spy Pond Grove, while by 1884 the figure had grown to twelve hundred dollars added to which was five hundred dollars worth of silver prizes. With 18,000 people present upon this the thirty-first occasion of the Games, the positive relationship between attendance and prize money finds added support. Travelling from Lowell, Providence, Newport, Fall River, Laurence and Prince Edward Island was not unusual for spectators and contestants alike, and it is interesting to note that at the 1884 New York Caledonian Games the situation was reversed as, "The honors of the day were shared pretty evenly by the visitors and members of home athletic organisations, a goodly number of the prizes going to Boston and Canada." Although fifteen hundred dollars was offered in prize money for the Boston Games of 1885 in an attempt to "bring together the best athletes that the world can produce," such events had already reached their zenith and were in a period of relative decline. By the year 1905 the Games, now organised by the Order of Royal Scottish Clans, were clearly distinguished by eighteen "amateur" events for members and their families who, paying a twenty-five cent entry fee were eligible for $327 in prizes, and twenty-two "professional" events for "all-comers" who for fifty cents could enter events which offered $779 in prize money. Including putting the shot (16 pounds), throwing the hammer (16 pounds), 100 yard dash, half-mile race and hurdle race, the Games had taken on the appearance of a modern track and field meet with characteristic Scottish events such as the three-legged race, the hitch and kick and tossing the caber, all markedly absent.[86]

The significant contribution of Scotsmen to the evolution of track and field in America was documented by Berthoff in 1953 as he wrote, "American athletes appropriated the favourite sport of the Scottish immigrants... they abandoned some peculiarly Scottish events like caber-tossing and - more suitable for picnics - the three-legged and sack races."[87] More than half a century before however, Duncan Edwards writing in Scribner's noted that before the founding of the New York Athletic Club in 1868, "the Caledonian Societies used to give Athletic Games at which the canny Scots tossed the caber, ran footraces, and drank good Scotch whiskey in honor of Robbie Burns and the domestic affections."[88] Whether in celebration of the birth of Sir Walter Scott or Burns, the American Scot's desire to perpetuate the traditions of his forefathers eventually led to the adoption and codification of a number of the Games' events by the National Association of Amateur Athletes of America (1879), its successor, the Amateur Athletic Union (1888), universities and athletic clubs, prompting the proud although perhaps premature claim of the Boston Caledonian Club in 1879 to be "the parent and originator of all athletic sports that have now become so popular over this continent."[89]

Although experiencing a decline in the light of former years, the organisers of the Boston Games during the 1880s never faltered in promoting their annual gathering as Redmond suggested:

> Their fellow - countrymen and others were kept well informed about forthcoming attractions by the industrious and prudent Scotsmen. Other people, too, advertised in connection with the popular Caledonian Games; railway proprietors, for example, ran frequent excursions to the Games, and advertised their rates and times of arrival and departure. [90]

Offering special excursion fares of thirty-five cents to Point of Pines, the venue of the 1888 Games, the Boston, Revere Beach and Lynn Railroad faced stiff competition from others including the Eastern Railroad which advertised a "stopover" at Oak Island, Revere Beach on the way to and from the Gaelic gathering. Another advertisement informed the readers of the Boston Daily Globe that following the Games of 1888:

> SCOTSMEN!
>
> Do not forget that all the famous athletes are now stopping at the Waverley House, Revere Beach.
>
> DANCING TONIGHT.
>
> Duncan C. Ross, Manager. [91]

Dancing continued to represent a major source of attraction to Boston's Scottish element, with an Annual Caledonian Ball first being organised in 1847 and continued throughout the nineteenth century. Seemingly inherent in his national character is the Scotsman's propensity to consume alcohol with frequent wild abandon. With Boston's newspapers alluding to a high incidence of intemperance in Scotland it is not surprising that drinking and riotous behaviour is early reported at the Caledonian Club picnic for 1872. Further, it is interesting that Higginson, upon his visit to the Providence Games during the previous year, noted that "the Caledonian Club had wisely prohibited for the day all drinks more potent than ale," and was moved to add that although "There were some casks of ale on tap close to the scene of the games,... I saw none of that excessive drinking which marks German festivals."[92]

Perhaps coloured by periodic incidents of antisocial behaviour, the contribution of Scottish immigrants to sport in "the Hub" continued and extended beyond the realm of track and field. The suggestion that a visiting Scotsman was instrumental in introducing golf to nineteenth century Boston has been presented in Chapter XI, a thesis that might hold greater validity if images remained of the initial round played in Franklin Park by George Wright and his tartan-clad colleagues in 1890. A winter sport traditionally associated with the lowlands of Scotland and promoted at The Country Club in Brookline and other bastions of middle class sentiment was curling. A recent historian of the game presents the supposition that "curling came to the United States along with Scottish immigrants..."[93] The earliest organisation in America was the Orchard Lake Curling Club formed on January 2nd 1832 at the home of Dr. Robert Burns near Chicago, although there is evidence of the game being played in New York City very much earlier. The role of Scottish immigrants in promoting the sport on American ice is further borne out by an advertisement appearing in the Scottish American Journal which subsequently led to the formation of the Grand National Curling Club of America in the rooms of the New York City Caledonian Club during June of 1867.

Considered the most exclusive organisation in the Country, the New England Curling Club of Boston dates from 1856, and while reference is made to the Boston City Curling Club founded two years later, precious little evidence remains of the sport being practiced in "the Hub." Even the Reverend John Kerr's landmark, Curling in Canada and the United States affords only brief mention of a Boston team's victory over the touring Royal Caledonian Curling Club at New York during the winter of 1902/1903, its subsequent fine performance in a bonspiel at Hoboken and the apparent formation of another Boston Club by one John McGaw of Galloway.[94]

Representing the third largest group of immigrants in nineteenth century Boston behind the Irish and Canadians, the combined English, Scottish and Welsh settlers, numbering more than 17,000 by the turn of the century, presents difficulty in generalisation. Statistics in Table XXII suggest that, upon arrival in Boston, the English, Scottish and Welsh immigrants enjoyed a higher socioeconomic status than the Irish and, although an elevation of the latter was reflected in their greater proportional representation among the professional and mercantile classes as the fin de siecle neared, there remained fewer Englishmen, Scotsmen and Welshmen than Irishmen employed in unskilled labour.

The contribution of English immigrants to Boston, and American life is poorly documented. Often drawn to "the Hub" by commercial and literary laurels surviving from Colonial years, English gentlemen were in a favoured majority among their fellow countrymen who chose to emigrate to Boston. Perpetuating the cultural traditions associated with white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, team sports and the ideals of muscular Christianity found a home in the educational and exclusive social enclaves of the Brahmin class, already discussed in Chapter XI. In contrast, the clannish customs of the Scots, the skirl of bagpipes; the highland fling; the hue of tartan; and their athletic games were alien to the American city, creating an incongruence which forced the Celtic immigrants to seek security and a perpetuation of their traditions in closeknit Caledonian clubs. Initiated in Boston during the seventeenth century, the network of Scottish societies soon spread. With the Caledonian Games becoming the highlight of their calendar, these events came to be of great significance in the sporting life of Boston and other cities soon extending an invitation to "allcomers" whether of Irish, German or English descent or even the "professional" athletes of their homeland. Experiencing their golden years during the 1870s and 1880s, the subsequent decline might be attributed to the increasing role of the A.A.U., in organising and codifying track and field events which evolved out of the Caledonian games. Perhaps also, the idea of intergenerational social and cultural mobility was taking its toll on the traditional festival, although as Higginson suggested as early as 1872, it was less evident among the Scottish than other immigrant groups:

> ... from the undisguised wonder with which the juveniles regarded the bare knees of the two pipers, I guessed how rapidly the American children of Scotch parents were drifting from the national words and ways, while yet proud of their origin, and not disposed to ignore it as are often the younger generation of Irish. But so long as they retained sufficient sense of nationality to celebrate Scott's birthday by a pic-nic, "on which occasion the Ancient Games of Scotland" would be "competed for," they were Scotch enough for me. [95]

That British immigrants played an important part in the social and sporting life of nineteenth century Boston has been clearly shown. However, with American and British (including Irish), nationals accounting for a little over eighty percent of the City's population at the turn of the century, there remained over 100,000 "New Bostonians" who clearly reflected the cultural pluralism inherent in Boston society, one of the more established national groups being the Germans who maintained a steady influx to the United States from the seventeenth century, bolstered by an exodus in response to the Revolution of 1848.

German Turners Around "the Hub."

The Germans represented a unique and forceful current in the mainstream of immigration to the United States. By the time of the Declaration of Independence, more than one quarter of a million had settled in America and the flow continued. The most significant wave of German immigration occured during the nineteenth century as Carl Wittke has observed:

> From 1819 to 1871, there were 2,358,709 Germans in the United States. By 1860, the German element constituted thirty-one percent of the foreign born population. [96]

Extending a significant influence upon the nature and quality of American life, it is not surprising that early nineteenth century political exiles carried the word of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852), with them to the New World in the hope of transplanting his ideas in foreign soil.

Following the Battle of Jena on October 14th 1806, and restrained by the severe terms of the Treaty of Tilsit the following year, German people found themselves suppressed by and servile to Napoleon. Lacking the initiative to thwart Napoleon's regime, Jahn and others sought to instil, once more, a feeling of confidence in the minds of their fellow countrymen. Utilising physical culture in his gospel of mental, emotional, physical, spiritual and social regeneration, Jahn coined the term Turnen to describe his system of gymnastic exercises. Adopting "mens sana in corpore sano" as the fundamental dictum of his work, Jahn preached the maxim "Frisch, Frei, Froelich und Fromm," loosely translated as "Progressive, Unfettered, Optimistic, Dutiful and Devout," in his search for a new liberal and united Germany. Sometimes referred to as Turnvater Jahn, he created a vocabulary which included turner, turnlehrer, turnerbund, turnfest, and turnverein or turngemeinde, which referred to the actor, teacher, union, festival and society relating to the practice of gymnastics.

Jahn's system utilised a graded series of exercises which included work on the horizontal and parallel bars in seeking to elevate the general health of the nation. Frowning upon elitism and the constraints of military drill, his programme encouraged self-discipline and cooperation among the Turners, following the premise that his goal, a common fatherland, might only be effected if the individual achieved within himself a mental, emotional, physical and spiritual wholeness. Opening his first turnplatz (outdoor gymnasium), at Hasenheide near Berlin in 1811, Jahn's endeavours were relatively shortlived as the Prussian ministry, influenced by Austria's Prince Metternich, chose to suppress the emergence of neo-liberalism, arresting and imprisoning Turnvater Jahn from 1819 to 1825. Prompting followers of Jahn to leave their homeland in escaping persecution, three of his foremost disciples found their way to Boston, first Charles Beck and Charles Follen, and later Francis Lieber, the contributions of each having been discussed earlier in Chapters V and VIII.[97]

In partial disagreement with Barney's statement that "The history of the Turner movement in the United States properly commences with the arrival in North America of political refugees of the 1848 revolution in Germany,"[98] on the basis of the significant contribution, allbeit shortlived, of Beck, Follen and Lieber in and around Boston, it might have been more accurate to suggest that widespread organisation of the turners in America did not occur until the second half of the nineteenth century. The turnverein early became the cultural home of the more than three-quarters of a million German immigrants that flocked into the United States between the years 1870 and 1879, and the near one and one-half million that followed in the next decade. Faced with opposition from the Know Nothing Movement, the Temperance Union and sabbatarians, the United Turnverein of North America (later the North American Turnerbund), was organised in New York on July 15th 1850 to promote health, physical education and cultural activities, together with offering group security and identity to the increasing number of German immigrants arriving on the shores of the New World. Although neither the immediate nor ultimate concern of German immigrants, turnvereins had been established soon after the rapid influx of "Forty Eighters." First in Cincinnati (1848), and then in Boston (1849), a turnverein was later founded at Springfield, Massachusetts in 1855 as their number rose to fifty-five across the nation by 1860, another fifteen being added during the Civil War years.[99]

Father of the Boston Turnverein was Karl Heinzen, a radical and intellectual who, himself a "Forty Eighter," had been active in the ill-fated Revolution. Instrumental in fostering group identity among his fellow German Bostonians, Heinzen was also editor of Der Pionier, a local newspaper. The contribution of the turners to sport in Boston must be questioned for their remains a dearth of evidence pertaining to their activity. Probably their very segregation was of critical importance, for while the turnlehren (among them Henry Metzner, Eberhard and Groener), of the Boston Turn Schule continued to promote the work of Jahn, Edward Mussey Hartwell, the City's Director of Physical Training in 1891, described their program as too "chauvinistic and distant" to be of any influence on the physical training system of "the Hub's" schools.[100] However, it should be noted that Hartwell was himself instrumental in promoting the German system of physical training for not only did he utilise Sargent's adaptation of German gymnastics as Director of the gymnasium at Johns Hopkins University in 1882, but it was through his efforts that the turners under the leadership of Carl Betz, were admitted to the Second Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education in 1885. Further, as late as 1896 the Boston Physical Education Society was sufficiently influenced by the German system to recommend a substitute for the Manual of Arms which, at that time, determined the nature of military drill and physical training for the City's schoolboys. By the end of the nineteenth century the turner movement had gained considerable strength in America although the minimal Teutonic representation in New England accounted for the Germans having a lesser impact on Boston Society than the aforementioned national groups.[101]

The early growth of turnvereins in America received an impulse during post bellum years commencing with the National Convention at Washington D.C., in 1865. Confronted with the values and ideals of a new society, the American turners recognised little in common with those of their homeland, except perhaps gymnastics, as the Annual Report of the Executive Committee for 1872 pointed out:

> The Turners of America have nothing in common with the Turners of the old fatherland, except the system of physical training. Of our endeavours for reform in political, religious and social fields of struggle against corruption and slavery in all forms, the Turners in Germany know nothing, although this has been the object and inspiration of our American Turners. [102]

As German immigrants spread the gospel of Jahn to all comers of the United States, Massachusetts became home of six more turnvereins during the penultimate decade of the nineteenth century, with societies being established in Pittsfield (1882), Springfield (1882), Fitchburg (1886), Holyoke (1886), Malden (1889), and Adams (1889). Later, following the mass erercise with wands performed by four thousand turners at the Chicago World Fair of 1893, national turnfests were held in Milwaukee (1893), St. Louis (1897), and Philadelphia (1900). The expansion had continued and by 1896 the North American Turnerbund was parent to 305 societies in thirty-three districts, employing 180 teachers in its 198 gymnasia and claiming a membership of 38,830. While the direct significance of the turners to American sport might be questioned, their influence upon physical education is unsurpassed by any other nonschool agency except perhaps the Young Men's Christian Association. Led by graduates of the Normal College of Americans Turners (which later merged with Indiana University), the ideology and method of German gymnastics was disseminated throughout the nation. Yet gymnastics did not represent the full extent of the immigrants' cultural activities as a brief look at the Boston Germans reveals. [103]

In like manner to the Scots, dancing and masquerade balls represented a favourite winter pastime of Boston's German element as the following advertisement in the Boston Morning Journal of 1870 suggests:

> German Turners' Ball. The annual fancy dress ball of the German Turners' Society which is to take place tonight at the Music Hall, will be the grandest affair of the kind ever seen in this city. The Turners have spared no pains nor expense to secure the richest and the best and most amusing costumes, and the music and decorations will be very fine, and anything which could offend the most fastidious will be rigidly excluded. 104

Instituted in 1866, the Annual Fancy Dress Ball, and the Annual Picnic held at Green Mountain Grove (Medford), Highland Grove (Melrose), or Bankcroft's Grove (Reading), the latter accompanied by German music, dancing, gymnastics and games, early became the highlight of the Boston turners' calendar during the winter and summer months respectively. The premier sporting event of the Boston Germans appears to have been the Annual Schutzenfest (Turkey-schiessen), organised by the Germania Rifle Club (Schutzenverein Germania), of the City. The following newspaper account of the 1870 festival offers a valuable insight into the character of the participants and of the day's proceedings:

> The Schutzenfest at Spy Pond. Where other nationalities would be simply wretched, rotund Teutons find time and opportunity to be extremely merry. And it was so with them at Spy Pond Grove yesterday, despite the sun's ill-considered zeal. Early in the morning nearly a train full of merry Germans betook themselves, with their wives and children, to that pleasant resort, Spy Pond, and throughout the day enjoyed themselves as only Germans can. In the morning many valuable prizes were shot for -- the first, value $25, being won by Rudolph Schaffer; the second, consisting of a plated ice pitcher, silver goblet and plate, by Frederick Frey; the third, a dozen ivory-handled knives and forks, by F. Krause... In the afternoon the ladies competed for prizes in shooting, and proved quite good markswomen. 105

With the Germania Band and a Punch and Judy Show as added attractions, the day's festivities came to a close at eight o'clock. Two years later, the New England Schutzenfest, this time held at Fresh Pond Grove, attracted some 2,500 people many of whom competed for the twenty-five prizes offered, with thirty-five dollars awarded to the overall winner. On this occasion an observer noted that the day was very much a family affair as:

> The amusements of the women and children were not neglected, and fifteen prizes were offered for the best female shooters with the rifle, and forty-five contestants appeared and took part. By request the names of the victors are witheld from the public... The children had some lively running races for prizes of candy, etc., which gave them all the sport they wanted.[106]

Encouraging the practice of sport on Sundays the Germans became a primary target of Boston's Puritan sabbatarians, while such events commonly represented the venue for a biergarten in which their countrymen traditionally sought refreshment. It is no surprise that the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson made earlier reference to the Germans' propensity for drinking beer while a correspondent to the Schutzenfest of 1872 noted with reserved judgement that "Lager flowed like water and everybody drank it, men, women and children..."[107] With the annual ball, picnic and shooting festival behind them, Boston's German population turned its attention to the Annual Turn-Bezirk festival which, extending over two days, was held during August of each year. Bringing together members of the Boston Turnverein, Germania Rifle Association and other German societies of the City, the number of participants was frequently swelled by delegations from Worcester, Providence, New York and other nearby communities. Competing in shooting, fishing and gymnastics events, the 1870 program was apparently modified because:

> The sports usually so prevalent were almost entirely dispensed with yesterday, except a shooting match for ladies. To-day, however, will in a large measure be devoted to those manly sports which the Germans enjoy, and it will be one of much interest to the contestants and their friends.[108]

Presenting language as a barrier to assimilation in America, German immigrants faced a greater degree of alienation than most other national groups. Emigrating in two distinct waves, first following the early suppression of liberalism (during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century), and later with a post-Revolution drift at mid-century, a group generally referred to as the "forty-eighters," Germans sought refuge among their fellow countrymen while utilising the principles and practice of the turner movement to establish and perpetuate group identity and cultural tradition in their new home. With Karl Heinzen founding the Boston turnverein in 1849, their growth continued throughout the second half of the nineteenth century as several other societies appeared in and around "the Hub." Promoting the gymnastics of turnvater Jahn, their influence on physical education in Boston's schools deepened, particularly after Dudley Allen Sargent and Edward Mussey Hartwell were invited to attend the mass celebration of a turnfest.

With no evidence of their participation in team games, the annual Schutzenfest and Turn-bezirk represented the primary sporting events of the Boston Germans indicating both a higher socioeconomic status than other immigrant groups and support for women's participation in such pursuits. Thus the Germans, representing a proportionally small group of Boston's population by the fin de siècle (1.9%), had, throughout the previous fifty years, managed to exert a marked influence upon the social and sporting life of "the Hub" further adding to the multicultural contributions of many other immigrant groups some which spoke only their mother tongue and some which found themselves confined to a small, compact enclave of the City.

Forgotten Foreigners and Sport

The second largest immigrant group making its home in Boston during the post bellum (and post-Confederation), years 1870 to 1900, was made up of those who chose to migrate southward from Canada. With many experiencing a second phase of migration following an earlier trans-Atlantic crossing, well over twenty-five thousand lived in and around Boston by the year 1880. Early in the nineteenth century, Nova Scotians had been employed on fishing vessels out of Boston and other New England ports, making their eventual movement to that region easier. Later joined by carpenters and caulkers also from the Maritime provinces who readily undercut union wages in "the Hub," the story of the Boston Canadians was well underway as two modern commentators of the migration have observed:

> One of the most ignored forces behind emigration, and one which apparently had particular appeal for Nova Scotians of Scottish descent, was that of "other-directedness." The tradition of the "Boston States" was already established in the 1880's, for thousands had gone to the New England area, as if in search of the Holy Grail. Once there they found employment as domestics, as labourers and tradesmen, as fishermen, as nurses and teachers.[109]

"Boston States" became a recognised coloquialism in Nova Scotia as stories were told of the opportunity for employment and success to be found there.

"Boston!" became synonymous with "Gold!" as Nova Scotians left their home, some to forsake their Gaelic accent and customs for the Boston brogue and mores, while others clung to their past by joining "the Hub's" Caledonian community. Yet to all, the drawing power of Boston remained its promise of socioeconomic uplift, a hope reflected in the following verse:

> Come all ye fellow-countrymen where ever you may be,
> Come listen to my story of when I left Cape Breton.
> For Boston in the U.S.A. I left my Island home,
> My fortune there I hoped to make and later to return.[110]

But precious few Nova Scotians did return as the Boston Canadian population multiplied, with other provinces finding ample representation. By 1871, the Prince Edward Island Association was thriving with a membership of one hundred while French Canadians ventured south from Quebec. By 1890, two hundred thousand Canadiennes lived in New England (half of them in Massachusetts), accounting for approximately seventeen percent of the region's entire immigrant population. Although the life of the American Canadian, a Boston newspaper, was rather shortlived (1874-76), immigrants from the Dominion found security in a variety of organisations formed to perpetuate their former lifestyle. With little reference being made of their contribution to Boston society and sport, it is nevertheless clear that Canadian immigrants were responsible for the introduction of their national game, lacrosse, to "the Hub" in 1872, a fact supported by the following extract from the Boston Morning Journal for May 13th 1872:

> Lacrosse. A party of Canadians, now residents of Boston, headed by Messrs. Stevenson and MacDonald late of Montreal, well known Lacrosse players, are about organising a club in this city.[111]

Within two months the Boston Lacrosse Club had been formed and had scheduled a game with the New York Lacrosse Club as a City newspaper announced the fixture and briefly explained the new game to its readers:

> The lovers of out-door sports in this vicinity will be treated to a first class sensation to-morrow afternoon, when a match at Lacrosse, the national game of Canada, will be played on the Boston Base Ball Grounds between the New York and Boston Lacrosse clubs. The game is highly exciting, and requires even more activity in the players than base ball, and, like foot-ball, the interest is kept up from the time the ball is put in play until it is landed by one side in the goal of their opponents. The game originated with Indians, and its name is derived from the implements used by the players, which resemble somewhat a snow shoe at the end of a long stick. With this the ball is carried or thrown, as the emergency requires, and among skillful players the game is intensely exciting.[112]

Although it appears that lacrosse was the only real contribution of Canadian immigrants to sport in Boston, one cannot deny the interaction wrought between athletic teams and individuals. Whether it was the entourage of John L. Sullivan carrying the Boston Irish prizefighting tradition to the Dominion; a Boston Red Stockings tour that took the team north of the border to play baseball; reciprocal fixtures in rowing between crews from "the Hub" and Maritime provinces, Harvard versus McGill football matches, or golf and curling matches between the elite sporting and country clubs of Boston and Montreal; the relation between Boston and Canadian Caledonian Games; or the pioneering work of Canadian-born James Naismith at the Springfield Y.M.C.A., the indirect Canadian legacy upon nineteenth century sport in Boston is great indeed.

Of comparable significance is the contribution of Scandinavian (primarily Swedish), immigrants to society and sport in the New England capital. Although one of the smallest national groups represented in Boston, their endeavour in the cause of promoting Ling gymnastics has been considered earlier in Chapter VIII. Adopted by the Boston Public School system in 1890, Swedish gymnastics represented the foundation of physical education in the City well into the twentieth century. Yet the contribution of this group was more far reaching. With the New England Scandinavian Society formed in Boston during 1852, it was not long before they replicated the Scots and Germans in holding an annual picnic. In 1871, two hundred members travelled to Spy Pond where the day's activities included "sailing on the pond and games in the grove."

Although the north central states and the Californian Sierra are often considered the birthplace of skiing in North America, early Norwegian immigrants first introduced this means of transportation (and later recreation), to New England. Believed to be the first organisation of its kind in the United States, the Nansen Ski Club of Berlin, New Hampshire was founded on January 15th 1882, patronised, to a large extent, by local immigrants from Norway, Finland and French-speaking Canada. Situated in reasonable proximity to "the Hub," the mountains of New Hampshire and Vermont became the destination of winter "snow trains" from Boston early in the twentieth century.[113]

The trans-Atlantic migration was maintained throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century by a characteristic wave of southern and eastern Europeans. Largely a product of the inability of Southern Italy to adapt to industrialisation, nearly thirteen thousand Italian-born immigrants arrived in Boston during the years 1880 to 1900, boosting their proportional representation from 0.4% to 2.4% and threatening not only the hegemony of the Brahmin but causing concern to the rising Irish politicians. Settling in the North End of the City the Italians, most of whom were rural peasants, were described by the somewhat bigoted Frederick A. Bushee as "less self-reliant than many nationalities" as they showed "the beginning of a degenerate class, such as has developed fully among the Irish." Accompanying the passage of the penniless Italians was a group of orthodox Russian Jews who as a result of suppressive tactics had found life near intolerable in their homeland.[114]

Following the "May Laws," an edict of the Czar in 1882 which restricted Jewish settlement in Russia, Boston witnessed the arrival of nearly fifteen thousand orthodox Jews, accounting for 2.7% of the City's population by the fin de siècle. Characterised by insecurity and too grateful to question the lifestyle and values of their adopted home, this group of "New Bostonians" witnessed a surprising absence of anti-semitism in comparison with the anti-catholicism faced by Irish immigrants of the previous generation. As the Irish had before them, the City's Jewish population claimed a leader in the form of Solomon Schindler who arrived in Boston during 1874. Born in Silesia (Germany), the eldest son of an orthodox rabbi, his early ecclesiastical training was put aside as he graduated from the gymnasium and normal school. A proponent of liberal Judaism, Schindler accepted Social Darwinism, Nationalism and Socialism, and criticised his orthodox brothers who dreamt of a return to their fatherland and perpetuated customary practice at the expense of assimilation. However, Schindler's congregation was not ready for such perceived radicalism and his dismissal, and the subsequent appointment of Rabbi Charles Fleischer in 1893, marked a return to the orthodox faith.[115]

The contribution of Italians, Russian Jews and the small pockets of Czechoslovakians and Chinese immigrants (that collected throughout Boston and other cities by the end of the nineteenth century), to sport is unclear for their story is poorly told. Yet ample evidence has been furnished to support the idea that sport contributed to both the segregation and assimilation of Boston's foremost immigrant groups during the years 1870 to 1900.

Once an homogenous urban nucleus comprising white Protestants of English stock, the nature of Boston society changed dramatically with the arrival of immigrants throughout the nineteenth century. Unsure of how to cope with the flood of denizens driven westward across the Atlantic Ocean; south from the Dominion; and north from the cotton plantations in search of survival and uplift together with civil and political freedom, the City's fathers created little to foster the crucible in which it was hoped, a stronger American might be forged. Prolonging jealousies, the penniless stranger was little match for the established Brahmin into whose world he had stumbled. Ironically, it was the "New Bostonian" who represented the very cornerstone of "the Hub's" growing status as a manufacturing centre as he joined a seemingly bottomless pit of cheap "green" labour, openly exploited by the owner of the garment, shoe or cigar factory.

In a City that had failed dismally in its attempt to provide sufficient housing for its new citizens, immigrants were herded into small, low rent units which made up the tenement buildings of the urban core, close to the garment shops, markets and wharves. Alas, the ideals laid out in the Declaration of Independence were seldom realised by the immigrants who were engaged in a struggle for survival in their new home. Supported by educational legislation and benevolent societies, the "New Bostonians" of mid-century likely experienced an early taste of opposition, first from the Know Nothing Movement and later the American Protective Association which culminated in the formation of the Immigration Restriction League by Harvard alumni in 1894. Finding allies among prominent Brahmins and the Unitarian Church, the parent Immigration Protection League (1898), sought to recognise and restore the rights of immigrants as their arrival in America frequently resulted in the eruption of inter-group conflict.

Broadly seen to occur in two phases, an early and later emigration, the mere nature of the national groups involved in each wave of migration was indicative of the degree of assimilation achieved by "New Bostonians" in the City. The primary question raised in this chapter relates to the nature and role of sport in the process of immigration and settlement. Together with investigating the degree to which sport reflected segregation and assimilation of immigrant groups in their new home, the more important issue of the utilisation of sport in effecting social change is considered while recognising that sport in America frequently enjoyed a higher status in society than in the immigrants' native land.

Internal migration was most clearly observed in Boston as a significant black population moved into the "Nigger Hill" district of the City's West End at the conclusion of the Civil War. Experiencing poverty and racial discrimination throughout life, sport functioned as an agent of social change with tempered interaction between black and white athletes being recorded. At the same time however, black baseball teams reminded their members and followers of racial group membership in essence, kerbing racial interaction within Boston. Living in a truce and sharing the social cellar with the City's black population at the outset, Irishmen had long been a significant element in the life of "the Hub." Ever aware of their Gaelic roots, first the Charitable Irish Society and later a flurry of organisations, including the Shamrock Society, functioned to support and perpetuate native tradition. At the heart of ongoing conflict with the Brahmins in the cultural, religious, economic and political arena, the sporting life of the Boston Irish provides an interesting insight into the City's most pressing social problem. Failing in their attempts to introduce the once indigenous pursuits of hurling and Gaelic football, and finding only relative success in forming the American Irish Athletic Association, Irishmen readily adopted the pastimes of native Americans, in particular pugilism and those pursuits already legitimized by the Boston Brahmins, rowing, baseball and, track and field. Perceived as an instrument to socioeconomic mobility, professionalism became the primary target of the middle class although it was likely the emergence of cultural heroes and role models, among which John L. Sullivan and Mike "King" Kelly stood proudly aloft, that was of greatest concern to the "Proper Bostonian."

Paralleling their past experience in Ireland, the cultural conflict was essentially waged between Irishmen and Englishmen in Boston, the latter of which formed the very basis of Brahmin society. Although Anglo-American relations became strained on occasion during the years 1870 to 1900, to Boston's ruling elite, English antecedents remained the measure of all that was good in society, and sport as well. While cricket and

Rugby football found a loosening foothold in "the Hub," the ideology of muscular Christianity and amateurism remained firmly entrenched in the universities, clubs and other middle class enclaves. Although a peculiar modesty, or perhaps exclusivity, associated with Englishmen prohibits an accurate assessment of their direct contribution to sport in the City, that of a numerically inferior Scottish group was clearly reflected in the Annual Games organised by the Boston Caledonian Club from 1853. Finding ethnic identity in a variety of Scottish organisations, the clannish customs of their forefathers were proudly exhibited and perpetuated. Secure among the middle and upper strata of Boston society, the Games reminded the Scots and their progeny that they should never forsake their ancestral heritage. They also claimed their cultural heroes in the form of Donald Dinnie, James Fleming, Thomas Buchan and George Goldie, each a prominent competitor during the golden years of the Boston Caledonian Games. Contributing to the appearance of modern American track and field, the Scots added other cultural sporting gifts to "the Hub" in the form of golf and curling.

Predating the Boston Caledonian Club, the City's first turnverein was founded by German "forty-eighters," in 1849. Sounding the second major German impulse to sport in Boston, Jahn gymnastics were practiced and promoted by the Society's members. Eventually being adopted by the leading physical educators of the City, gymnastics created a cultural bond between American natives and immigrants. Working in opposition to this assimilating force, the annual ball, schutzenfest and turn-bezirk festivals were attended in ethnic isolation by members, threatening American beliefs in temperance and sabbatarianism, and culminating in cross-cultural tension and conflict. In considering the relationship between sport and immigration within these and other national groups including Canadians, Swedes, Italians, Russian Jews and even on one occasion Mexicans,[116] it becomes abundantly clear that the "New Bostonian" gave much to the City's sporting life, supporting the belief of Arthur C. Cole who wrote:

> ...with true American receptiveness a strange amalgam of Yankee, British, and Teutonic influences in the sports world was being created, and new athletic pursuits without distinction of origin were welcomed to the new world.[117]

Moreover, while sport necessarily functioned to strengthen ethnic identity, it also assisted the gradual erosion of cultural barriers facilitating the process of assimilation that would persist for many generations. By the year 1900, a new multicultural Boston had appeared, a City bearing little resemblance to the port of Colonial New England, and one grappling with the problem of municipal unity and a sense of community, a great cosmopolis built by the people, men and women representing a broad diversity of educational background, political and religious conviction, economic means and ethnic origin.

Footnotes

1. Leviticus, xix, 33-44.

2. President Timothy Dwight quoted in Walter J. Stevens, Chip On My Shoulder, (Boston : Meador, 1946), p. 16.

3. Edward Everett Hale, A New England Boyhood, (New York : Cassell, 1893), p. 240.

4. Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (Boston : Little, Brown, 1973), p. 3.

5. Israel Zangwill quoted in, Harvey Wish, Society and Thought in Modern America. A Social and Intellectual History of the American People from 1865, (New York : McKay, 1962), p. 217.

6. Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880, (Cambridge : Belknap, 1959), pp. 27-30, 49, 54-55.

7. Thomas H. O'Connor, Bibles, Brahmins, and Bosses : A Short History of Boston, (Boston : Public Library, 1976).

8. Compiled from, Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880, pp. 243-244, 261-264; Frederick A Bushee, Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston, (New York : Macmillan, 1903), p. 1; Michael P. Conzen and George K. Lewis, Boston : A Geographical Portrait, (Cambridge : Ballinger, 1976), p. 2.

9. Bushee, p. 1; It should be noted that Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians : Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis 1880-1970, (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 113, provides the following demographic data for Boston in 1900, foreign born = 35%, foreign or mixed parentage = 72%, male labour force, foreign born = 45%; Also see, Barbara Miller Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants : A Changing New England Tradition, (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 101.

10. Bushee, pp. 14, 36.

11. Ibid., pp. 80-83; Also see data provided in, "Population," U.S. Tenth Census, (Washington D.C. : Government Printing Office, 1883), I, p. 864, cited in Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880, p. 262; and, Thernstrom, pp. 33, 131, to support this thesis.

12. Bushee, p. 60. The data in Table XXII should be treated with care as analysis uncovers some apparent inaccuracy, borne out by the fact that percentages never add up to one hundred and in one case actually exceeds this figure. While it is conceivable that the

data refer to the group in totality and not just its workforce, and immigrants might well have been engaged in more than one profession (permitting their inclusion in more than one category), such explanations cannot be substantiated.

13. Thernstrom, p. 36; It should be noted that Handlin's conclusions after comparing Negro and Irish status in, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880, p. 69, conflict with the findings of Elizabeth Hafkin Pleck, Black Migration and Poverty -- Boston 1865-1900, (New York : Academic, 1979).

14. Handlin, The Uprooted, p. 131.

15. Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880, p. 246; Carol Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal : Medical and Biological Views of Woman and Her Role in Nineteenth Century America," The Journal of American History, LX : 2 (September 1973), p. 351.

16. George F. Weston, Boston Ways. High, By and Folk, (Boston : Beacon, 1967), p. 173.

17. "Immigration," Massachusetts Teacher, 4 (October 1851), pp. 289-291, quoted in Michael B. Katz ed., School Reform : Past and Present, (Boston : Little, Brown, 1971), p. 169.

18. Francis A. Walker, "Immigration and Degradation," The Forum, XI (August 1891), p. 641.

19. Martin Green, The Problems of Boston : Some Readings in Cultural History, (New York : W.W. Norton, 1966), p. 46; John Higham, Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925, (New Brunswick : Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 16; Bushee, p. 12.

20. Carroll Davidson Wright, Strikes in Massachusetts, 1830-1880, (Boston : Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1880).

21. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, "The Unguarded Gates," Atlantic Monthly, LXX (1892), p.57.

22. O'Connor, p. 102; Henry Cabot Lodge, Boston, (New York : Longmans, Green, 1891), pp. 198, 224.

23. Robert A. Woods et al., The City Wilderness : A Settlement Study, (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1898), p. 3.

24. Handlin, The Uprooted, pp. 225-226.

25. Pleck, p. 19; Thernstrom, p. 179; Elizabeth Hafkin Pleck, "The Two-Parent Household : Black Family Structure in Late Nineteenth-Century Boston," Journal of Social History, 6 (Fall 1972), p.6.

26. Compiled from, Pleck, Black Migration and Poverty -- Boston 1865-1900, p. 209; Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880; Thernstrom, p. 181; Also see, John Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace : A Study of the Boston Negroes, (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1914), pp. 468-469.

27. Pleck, "The Two-Parent Household : Black Family Structure in Late Nineteenth-Century Boston," pp. 12, 24; Pleck, Black Migration and Poverty -- Boston 1865-1900, pp. 34-35, 112; Boston Morning Journal, (March 21st 1871), p. 4.

28. Pleck, Black Migration and Poverty -- Boston 1865-1900, pp. 200-201.

29. Edwin B. Henderson, The Negro in Sports, (Washington D.C. : Associated, 1949), pp. 4-5, 6-8; Also see, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "The Gymnasium and Gymnastics in Harvard College," In The Harvard Book, II, pp. 186-190, compiled by F.O. Vaille and H.A. Clark, (Cambridge : Welch, Bigelow, 1875).

30. Boston Morning Journal, (September 29th 1870), p. 2.

31. Boston Morning Journal, (March 1st 1871), p. 2, (August 23rd 1871), p. 1, (July 26th 1872), p. 4.

32. The Hub, (August 8th 1886), cited in Pleck, Black Migration and Poverty -- Boston 1865-1900, pp. 29-30.

33. Boston Morning Journal, (February 15th 1872), p. 2.

34. Pleck, "The Two-Parent Household : Black Family Structure in Late Nineteenth-Century Boston," p. 4.

35. James D'Wolf Lovett, Old Boston Boys and the Games They Played, (Boston : Riverside, 1906), pp. 22-29; Thernstrom, pp. 190-191; Pleck, Black Migration and Poverty -- Boston 1865-1900, p. 29; Pleck, "The Two-Parent Household : Black Family Structure in Late Nineteenth-Century Boston," pp. 9-10.

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43. Bushee, pp. 92-93.

44. Handlin, Boston's Immigrants -- A Study in Acculturation 1790-1880, pp. 82, 86; Cullen, pp. 425-428.

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81. Berthoff, p. 151.

82. Boston Morning Journal, (August 28th 1870), p. 2.

83. Boston Morning Journal, (August 29th 1871), p. 4, (September 1st 1871), p. 4; Boston Daily Globe, (August 29th 1873), p. 8, cited in Redmond, pp. 55-56.

84. Boston Morning Journal, (September 1st 1871), p. 4.

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89. Boston Daily Globe, (August 29th 1879), p. 4, quoted in Redmond, p. 105.

90. Redmond, pp. 69-70.

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Chapter XIV

ACHILLES AND HERCULES
PRIDE OF THE CITY

It was people who built the Cities and it is people who form the backbone of this penultimate chapter. Not the unknown or forgotten men of the street it should be added, nor are they accomplished intellectuals, politicians or industrialists, but rather two of the most prominent sporting figures in the nineteenth century, pioneers in treading the path of international sport via professional and commercial prosperity. That they seldom find a place alongside other great names of their time need not be interpreted as a devaluation of their contribution but rather as a reflection of the value afforded sport in past years, and by historians in particular. The purpose of this chapter is not to follow G. Lytton Strachey's apparent delight in destroying the Victorians' affinity for hero-worship but, in the style of Asa Briggs, to offer an honest and candid account (as far as evidence will allow), of the subjects' role in a process, cogs if you will, in the wheels of social change and control. In effect they are "specimens" or "symbols" reflective of the life of a City.[1]

Born at Bristol in 1848, W.G. Grace reinforced the City's predominant middle class attitude to sport. Standing apart from other athletes of his time, including his brothers and J.A. Bush, "W.G.'s" sporting contribution to the character of the age went unmatched by any other Bristolian or Englishman. Born in Boston ten years after "W.G.," John L. Sullivan personified the changing face of New England society. Towering above other prominent sportsmen of "the Hub," among whom the Wright brothers and James B. Connolly find a place, "John L.," remained the single, best-remembered

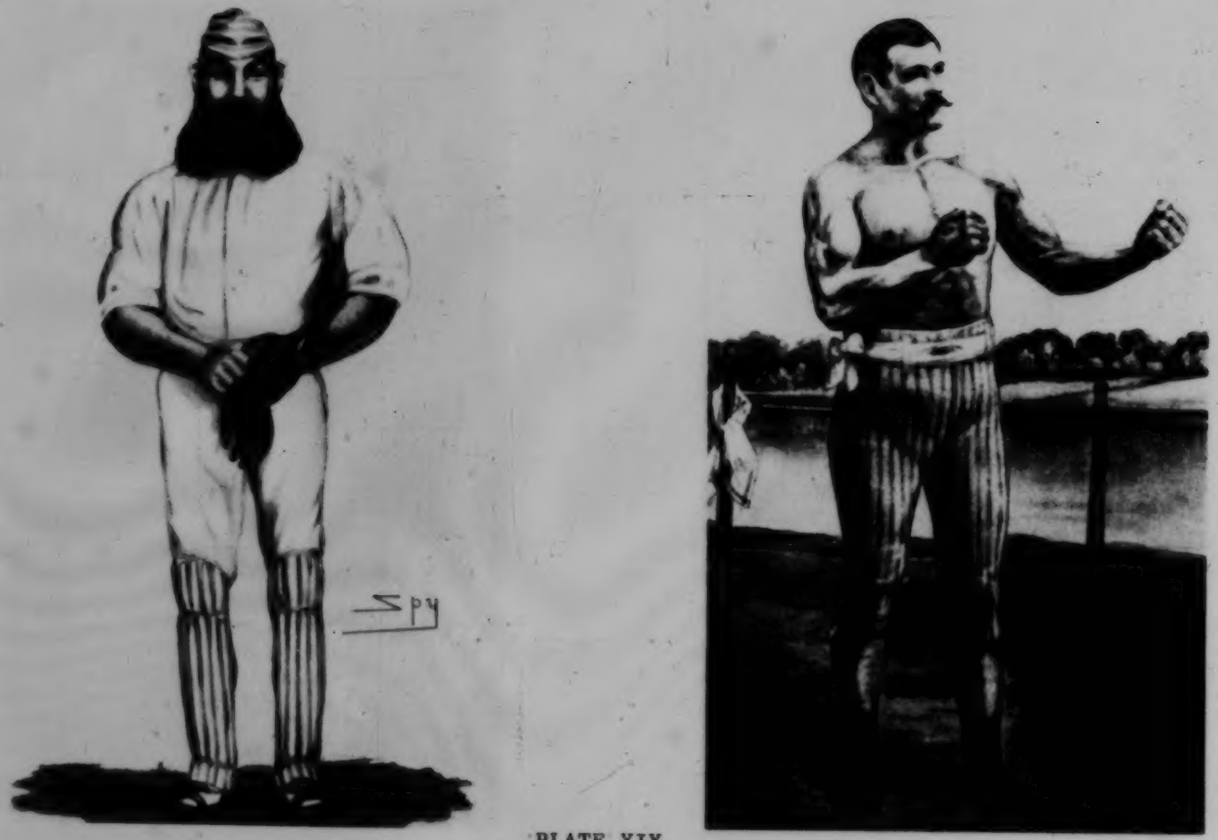

PLATE XIX

Achilles and Hercules

(Left) William Gilbert Grace.
The King of Cricket.

(Right) John Lawrence Sullivan.
The Boston Strong Boy.

athlete of nineteenth century years in Boston and the United States.

An appreciation of their dynamic contribution to a changing society may be gleaned from the pages of many full length autobiographical and biographical works attributed to both "W.G.," and "John L."[2] As they contain full and perhaps exaggerated accounts of their sporting careers, it is not the purpose of this chapter to offer replication. Moreover, this study is of two civic heroes, designed to illuminate the Cities' sporting life, a story already told. Drawing upon earlier voluminous works in brief mention of their sporting achievement and significance, new sources are utilised in considering "W.G., the Bristolian," and "John L., the Bostonian." Crossing boundaries of social class, education and ethnicity (although this was not always their desire), both men presented themselves as civic heroes, "significant others," and role models in a manner known only to themselves, human institutions who were to have a marked impact upon the life of the City.

W.G. Grace. Bristol's Champion of Cricket

Pavilions thunder the well-earned applause
While still he keeps gallantly on,
Repeating his scoring of threes and fours
Till all his companions are gone.
Triumphantly then he crosses the ground,
NOT OUT with three hundred is he,
Eclipsing the once famous doings of Ward
The Invincible "W.G."![3]

Such eulogic prose echoed throughout the British Empire and beyond during the years 1870 to 1900. Considered "without question the greatest Victorian sporting hero" by Bruce Haley, the name of William Gilbert Grace remains firmly implanted in the history of a great English institution

-- cricket. The recipient of countless honours, perhaps none outshone the tribute afforded "the Champion" by the Bishop of Hereford (formerly the Headmaster of Clifton College), John Percival who wrote:

> Had Grace been born in ancient Greece, the Iliad would have been a different book. Had he lived in the middle ages, he would have been a crusader and would now have been lying with his legs crossed in some ancient abbey, having founded a great family. As he was born when the world was older, he was the best known of all Englishmen and the King of that English game least spoilt by any form of vice. [4]

Born at Downend, Bristol in 1848, "W.G.," was the fourth of five sons. Schooled in the ways of cricket by enthusiastic parents, Dr. and Mrs. Henry Mills Grace, and a fanatical uncle, Alfred Pocock, "the Champion" later recalled the guiding words of his father which constantly reminded the young Grace to:

> Have patience, my boy; where there's a will there's a way; and there is nothing you cannot attain, if you only try hard enough. [5]

Attending his first cricket match when aged six, "W.G.," travelled with his mother to watch Henry Mills Grace, Senior lead a local Twenty-Two against Clarke's All-England Eleven. However, it was to be another four years before he took to the wicket, following his older brother Henry in playing for the West Gloucestershire Cricket Club which had been founded in 1847.

"W.G.'s" adolescent progress was slow in comparison to his elder brother, but in 1863, while convalescing from pneumonia, he was invited to play for a Bristol Eleven against an All-England Eleven on Durdham

Down. Scoring thirty-two runs against the best professional bowling in the Country, "W.G.'s" achievement did not go unnoticed as the following summer he was asked to join an All-England Eleven to play against a Lansdown Eighteen. Appearing sixth in the batting lineup, "W.G.," scored fifteen runs before being run out by John Lillywhite. It was perhaps the most important of his early performances as Lillywhite wrote in his Companion for 1864, "Mr. W.G. Grace promises to be a good bat : bowls very fairly." At age sixteen, "the Champion" had early established himself as an accomplished cricketer, adding to the prominence of his family name at the wicket as the 1870s unfolded.[6]

For the next forty-five years "W.G's" life was clearly divided into two. As a cricketer, his supernal effervescence set him apart as one of the best known figures in Victorian England while as a private citizen of Bristol, his mortal modesty presented the image of a professional family man in whom the outside world had no interest. Marrying his cousin, Agnes Nicholls Day, on October 9th 1873, a cricket tour to Australia represented the young couple's honeymoon. Producing a family of four children, three boys, "W.G. Junior," Edgar, Charles and one daughter Bessy, the younger "W.G.," remained "the apple of his father's eye," attending Clifton College and later being awarded his Cambridge "Blue" for cricket in 1895/96.

With cricket not considered a stable and respectable profession at the outset of his career, "W.G.," eagerly followed in the footsteps of his father and brothers by entering the Bristol Medical School in 1866. Distracted by the excessive time and energy demands of first class cricket it was to be another thirteen years, and then only after intensive tutoring by Professor Howard of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, before the

Edinburgh examiners granted the cricketer his diploma as Licensiate of the Royal College of Physicians. Once qualified "W.G.," took up general practice in Stapleton Road, a working class district of Bristol that promised the doctor limited affluence. Also engaged as parish doctor, public vaccinator and surgeon to Pennywell Collieries, he worked all winter with the help of an assistant and, when the cricket field took him away from his practice during the summer months, a grant from the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club facilitated his employment of an assistant and locum tenens. Nevertheless, his prolonged absences from Bristol may have been of concern to some patients for, although his responsibilities as a physician kept him out of the annual Gentlemen versus Players match at the Oval in 1883 for the first time in sixteen years, it would appear that there was an element of truth in the story of a valetudinarian knocking at his surgery door and asking if Dr. Grace was in. "Of course," said the maid (referring to his involvement in cricket at that time), "He's been in since lunchtime on Tuesday."

In general Dr. Grace was well liked by his patients as the customary benevolence of he and Mrs. Grace resulted in deep respect from their humble neighbours. Instituting an annual Christmas banquet for the poor on which occasion plentiful helpings of roast beef, plum pudding and fruit were traditionally given away by the Grace family, it was also well known that a hungry, cold or out of work patient might, after a visit from the Doctor, find food, coal or the offer of a job on his doorstep. Yet "the Champion" tempered his sympathy where he deemed it undeserved. Faced by a drunken malingerer, "W.G.'s" prescription of exercise and subsequent call for two pairs of boxing gloves led the unfortunate inebriate to run from the surgery. On another occasion, a burglar who had unwisely attempted to break into the Doctor's home found himself trapped by a fallen window frame. Awakened by the intrusion, the incompassionate Doctor proceeded to dress the minor injuries sustained without releasing the victim from the window frame. Refusing to call the police on the basis of medical etiquette, "W.G.," stepped outside and served the interloper with a running kick before letting him go.[7]

Perhaps the Doctor's punitive choice was not altogether out of character considering his all-round athletic prowess and enthusiasm for sport beyond the cricket pitch. Winning the stranger's race in a track and field meet held at Clifton College in 1866, "W.G.," paraded his talent in athletics at local venues and further afield. On one occasion, at the annual Long Ashton Sports, he won five events in an afternoon but his most impressive achievement was reserved for the National Olympian Sporting Association meet of 1866. Released by V.E. Walker, captain of the England Eleven, after having scored 224 runs not out against Surrey, "W.G.," travelled to the Crystal Palace where he won the quarter mile hurdle race. Claiming a total of forty-six prizes between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, "the Champion" competed in a variety of events and recorded some fine performances which included the 100 yard sprint on grass (10.2 seconds); the 440 yards on grass (52.1 seconds); the 200 yards over hurdles (28.0 seconds); high jump; long jump; pole vault; and, of course, throwing the cricket ball (118 yards, plus one reputed throw of 122 yards).

With horseriding, shooting, fishing, beagle-hunting, curling, golf (he had a nine handicap), billiards and bowls (he later captained the

English Lawn Bowling team which won the International Championship in 1906), occupying much of his leisure time, particularly in later life, "W.G.'s" early introduction to Rugby football was not met with the same enthusiasm as a local chronicler of the game recalled:

> W.G. Grace played very few games of Rugby; however, he did turn out once against several Cliftonians, but did not very much appreciate the results. It was the rule that whoever secured the ball from touch threw it in, naturally there was always a sharp run for possession. W.G. Grace was a sprinter of no mean speed then, and he went for the ball, led in the race by one of the Cliftonians. The latter knew his opponent was coming up behind, but he was not at all concerned, for he had laid his plans, and as W.G. Grace drew level he shot out his foot and the rising cricketer turned a complete somersault into an adjacent bank. He did not bring the ball back to the touch line. [8]

On another occasion, faced by the onslaught of an opposing giant, the ensuing tackle left the dazed "W.G.," in a mild state of shock and confident that this was a game to be avoided if his career in cricket was to prosper.

Yet the Victorian ideal of manliness did not go wanting with "W.G.," as he repeatedly stood his ground against fast bowlers on pock-marked wickets without a mere suggestion of flinching. Modest, cheerful and friendly, "the Doctor" was described by one of his biographers as "a schoolboy at heart." Fond of practical jokes, a tome of tales might be written pertaining to humorous events in "W.G.'s" life although certain incidents might more accurately be interpreted as "sharp practice." Often failing in the Victorian ideal of fairplay, "W.G.," was certainly not the most virtuous of cricketers as stories are told of him deliberately distracting a batsman and promptly dismissing him; assertively questioning an umpire's decision; shamelessly muttering the words "You weren't out, you know," to a retiring batsman against whom he had appealed; and confidently replacing a solitary bail while exclaiming, "What an awful wind!," upon having been genuinely bowled. Perhaps it was his contempt for fast "body" bowling that best characterises "the Doctor." Presenting a sizeable target for such aggressive tactics, the perpetrator would at times be disconcerted by a pause allowing "W.G.," to sternly march up the wicket for a few words of admonishment. Putting "shamateurism" aside, Grace was seldom pretentious off the field or on, as his reply to a barrage of questions intended to uncover the secret of his batting success attests, answering in a tone of simplicity, "You just put the bat against the ball." Perhaps the first of a since unbroken string of sport personalities, Darwin reminds his readers, "The W.G. that we know best is not merely a celebrity but the central figure in a cricketing mythology," a legend who is no more colourfully described than in the following literary portrait painted by David Delvin:

> In the English sporting consciousness he looms like a colossus. There in the centre of the greensward he stands, a man built like an oak tree, a pugnacious yet jovial figure, clad in white, his sleeves rolled up to allow full play to his powerful arms. The bat clutched in his huge hands seems tiny in comparison with his gigantic frame. A small M.C.C. cap is pulled down low over his great dark eyes. Across his bulging shirt-front flows a vast and curly black beard. W.G. Grace is at the crease; the sun shines; God's in His heaven; all's right with the world. [9]

Playing in his first Gentlemen versus Players match at Lord's when only seventeen, "W.G.," found himself on the winning Gentlemen's team, their first victory in nineteen years. The following season brought his greatest breakthrough into cricketing prominence as the young Grace followed his 224 runs not out for England (the game in which he took temporary leave to compete in athletics), by scoring 173 runs not out for the Gentlemen of the South. However, the lithe teenager of the 1860s had, by the onset of the following decade, filled out and acquired some of the traits that were to characterise "the Champion" over the next forty-five years. With the formation of the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club in 1870, one year after "W.G.," had been elected a member of the patriachal Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.), Grace's cricketing career was provided a firm foundation upon which to grow as he recorded innings of 215 and 109 runs for the Gentlemen in their two matches against the Players. That same year brought early recognition for "W.G.," and the younger "G.F.," by a correspondent to Baily's, a leading Victorian sports magazine, who wrote:

> The fine weather of the past month has sent cricketers afield, and already Mr. W.G. Grace has been hitting his sixers, while both in bowling and in batting his younger brother has played an excellent second part, and, we doubt not, will be found quite qualified for a place in the great matches of the year. [10]

By August of 1876, "the Champion's" career had reached its first great climax as he recorded innings of 344, 177, and 318 runs not out in one week, proudly claiming an average of 419.5! The very fact that "W.G.," went on to score a thousand runs in one month attests to his superior physical condition at that time, for it should be remembered that boundaries had not yet been introduced and each run had to be earned the hard way. Worshipped as a god by the boys of Clifton College upon whose Close he wielded the willow, Grace's fame soon spread and opposing captains found difficulty in persuading their bowlers to take a spell while "the Champion" was at the wicket. His utter dominance led one newspaper to suggest, in humorous manner, that new rules should be introduced to make the game more even, for instance:

> That W.G. Grace shall owe a couple of hundred or so before batting -- these to be reckoned against the side should he not wipe them off.
>
> That his spikes should be turned inwards.
>
> That he should be declared "out" whenever the umpire likes.
>
> That he shall always be the eleventh player.
>
> That he shall not be allowed to play at all.[11]

Nor was the name of William Gilbert Grace confined to his island home, for he led English touring teams to America, Australia, Canada and Ireland. In 1872, he had played on R.A. Fitzgerald's team in America and Canada obviously impressing members of a later Canadian touring team who recalled:

> When as youngsters, some of us had watched Mr. Fitzgerald's Eleven, of which W.G. Grace was one, playing away back in 1872 on the old Toronto Cricket Ground, we little dreamed that in 1887 we would be bearding the lion in his den.[12]

The last game of the 1872 North American tour had been held in Boston as "W.G.," led the English tourists against a Boston Twenty-Two on the City baseball grounds, in a match comsidered more fully in Chapter VI. During the following year, "the Champion" travelled to Australia as a honeymooning captain of the M.C.C., team while in 1891 he returned as the forty-four year old leader of Lord Sheffield's team in which capacity he received an honorarium of 3,000 pounds plus expenses. Nevertheless, "W.G.'s" international experience was not always favourable and upon one occasion in 1878 when the visiting Australians defeated England at Lord's in one day, Grace's score of 4 and 0 runs led Punch to record its nation's defeat in the following verse:

> The Australians came down like a wolf on the fold,
> The Marylebone cracks for a trifle were bowled;
> Our Grace before dinner was very soon done,
> And Grace after dinner did not get a run.[13]

"W.G.," was a favourite subject for Victorian versification, a sample of the most popular eulogic prose being included in Appendix I. In 1889, a a west country poet wrote of the forty-one year old "Champion," --"Though ageing, thy dexterity is not diminished: --Thou still art figuring in our midst most grandly![14]" How clearly would those words ring out six years later when, scoring a thousand runs in May of 1895, "the Doctor" found himself experiencing the dawn of an Indian Summer that was to carry him through the following season and into his forty-eighth year. Yet any suggestion of decline was waved aside as he continued to play for England until 1899, finally vacating his berth in the batting lineup to make room for another great Gloucestershire cricketer, G.L. Jessop. Even now, "W.G.," was not to desert the wicket as his fastest 50 runs for the M.C.C., against the Australians was yet to come. Grace did leave Bristol in that year, to become secretary and manager of the London County Cricket Club at the Crystal Palace, his last great innings being the 74 scored for the Gentlemen versus the Players in 1906. Continuing to play club cricket at Eltham until 1914, a record of "W.G.'s" achievements on the cricket field is included in Appendix I. In summary, "the Champion" scored no less than 54,904 runs in first class cricket while taking 2,876 wickets, 871 catches and, when called upon to play wicket-keeper, he managed to claim three stumpings to his credit. Few are the mileposts that "W.G.," failed to pass in his career whether it was a high score of 344 runs for the M.C.C., versus Kent in 1876 (400 not out in minor cricket); his claim to all ten wickets for 49 runs in the M.C.C., versus Oxford University match of 1886; the 126 centuries that he scored in first class games (221 in all); or the eight occasions on which he reached the double of 1,000 runs and 100 wickets in a single season, Grace's all-round contribution to the international game of cricket is unmatched.[15]

The contribution of "W.G.," to the game of cricket reached beyond scoring runs and bowling his unique roundarm style to nervous batsmen. Generally considered a hero among fellow Bristolians, crowds would gather to meet him upon his arrival at Temple Meads station. Although his popularity as a player transcended barriers of social class, "the Champion" was not without his critics both on and off the field. Making his perennial appearance for the Gentlemen, it should be noted that "W.G.," was not of their kind having attended neither "public" school nor university. Yet he readily accepted the amateur status attributed him and willingly perpetuated the social demarcation so prevalent in cricket. It was the perceived hypocrisy in his cricketing life that became the target of most criticism, for on the one hand the Captain of Gloucestershire County Cricket Club treated the professionals as lesser mortals while on the other he found little shame in pocketing his "wages" at the conclusion of a day's play. That Darwin finds himself able to state, "There was no pretense that he [W.G. Grace] was not paid for playing..." is difficult to comprehend for whether attributed to loss of earnings, an allowance for a locum tenens to run his medical practice, or merely expenses, it is clear that the

1,500 pounds paid to him for the 1873 tour to Australia; the 3,000 pounds plus expenses allowed for him and his family to join the 1891 tour; and the regular match fees of twenty pounds or more, were far beyond their stated benevolent purpose.[16]

Further, Grace was the recipient of two major testimonials in 1879 and 1895. At the first, in recognition of his early success, a clock and purse of 1,400 pounds were presented to "W.G.," with the Prince of Wales (later to be King Edward VII), being a proud contributor to the fund. Following the 1,000 runs scored by "the Champion" in May 1895, and in recognition of his one hundredth first class century, completed at the County Ground in a game against Somerset on May 17th 1895, a wave of testimonial funds were established across the nation. With the St. James' Gazette declaring that, "the man who thinks he has known England in the nineteenth century but has not seen the black-bearded giant cutting and driving at Lord's or the Oval is under a delusion," the proprietors of the Daily Telegraph instituted a national shilling testimonial which produced more than 5,000 pounds, while the Sportsman administered another collection. Both the M.C.C., and G.C.C.C., had funds of their own which in total were to fatten "the Doctor's" coffers by the remarkable figure of 9,073 pounds 8 shillings and threepence (or approximately $45,000). Also celebrated by a banquet held in his honour at the Victoria Rooms in Clifton on June 24th 1895, "W.G.," sat down with other guests, who included the Duke of Beaufort, the Bishop of Hereford, the Dean of Bristol, and the Mayor of Bristol, to a hearty meal of turtle soup, salmon, roast beef and champagne jelly. As such an occasion demanded. a poet laureate was in attendance to proclaim "England's pride," as "Your Grace of Gloucester."[17]

Perhaps in a sense silently legitimizing professionalism in cricket, "shamateurism" was not the extent of criticism levelled at "the Doctor" for his unsportsmanlike behaviour on the field had long irked opponents. Further, Grace's stubborn insistence to fill the ranks of the G.C.C.C., with graduates of the "public" schools and universities left Bristolians wondering whether there was any hope for local players to wear their County colours. The main attraction at foreign venues, "W.G.," did little to boost the home crowds as Bristolians found little identity with the team. Yet such feelings were not allowed to escalate as the City's middle class fully supported the actions of their "Champion," cheering his performance regardless of the claims of "that's not cricket" echoed by his opponents.

Popularised through the press, Vanity Fair included "W.G.," in its "Men of the Day" series, enhancing a short biographical note with a large, colourful portrait in its June 9th 1877 issue. Not all references to "the Champion" reflected the jovial, muscular Christian side of his personality as The Bristol Magpie for Saturday June 1st 1889 carried a cartoon entitled "How They Treat Children in Bristol," which showed as angered "W.G.," holding an unfortunate boy in his left hand and a raised stick in the other, accompanied by the caption "The youngster who was unmercifully beaten at the County Ground," Quite what the illustration alludes to is unclear although a later caricature published by the newspaper, depicting "the Champion" sitting on a podium surrounded by a motley throng of spectators and entitled "Side Shows At The Crystal Palace. What We Hope Will Not Take Place," apparently refers to "W.G.'s" departure from Bristol in 1899. With Pick-Me-Up carrying a humorous, fictional interview with "the Doctor" in 1898, it would appear that despite his years, admiration for "the Champion" had not waned.[18]

As an all-round cricketer "the Champion" was without equal, his accomplishments being clearly summarised by K.S. Ranjitsinhji, another prominent late nineteenth century English cricketer, who wrote:

> He revolutionised batting. He turned it from an accomplishment into a science... I hold him to be, not only the finest player born or unborn, but the maker of modern batting. He turned the old one-stringed instrument into a many-chorded lyre.[19]

More recently, Sir Charles Tennyson maintained the accolade afforded "the Doctor" by confidently stating that "'W.G.' did more than any man to make cricket a national pastime,..."[20] Once more, his contribution extended beyond physical prowess. Born into a world divided by wealth, Grace is a symbol of middle class dominance of cricket, particularly in the South of England. Further, his very entry into medicine suggests a desire to fulfil the social expectations of bourgeois Bristol. Although periodic acts of benevolence practiced in the shadow of his patients' working class environs might indicate an alter ego, it is his rejection of working class traits in cricket, particularly professionalism, for which he is best remembered away from the field of play. Marked by a feeling of deception among those Bristolians who had not the means to attend Clifton College or similar reserves of middle class sentiment, Grace's acceptance by the City's bourgeois elite provided a favourable undercurrent to his progress in cricket, that life which was to guarantee him recognition by the most illustrious of Victorians. G.K. Chesterton saw "W.G.," as a prodigious Puck in a truly English midsummer's day dream while H.S. Altham maintained that, "He was incomparably the greatest 'draw' of all the sportsmen of

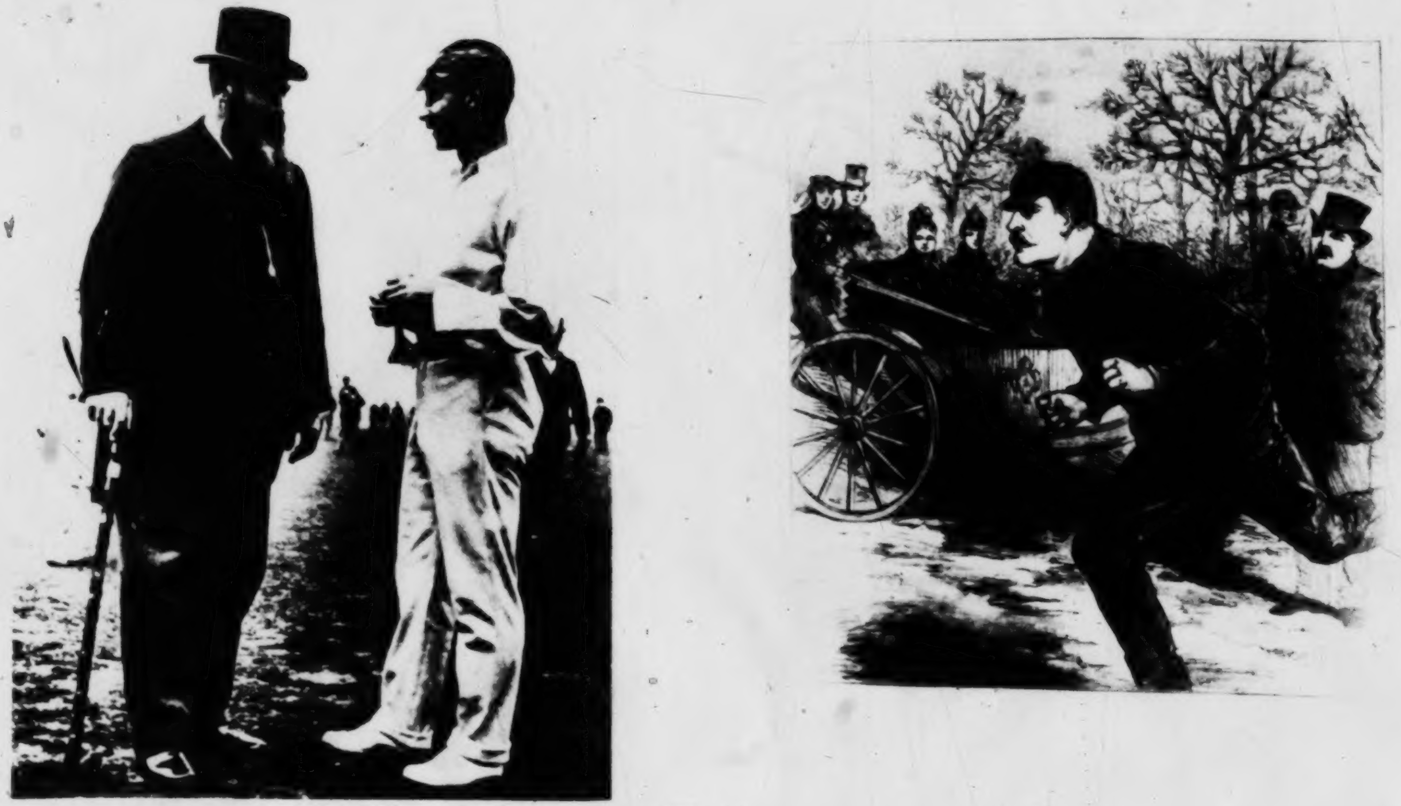

PLATE XX
Outside the Arena

(Left) "W.G.," before a Test Match in 1896.

(Right) "John L.," in training for the fight with Charlie Mitchell in 1888.

history; he was the nearest approach to a living embodiment of John Bull that England has seen..."

On an Autumn day in 1915 a country, held firm by the grip of war, found room to relax and mourn the loss of the greatest of all cricketers, John Percival's "Achilles." As "W.G.," was laid to rest, the name of a doctor who had stood at the wicket for fifty-eight of the sixty-seven years allowed him in life was to become immortal as Altham explained:

> There can never be another W.G., for never again can a batsman arise who will make century after century against a great generation of fast bowlers on wickets many of which the modern schoolboy would consider unfit for a house-match, and on grounds where, as often as not, every hit had to be run out. [21]

Bristol truly had a Champion, a civic hero who personified the middle class ideals of manliness and benevolence, preached the bourgeois gospel of muscular Christianity and amateurism and, through his human imperfections, weaknesses, and triumphs, appealed to the pride of the City.

John L. Sullivan, The Boston Strong Boy

His colours are the Stars and Stripes,
        He also wears the green,
And he's the grandest slugger that
        The ring has ever seen;
No fighter in the world can beat
        Our true American,
The champion of all champions
        Is John L. Sullivan! [22]

These lyrics, taken from a vaudeville ballad of the late nineteenth century, joined others in lauding the triumphs of America's best known athlete at the fin de siècle. A man not to be confused with Yankee Sullivan (born James Ambrose, in Ireland fifty-one years before), who after being transported to the penal colony at Botany Bay, escaped and arrived in America to become one of the nation's earliest pugilists of renown and, like the later Champion, wore an American flag tied as a sash about his waist (see Chapter VI). The arrival of John Lawrence Sullivan in the prize ring was to blank all memories of past fighters as he rose from the Irish slums of Boston to become an American legend, being attributed a variety of titles by journalists and boxing enthusiasts alike (see Appendix I). Like "W.G.," the Boston Strong Boy was more than an athlete as he embodied those changes witnessed in Americans' life and particularly in New England society during the years 1870 to 1900, as John P. Marquand suggested in his introduction to a later biography of "John L.,":

> More than any other man in his period, John L. Sullivan can acquaint you with the spirit of his time, for you have shaken hands with it when you have shaken hands with John L. Sullivan.[23]

Together with his unmatched physical prowess, "John L.," provided boxing with the colour and personality that it was sorely in need of at a time when the sport was being condemned by all and sundry. Artists' brushes followed "the Champion's" muscular contours; sculptors modelled his physique; novelists saw him as a hero to be popularised; Harvard seriously considered conferring an L.L.D., upon him; and playwrights manipulated him into their scripts as the following example of a theatrical dialogue serves to illustrate:

> "Are you from Boston?"
> "Yes"
> "Know any big folks there?"
> "Yes"
> "Know John L.?"
> "Yes"
> "Ever shake hands with him?"
> "Yes"
> "Let me shake the hand that shook the
> hand of John L. Sullivan!" [24]

The last line fell into colloquial usage as people stood in line to shake that legendary hand wherever Sullivan travelled. On the occasion of a visit to New York, a journalist of the time was prompted to comment in language strikingly familiar to that once directed at "W.G.,":

> John L. Sullivan came to our city like an ancient hero, and received the welcome which of old was accorded to the illustrious heroes when they were greeted back in triumph to Athens or to Rome.
>
> In the days of Caesar the famous men were the runners, wrestlers, and fighters. Had John L. Sullivan lived in the days of ancient Rome, his perfection of physical power and great fighting qualities would have entitled him to a high rank as a man of the people. [25]

The story of the Boston Strong Boy however, is not so very different He was a hero, "a man of his people," whether they were Irish immigrants, Bostonians or Americans. Yet the story is not easy to unfold, complicated by literary fantasy that so characterised the life of "W.G.," a problem recognised by a modern journalist who explained that, "Much of what has been recorded of John L. Sullivan is myth, some of it written by hero worshippers, some by those who hated him." [26]

Born in a house an Harrison Avenue, Roxbury on October 15th 1858, John L. Sullivan later moved with his parents, sister and younger brother to homes on Parnell and Lenox streets and finally to Boston Highlands.

His Irish parents provide an early indication of their elder son's personality. His father, Mike Sullivan, was the son of an Irish champion shillelagh fighter. Born in Tralee, County Kerry, he remained a staunch patriot to his homeland carrying a chip on his shoulder throughout his life in the New World. A small man, Mike Sullivan did not allow his 5'3" and 130 lbs., deter him from becoming a champion hod carrier within "the Hub's" construction business. In contrast, "John L.'s" mother was a peaceable citizen hailing from Athlone, County Roscommon. A big woman, weighing some 180 lbs., she wanted her son to join the Jesuits at Boston College to become a priest. The impact that his parents had upon his future was later recognised by "the Champion." When the question was broached by a New York newspaper reporter, "John L.," answered:

> I've often been asked from whom I inherited my strength, I believe I got it from my mother. She was five feet, nine inches tall, and scaled 189 pounds. My dad is responsible for my love of athletics...[27]

The Boston Strong Boy remained indebted to, and proud of his Irish heritage throughout his life. Finding status and social accolades through his success in boxing, Sullivan could afford to glorify in his Gaelic past without fear of ethnic segregation and reprisal. Exulting in his family name "the Champion" once proclaimed that:

> There's enough of us Sullivans to repel an army, and we're always ready. There's enough of us to fill any job you can name. Do you want brawn? Look at the Sullivan in Boston who's six feet, eight and one-half inches tall, working as a longshoreman for a dollar and a half a day. Do you want brain? Look at another Sullivan in Boston five feet, five inches short, working as president of a railroad at a salary of $25,000.

> There's Sullivans of all grades in between these two chaps. If we form a society called the United Sullivans, we can control everything in the land. We're certainly the balance of power. I'll make a side bet that, when the society is pulled off, the whole country'll set up and take notice. As for the Sullivan women, they're the prettiest and wittiest, and they raise the biggest families too.[28]

To the majority of Boston Irishmen, Sullivan was a god, an ethnic hero, a symbol of success, a role model toward which later generations of their kind might strive. He remained their "Champion" even after he was dethroned by another Irish American, James Corbett, a man who easteners despised due to his perceived impudence in challenging their "John L." Sullivan readily exhibited the contempt for Englishmen so common among his oppressed fathers, and equally popular among fellow Boston Irishmen. On one occasion, when accused of writing that he was of Anglo-Saxon lineage, Sullivan retorted in no uncertain manner:

> Of course I never tore off no such letter! I never knowed a Sullivan that wasn't straight Irish without any chasers to it. There may be some white-washed Sullivans, but I don't know 'em and don't want to. In Boston, on the seventeenth of March, they celebrate Saint Patrick's Day and Evacuation Day at the same time, for the British beat it from Boston on that day when the decision went against them more than a hundred years ago. If there's any Anglo-Saxon Sullivans on the job, you bet your sweet life they cover it up, for they know the Sullivans who aint Anglo-Saxons would do 'em up good if they got wise to it.[29]

Such oratorial displays cheered the hearts of Anglophobes across the country and even in the Dominion where, upon being asked to toast "Her Majesty" at a reception following his defeat of a French Canadian by the name of Boiquet in Victoria, British Columbia, the Boston Strong Boy declined to rise from his seat explaining that, "A true Irishman never drinks the health of a British ruler, King or Queen."[30] Yet Sullivan's national pride was not restricted to the Land of Erin for while he stood with the most militant of Boston Irish, he was first and foremost American.

His bellicose nature was seen to erupt in the cause of jingoism at the outbreak of the Spanish American War. Urging his friends to enlist, the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine in February 1898 prompted a verbal outburst from "John L.," who challenged, "Spain! Who in hell is she and what's she done to make her think she's got a chance against us? If she wants to fight us, let her go and get a reputation first, just like I done before I was champion." The same incident led the New York Herald to publish a letter from the irate Sullivan which read:

> Yes, Mr. Editor, and friends, I, John L. Sullivan wept as though my heart would break... Blow every Spaniard to hell!... My old-time fighting blood is up... Can we do it? Yes, we can lick Spain in fifteen minutes... If I was President of this great and glorious United States, I'd have settled this matter long ago. The pugilists to-day fight their battles in the papers and over the telephones--- I guess McKinley has learned the same methods. If I could only lick Spain myself, I'd be so happy I'd lay down and die. [31]

Nor was Sullivan to remain a passive observer as he frequently acted as referee at boxing contests held in the Boston Music Hall for the purpose of raising money to support the War. Serving his country faithfully, though somewhat indirectly, perhaps the most obvious statement reflecting Sullivan's fondness for his homeland came in a July 4th speech by the

Boston Strong Boy, his message being, "My advice to Americans, young and old, is to be patriotic all the time. Yell for your country and think of George Washington every time a firecracker goes off. Tell every foreigner that America can lick his country, whatever it is."[32]

While it was boxing that carried Sullivan to the pinnacle of national prominence, his early years were filled with participation in a great many sports. Attending the public elementary school on Concord Street; the Dwight Grammar School on Springfield Street; and later the Bath House night school on Cabot Street, "John L.," recalls that:

> During my school years in spare time and after school I played ball, marbles, spun tops, and did everything of the kind that boys do. I had no occupation to take up my attention after school hours, and of course went through all the sports that boys go through at that time of life.[33]

Upon leaving school, Sullivan was educated at Comer's Commercial College, and after a short spell at Boston College where his unsuitability for the church was early realised, "John L.," took up first with a plumber and later with a tinsmith in search of a trade. His paltry earnings were supplemented through playing baseball. Having represented the Tremonts, Etnas, Our Boys, and several other clubs in Boston, it was the Eglestons who paid the self-proclaimed "amateur" twenty-five dollars per game, twice a week. Appearing at first base or in left field, so accomplished a player did Sullivan become that the Cincinnati Club reportedly offered him the large sum of $1,300 to play for them during the years 1879 and 1880. The diamond remained close to his heart throughout life, later provoking him to respond, in the following unadulterated manner, to a Sabbatarian lobby bent on abolishing Sunday baseball:

> Baseball ain't allowed in the East on Sundays because a lot of cork legs who never has any fun, is in control. In the West, where there's just as many Christians, if not more, than there is in the East, baseball is allowed seven days a week. It don't hurt the Westerners, nor break up no happy homes, nor put the churches out of the running. [34]

With sporting interests that reached beyond baseball and the prize ring, Sullivan describes in his own inimitable style, his physical assault on the journeyman with whom he worked and his subsequent dismissal, suggesting that he resigned over disagreement on "a great many different subjects; about dogs, game cocks, base-ball, and anything and everything in sporting circles,..." Ever concerned about others' perception of him, Sullivan sought to establish an image that would blend Mind and Body. Frequently called upon to speak in public, "John L.," once explained that:

> I want people to understand that, while not of an egotistical nature, I have a fair amount of common sense, and, with a Boston public school education, can give an intelligent opinion on almost any subject and conduct myself like a gentleman in any company. [35]

Contrary to "John L.'s" opinion, he was very much an egotist, indeed so much so that his autobiography offered only brief accounts of his pugilistic encounters, to "the Champion" opponents were too unimportant to deserve recognition and the decisions were forgone conclusions, he always won!

"John L.'s" introduction to the prize ring came one evening in 1877 at the Dudley Street Opera House in Boston Highlands. The event was a boxing exhibition which included a wellknown local fighter by the name of Tom Scannel, who expressed his desire to meet anyone in the audience. Still working as a tinsmith, the nineteen year old Sullivan climbed up on the stage, took off his coat, rolled up his sleeves and donned the boxing gloves offered to him. The ensuing bout was rather shortlived as an opening blow that landed on the back of the challenger's head was countered with a clout that sent Scannel clear over the footlights and into the orchestra pit. Those in attendance unknowingly witnessed the emergence of a legend as the victor stood upon the apron of the stage and bellowed, what was to become the creed of the fighting Irish:

> My name's John L. Sullivan, and I can lick
> any sonofabitch alive! If any of 'em here
> doubts it, come on![36]

Frustrated by the restraint of early exhibitions, Sullivan's subsequent teaming-up with William Muldoon in 1878 paved the way for a barnstorming tour of America. Offering $50 at first to anyone who could last four rounds with the Boston Strong Boy, the purse swelled to $100, $200, $500 and eventually $1,000. "Tug" Wilson, an Englishman whose tactic it was to hug and fall to the floor whenever "John L.," came his way, was the only challenger to succeed as "the Champion" defeated fifty-nine consecutive allcomers. Leaving the Muldoon show to join managers Billy Madden, and later Al Smith, a partial record of Sullivan's pugilistic career is contained in Appendix I.

Meeting with defeat only once in his lifetime, "John L.," followed a ritual that characteristically started out with a challenge such as that which first appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer for December 10th 1880:

Cincinnati, Dec. 9, 1880

> To the Editor of the Enquirer:
>
> I am prepared to make a match to fight any man breathing, for any sum from one thousand dollars to ten thousand dollars at catch weights. This challenge is especially directed to Paddy Ryan and will remain open for a month if he should not see fit to accept it.
>
> Respectfully yours,
>
> JOHN L. SULLIVAN [37]

This formal statement laid the foundation for Sullivan's first stipulated purse fight against John Donaldson in Cincinnati on Christmas Eve of 1880. The next five years were to represent the busiest period of Sullivan's career as he faced well over thirty opponents at venues as far apart as Boston, San Francisco, Butte and Galveston. Facing John Flood for a purse of $1,000 aboard a barge on the River Hudson, Sullivan won in eight rounds before five hundred spectators, each of whom paid ten dollars to watch. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to consider each encounter in detail, there are a number of fights that standout as landmarks in "John L.'s" career.

His ninth round knock-out of Irish-born Paddy Ryan, the "Troy Terror," on February 7th 1882 at Mississippi City led Sullivan's entourage to proclaim him "Champion of the World," on the basis that his challenger had recently beaten Joe Goss of Northampton, England. Following the rules of the American prize ring, the pugilists found themselves engaged in a bare-knuckle battle in which gouging and wrestling was permitted, where a round ended when one of the contestants was knocked down, and the fight decided only when one of the fighters retired or was knocked out. Presented with a $1,000 belt in recognition of his victory, the fight was remembered in the following verse:

> Sing a song of 'Science 'fighters in the ring,
> Less than 'leven minutes crystallized the thing;
> When the fight was opened, Ryan, 'mid applause,
> Acted like a Trojan, which indeed he was;
> Soon the Boston laddie with his fists and looks,
> Caused a deep commotion 'mid the pocketbooks.
> Troy was very plucky, and with all his pain,
> Would n't cry "Peccari," but would try again.
> Sports grew pale with anguish when they saw their means
> Filling up the wallets from the land of beans. [38]

Such reference to the geographic origin of the boxers was not uncommon, and Sullivan recalls that one of the most ingenious theories advanced for his defeat of Ryan was that of a Chicago newspaper which suggested that he was imbued with the culture of his home town, "and had the plan laid, in case of finding [himself] in close quarters, to interest Paddy with an exposition of Prof. Tyndall's atomic theory, and then slug him under the ear when he was not looking." More important perhaps, was the pride that Bostonians found in their newest hero. In a City described as the Athens of America, the literary, scientific and intellectual seedbed of the New World, a civic feeling permeated the streets described so well by a biographer of "the Champion" who wrote:

> George Washington might be the greatest American, Daniel Webster might be New England's greatest orator, and Longfellow her most notable poet; Emerson might be Massachusetts' most penetrating philosopher, Lowell might be Boston's most versatile littérateur, and the reigning mayor her most consummate ass -- who cared? High above them all towered John -- "Our John" -- begotten, born, nourished, reared, educated, and trained in Boston -- her pet, her darling, her pride -- her newest and greatest celebrity -- her champion! [39]

The victory over Ryan led to much speculation among fight promoters across the nation most prominent of whom was the owner of the New York based National Police Gazette. The relationship between "John L.," and Richard Kyle Fox could in no way be described as amiable. Witnessing the defeat of his prodigy and the subsequent presentation of his Champion belt to Sullivan, Fox set out on a crusade, intent on dethroning the Boston Strong Boy. Upset by excessive pugilistic conjecture in the press, Sullivan wrote the following letter from his home in Boston, one which was to appear on sports pages across the country and would precipitate a busy fight schedule:

> There has been much newspaper talk from parties who state that they are desirious of meeting me in the ring that I am disgusted. Nevertheless, I am willing to fight any man in this country, in four weeks from signing articles, for five thousand dollars a side; or, any man in the old country for the same amount at two months from signing aticles, -- I to use gloves, and he, if he pleases, to fight with the bare knuckles. I will not fight again with the bare knuckles, as I do not wish to put myself in a position amenable to the law. My money is always ready, so I want these fellows to put up or shut up.
>
> JOHN L. SULLIVAN
>
> BOSTON, March 23, 1882. [40]

Despite his pronouncement, Sullivan was to fight again with bare knuckles but first he embarked upon an extensive national tour, ending in a fight with Patsy Cardiff at Minneapolis on January 18th 1887 during which "John L.," broke his arm early yet clung on for a draw. Choosing to restrict his immediate performances in the ring to sparring exhibitions, Sullivan returned to Hartford, Connecticut on July 4th 1887 to umpire a baseball game between the Hartford and New Haven teams.

Later that year, the Boston Strong Boy left "the Hub" aboard the Cunard line's "Cephalonia" in search of "money, glory, and revenge" in Britain. Arriving at Liverpool on November 6th 1887, Sullivan's earliest experience of England was not a favourable one as custom's officials impounded the Championship belt presented to him by the proud citizens of Boston the previous summer. Taking a train to London the following day, "John L.," was met at Euston station by a cheering crowd of 5,000 spectators, a sight that was to characterise his visit to most cities in Britain. Later travelling to Cardiff Sullivan recalled, "It was said at the time that even Mr. Gladstone, when he came to Cardiff the previous summer, failed to draw a larger or more decent crowd than that which thronged to meet me." It was while in Wales that the following letter was delivered to the American Champion:

> ST. JAMES BARRACKS
>
> My Dear Mr. Sullivan, -- I have great pleasure on behalf of the officers of the Scots Guards in inviting you to breakfast in our mess-room tomorrow at twelve o'clock, and subsequently to meet H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who has repeatedly expressed the desire to make your personal acquaintance.
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> CLIFFORD DRUMMOND
>
> Captain Scots Guards. [41]

Although stories are told of Sullivan sparring with the Prince of Wales clad in emerald green tights, "green as... the grass fields of Galway -- and dotted all over with harps and medallions of famous Irishmen, from the days of great Brian-Boru down,"[42] it is more likely that their two hour meeting at the Fencing Club on December 9th 1887 reached little beyond verbal interaction. Much to the mortification of the Queen, so it is said, the press relished "John L.'s" audience with the Prince, while the occasion was remembered in a cockney rhyme of the day:

> This big John L.'s a milling bloke
> Whose courage never fails,
> 'E's game to fight or 'ave a drink
> With our own Prince of Wales.[43]

Nor was the legendary hand forgotten, as the following verses were struck in commemoration of the meeting between "His Fistic Highness" and the heir to Britain's throne:

> Ho! Britons, raise a joyous shout,
>   Give voice in thrilling tones,
> Accompanying your song throughout
>   With banjo, harp and bones.
> The olive branch floats on the breeze,
>   Peace marches in the van;
> The Prince's hand has had a squeeze
>   From John L. Sullivan.
>
> Perchance some day the Prince will King
>   Become, when value much
> Enhanced to that same hand will cling
>   Which Sullivan did touch.
> The loyal throngs, as on they pass,
>   Shall step with more élan
> To kiss the hand which got the squeeze
>   From John L. Sullivan.[44]

The British tour continued with the Boston Strong Boy packing music halls around the nation. On December 11th 1887, he sailed to Dublin where he was greeted by 15,000 spectators. Showing great fondness for the birthplace of his parents, he earned more money in one week than during the previous six week tour of England and left with a variety of souvenirs including a tweed suit, seventeen blackthorn sticks, four jugs of Irish whisky and forty-five letters both preying upon his well-known benevolence and proposing marriage. Before returning to America, Sullivan travelled to the estate of Baron de Rothschild in Chantilly, France to face Charlie Mitchell who laid claim to being the first man to knock down the Boston Strong Boy four years earlier. In a bout held out of doors and affected by snow, rain and wind, "Sprinter" Mitchell managed to evade Sullivan's punches over thirty-nine rounds which lasted 190 minutes before both fighters were arrested by gendarmes. With the fight declared a draw "John L.," posted bail in the amount of $1,600 and crossed the English Channel, leaving Liverpool for Boston where he arrived on April 12th 1888. Two days after the fight, on March 12th 1888, the New York Herald had announced that "John L. Sullivan... has faced his last opponent in the ring, and it is doubtful if he will ever again do the knockin out act."[45] But after an eighteenth month hiatus from the prize ring, Sullivan was to return once more in the last bare knuckle defence of his heavyweight title.

Stung by the National Police Gazette's decision to name Jake Kilrain Champion after he had rebuffed a challenge from the native of Baltimore, Sullivan took little time in issuing the following statement from the office of the New York Illustrated News on December 7th 1888:

> I hereby challenge Jake Kilrain to fight me according to the latest rules of the London prize ring for the sum of $10,000 a side or as much as he would like to make it. The fight to take place six months after signing articles the place of the

> fight to be mutually agreed upon. I have this day placed in the hands of the Sporting Editor of the New York Clipper the sum of $6,000 as a guarantee of good faith.
>
> JOHN L. SULLIVAN
>
> CHAMPION OF THE WORLD.[46]

Accepted by Kilrain with Mitchell as his second, the match, characterised by wrestling, running and spiking, was fought in 120 degree temperatures at Richburg, Mississippi on July 8th 1889 and in front of 3,000 spectators, each paying between $50 and $200 for a seat. Lasting seventy-five rounds or 136 minutes, the final bare knuckle championship bout in America ended with Kilrain dropping to the ground in exhaustion. Later, Vachel Lindsay relived the event with familiar poetic zeal in "John L. Sullivan, the Strong Boy of Boston":

> When I was nine years old, in 1889...
> I heard a battle trumpet sound.
> Nigh New Orleans
> Upon an emerald plain
> John L. Sullivan
> The strong boy
> of Boston
> Fought seventy-five rounds with Jake Kilrain.[47]

The victories over Ryan and Kilrain in particular had won Sullivan a fame unmatched by any other sportsman of the period, and a superior physical prowess that he readily displayed around the world. Yet it was all to come to a sudden end in 1892 as "the Champion" returned from a tour to Australia.

Challenged by "Gentleman Jim" Corbett, ten years his junior, the Boston Strong Boy prepared to defend the title that he had held for the past decade. Contrary to reports, it would appear from the examination conducted by Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent of Harvard a little less than one month before the bout (see Appendix I), that Sullivan was in remarkably fine physical condition for a man of his age whose body had suffered the ill treatment of the world's best prize fighters for fifteen years.

Scheduled for September 7th 1892, the climax of a three day boxing carnival in New Orleans, it was the first time that the Championship had been contended for with five-ounce gloves, utilising the Marquess of Queensberry's rules, and under protection from the police. Despite being five to one underdog, the confidence of Corbett was reflected in the $3,000 bet that he placed on himself and which subsequently netted him $25,000. To the longtime devotees of "John L.," the match was a disappointment as the San Franciscan outboxed, outfeinted and outran the Boston Strong Boy, knocking him to the canvas in the twenty-first round. In stunned silence at Referee John Duffy's decision, Sullivan rose from the canvas assisted by his seconds and, in the words of a true patriot alluded to earlier, addressed the 10,000 spectators in solemn manner, "All I have to say is that I came to the ring once too often and if I had to get licked, I am glad it was by an American. I remain, yours truly, John L. Sullivan." Although not a classic encounter in the eyes of a scientific exponent, the result assured its place in the history of pugilism, the conclusion of an unforgettable reign, as the words rang out:

> John L. has been knocked out! the people all did cry,
> Corbett is the champion! how the news did fly.
> And future generations, with wonder and delight,
> Will read in hist'ry's pages of the Sullivan-Corbett fight.[48]

Reaction to his victory did little to comfort Corbett who ushered in a new "student" approach to boxing. Like other Irish Americans, he had worshipped "John L.," as a youth but throughout his five year reign "Gentleman Jim" was never forgiven for the effrontery he showed in defeating the Boston Strong Boy, a fellow descendant of Erin and more important, one from the east coast. World Heavyweight Champion from February 7th 1882 to September 7th 1892, John L. Sullivan has been credited with anywhere between seventy-five and two hundred or more victories in the ring. Entering the sport during its post bellum depression, the illegal bare knuckle fights on private property and at secret venues eventually gave way to the gentlemanly art of pugilism characterised by increased codification, the use of boxing gloves, skilful exhibitions, and tempered social acceptance. Yet like other great men, John L. Sullivan's contribution to society extended beyond his chosen profession as he travelled many roads touching the multitudes that lined his way.

The confident Boston Irishman, who proudly claimed in his autobiography that "When going into the ring, I have always had it in mind that I would be the conqueror," was perhaps tha party most responsible for relocating the centre of pugilism on the western shores of the Atlantic. Yet it was an upward battle fought in the wake of public outcry at the indecisive encounter between America's John C. Heenan, "the Benicia Boy" and England's Tom Sayers in 1860. Outlawed as barbaric by respectable society in the years immediately following the Civil War, remnants of social sentiment were found in the columns of the New York Tribune for 1887, as the newspaper came down on "the Champion" during the middle of his reign stating that:

> There is hardly a more disreputable ruffian now breathing than this same Sullivan, but with all his brutality, his coarseness, and his vices, he certainly is not afraid of meeting any living man with bare fists.[49]

In similar vein, the caption accompanying Victor Gillam's cartoon in Judge for 1889, portrayed "John L.," addressing a shaken and blood-spattered football hero with the words, "If that kind of work is eddication, young feller, I orter be a perfesher at Yale, m'self."[50] However, on the occasion of Sullivan's first attendance at a college football game it is said that he was genuinely dismayed at the violence which characterised the encounter, prompting him to exclaim, "There's murder in that game!"[51] Indeed, in fairness to the Boston Strong Boy, it should be noted that he prefered the rules laid down by the Marquess of Queensberry over those of the London Prize Ring (1838). Yet, although possessing few of the unsightly sores of a "punch drunk" prize fighter, his physical stature and aggressive pugnacity allowed him to join the most brutal thug in the ring and win. Sullivan liked to be remembered as a scientist of boxing. According to legend he employed the services of an Irish physician in seeking to identify the fundamental plexus as his primary target. He claimed to pursue a strict training regimen for all fights, always sleeping alone; pickling his fists in a potent brew of turpentine and walnut juice; and swearing by frequent doses of physic, a boiled tonic of zinnia, salts, manna and black liquorice. Even among the fight fraternity, Sullivan's policies sometimes met with disapproval, perhaps no better exemplified than in his refusal to face black opponents in the ring.[52]

The Boston Strong Boy had early drawn the colour line during the mid-1880s when, challenged by George Godfrey the recognised black heavyweight champion of America, Sullivan calmly turned him down. Yet it was in 1892 that his racial bigotry was brought to the fore as he laid down the conditions for future defence of his title:

> First come first served. I give preference to Frank P. Slavin, of Australia, because he and his backers have done the greatest amount of bluffing. My second preference is that bombastic sprinter, Charles Mitchell, of England, who I would rather whip than any other man in the world. My third choice is James J. Corbett, of California, who has achieved his share of bombast. I make one stipulation in this world-wide challenge to all fighters -- they must be white! I will not fight a Negro. I never have and never shall. Also the contest must be governed by Marquess of Queensberry Rules as I am determined that never again will I fight with bare fists. I intend to keep the championship of the world where it belongs, in the land of the free and the home of the brave. [53]

Nearly a score years later, memories of Sullivan's biases were resurrected as, following the defeat of the great white hope Jim Jeffries in Nevada on July 4th 1910, nationwide riots included an attack on two blacks in Muskagee, Oklahoma by a knife-wielding white man claiming to be "John L.'s" second cousin. Whether such prejudice was learned in his youth from the known friction between the black and Irish segments of Boston Society is unclear. Yet it was insufficient to threaten his popularity in either "the Hub" or America as the name of John L. Sullivan was showered with acclaim the world over.[54]

Nathaniel Fleischer, a leading historian of the ring and biographer of "John L.," has suggested that, "I can recall no other instance of a fighter getting such a grip on the popular imagination," while a subsequent biographer, Donald Chidsey explained:

> In the days when nice little boys wore long curls and velvet blouses and lace collars and cuffs and posed for their portraits with their hands on the heads of faithful New Foundland dogs, Sir Galahad was not the hero of the youth of America, in spite of the Victorian effort to make this come to pass. The hero of this age and the man who had the most influence on boyhood's wish fulfillment was John L. Sullivan,...[55]

In his native Boston he was a hero where, as a recent historian of the Irish in America has suggested, "he ranked with the Bunker Hill as an attraction for visitors." With fellow citizens of "the Hub" being treated to his pugilistic prowess early in his career The Pilot, organ of the Boston Catholics, noted in April 1880 that "Sullivan who is about 22 years of age, is a remarkable man, and destined to rank among the leading heavyweights of the country," while fourteen months later the journal was proclaiming him (somewhat prematurely perhaps), "the champion of America." Municipal recognition of his talent was soon to come, although an initial response from the Boston Globe, following "John L.'s" defeat of Ryan read, "We abhor prizefighting as a species of sporting, but as long as the 'mill' came off at all, we are glad the Boston boy won." However, there appeared little need for such guarded sentiment as friends presented the Boston Strong Boy with a gold watch and chain and an eighteen inch horseshoe of wax flowers set in a gilt frame, at the Dudley Street Opera House, in recognition of his victory over "the Troy Terror." Sullivan's popularity soon spread as Bostonians questioning the impact of their new "first citizen," received some comfort from the New York Herald in the form of a concession that read:

> Boston should feel greatly encouraged. New York excells her as a shipping port, a literary center, and is even disputing her claim to the baked bean championship, but to be able to 'put a head' on New York in the prize ring should be cause for high hopes in Boston.[56]

On another occasion in 1882 the Boston Globe reported that "delegates from almost every City in New England, including every class of society, politicians, actors, musicians, artists, merchants, writers, in short, people of all walks of life," joined in offering their farewell to "the Champion" on one occasion of his trips. At first, the source of great pride, the $1,000 belt presented to Sullivan by Richard Kyle Fox in recognition of his victory over Ryan was later described by "John L.," as a "dog-collar" in comparison to another awarded by the City of Boston in 1887.[57]

On account of the fame that he had brought to "the Hub," the City decided to pay formal tribute to Sullivan before a crowd of 4,000 people at the Boston Theatre on August 8th 1887. Much to the consternation of Brahmins, the function was attended by Mayor Hugh O'Brien and other members of the City Council seated on the stage and in flag-draped boxes. After the tumult of Sullivan's entry, Councilman Will Whall presented "the Champion" with a magnificent belt valued at $8,000, emblematic of his achievements and described by "John L.," in the following manner:

> It is forty-eight inches in length and twelve inches in width, and is the largest piece of flat gold ever seen in this country. It was about twelve inches square when started, and weighed about twenty-eight hundred pennyweights. It contains a centre plate, two boxing panels, an eagle panel, and a harp panel. These panels are studded with [397] diamonds. My name on the belt is composed of two hundred and fity stones.[58]

Boston's love for its idol continued through the turn of the century shaken only by his defeat at the hands of Corbett. As "the Hub" mourned the loss, Dibble offered an image of the City in which:

> People walked about her streets with bowed heads and averted eyes -- had not the fate of Babylon and Carthage overtaken her? Even the Bunker Hill Monument seemed to nod in a gloom that was not wholly fog, and the bells in Trinity and Old South tolled more mournfully than ever. [59]

Yet Boston refused to fall into funereal solemnity as the City's literary tradition produced the following rhyme which, lamenting a day in New Orleans, stubbornly resisted the loss of a civic hero, an immortal embodiment of Irish self-esteem:

> The Champion's little nephew knelt
> Beside his tiny bed;
> Above him bent a burly form,
> To hear a prayer he said:
> "God bless papa and good mamma,
> And all that hold me dear" --
> Then sobbed "Oh, Nunkie, is it true
> What people say down here?
> That you're no longer champion,
> You didn't win the fight?
> I prayed so hard that you would win --
> Maybe that wasn't right,
> I'll say: "Please, God, forgive me," first,
> And then "Bless Uncle John!
> I don't care what the people say,
> You're still my champion!" [60]

Nevertheless, the acclaim was not universal throughout "the Hub" as Brahmins, and even some self-considered respectable Irishmen, poured derision on the antics of the Boston Strong Boy. Embarrassed at his involvement in bareknuckle bouts, one local newspaper offered an alternate civic response to Sullivan's early defeat of Ryan suggesting that, "Blue-blooded Boston is disgusted with the notoriety the Hub has gained through the brutal victory of its hard-hitting son, Sullivan."[61] Struggling to preserve the probity and literary tradition of Anglo-Saxon, Protestant New England a contrast is drawn, with the notoriety achieved by the heavy-drinking Irish Catholic brawler, in the following satirical verse proudly quoted by "John L.," in his autobiography:

> Thy bards, henceforth, O Boston!
> Of this triumph of triumphs will sing,
> For a muscular stroke has added a spoke
> To the Hub, which will strengthen the ring!
> Now Lowell will speak of the "ruby"
> And Aldrich of "closing a match,"
> And Longfellow'll rhyme of "coming to time,"
> Of "bunches of fives" and "the scratch"
> Just fancy what mingled emotions
> Would fill the Puritan heart
> To learn what renown was won for his town
> By means of the manly art!
> Imagine a Winthrop or Adams
> In front of a bulletin board
> Each flinging his hat at the statement that
> The first blood was by Sullivan scored.[62]

"John L.'s" success was to bring more than fame as he supplemented the purses from prize fights with the earnings from other commercial enterprises worthy of the celebrity that he was. The World Chamionship title eventually led to an appointment as sports editor with the New York based Illustrated News in 1889 wherein, sitting at a desk for two hours each day over a period of eight months, "John L.," collected his salary without even a minimal effort on his part Relishing public attention, the theatre seemed an automatic choice for the effervescent, loud-mouthed Irishman. His first engagement was in September 1885 when he travelled for twenty-one weeks with the Lester and Allen Minstrels of Boston, posing as ancient and modern gladiators for a tidy sum of $500 per week. "The Champion" earned added popularity through the stage as the Eden Musée, in New York, presented Sullivan and Kilrain in wax during 1889 while Adam Forepaugh's circus featured a boxing elephant called "John L. Sullivan."

Yet it was not until his defeat of Kilrain in 1889 that the Boston Strong Boy began to make serious strides into drama. Preferring to take the lead in melodrama, he toured in such productions as "Honest Hearts and Willing Hands," "The Two Orphans," "A True American" and "The Man from Boston," the last two plays written specifically for him. Cast as Captain Harcourt in "The Man from Boston," a football hero who is drugged by a romantic rival, "John L.," received greatest acclaim for his portrayal of Simon Legree in his own company's production of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." With his theatrical career drawing to a premature close in 1902, his love of the stage remained although a subsequent attempt at establishing the "John L. Sullivan Motion Picture Company" foundered for the want of funds. But, when faced with shrinking coffers Sullivan could usually fall back upon another fund raising scheme or accept the invitation of companies to advertise their product. On one such occasion in 1885, the Lipton Beef Company published a poster entitled "Champion Pugilists of the World" which carried the following endorsement by the Boston Strong Boy:

> After a fair test of your extract of beef, both as a beverage and as a muscle and health producing food, I am well convinced it is the best thing of the kind in the market.
>
> Yours Sincerely,
>
> JOHN L. SULLIVAN 63

As his fighting career neared its end and the theatre lost some of its early novelty, "John L.'s" ongoing quest to remain in the public eye led him to consider the favourite Irish pastime of politics. Having met with royalty, Pope Leo and every President since James A. Garfield (1881), Sullivan considered himself well versed in state affairs. On one occasion, when meeting with Grover Cleveland at the White House in 1887, it is reported that the sight of the President's sinewy biceps prompted "the Champion" to offer the nation's leader the following words of advice:

> I'm afraid you'd hardly last four rounds. You'd ought to have a little go with me every morning for a month or so. That 'ud put you in condition to handle them political guys that travel up here every day to bother you.[64]

As early as 1895 "John L.," was nominated to run for Congressman in the Massachusetts' House of Representatives. Failing in this early bid, the New York Irish next attempted to introduce the name of Sullivan to the ballot for Alderman in 1899. Once more being rejected, "the Champion" returned for a second Congressional race in Massachusetts eventually terminating his own ticket on a confused note of disillusion and jingoistic fervour:

> Why should I go to Congress? If I did go, I'd build up the navy, I'd raise a big army, I'd build a whopping merchant marine, and I'd be honest. But what good would it all do? There's some three hundred and ninety Congressmen and about ninety Senators. The public knows only about twenty Senators and about thirty Congressmen; the rest ain't even as well knowed as the Mayor of Paducah, wherever that is. If I went to Congress, I wouldn't be a reformer -- there's too damned many of them idiots already and they never got nowhere, except to kick up a bunch of rows.[65]

Expressing little confidence in the Federal government Sullivan's thoughts turned to civic affairs, the office of Mayor in a City where the Irish tradition in politics was already well established. Presenting a democratic platform in support of making Boston a model City, "John L.," explained in characteristically patriotic yet autocratic confidence that:

> There's a lot of things in Boston that need fixing, and it'll take a strong man like me to do it. They've had grandstand players, four-flushers, sea lawyers, hot-air commission merchants, and pikers for Mayors of Boston. About all they've pulled off was... to work the city... When I get the key of the Mayor's office on my key-ring, I'll put the Indian sign on the professional fixers, and keep busy canning the hand-shakers who think they've been elected for life to get the high figures on the payroll. I'll give the ordinary boys a chance to get after the easy money... So here is where I declare myself out for the nomination. I'll take care of the election. I'll guarantee there won't be any more rough-houses in the Common Council and the Aldermen will walk the chalk line, or it'll be safer for them to get no nearer the City Hall than Revere Beach... Baseball bats will be barred from the caucus, but the work in the Mayor's office will be hard enough to suit anybody. It will be a finish fight to put Boston in the championship class, and they'll come from all over to see a town run right. It's the democratic nomination I want, for I'm a Democrat even though I do believe in Roosevelt. But I don't object to the Republicans making it unanimous, just to save hammer throwing. [66]

Stated more concisely as "On the level; home rule; no hayseed interference, and a fair shake for everybody," little came of Sullivan's campaign toward municipal melioration. Remaining in close proximity to "the Hub" perhaps the greatest battle of "the Champion's" life was fought with his worst enemy, "John Barleycorn."

"John L.," had early discovered a fondness for alcohol as he frequently entered the ring in a drunken stupor often unaware of the punishment that he was inflicting upon his unfortunate opponent. Forcing him to cancel a return bout with Charlie Mitchell, scheduled for the Madison Square Garden in New York, a reporter for the New York World later proclaimed with unusual candour, on the day of the Kilrain fight, that "According to the history of all such drunkards as he is, his legs ought to fail him after 20 minutes."[67] As it happened, Sullivan's legs carried him to victory after 136 minutes of boxing, the laurels perhaps masking the real damage that whisky was inflicting upon the "Champion's" body. "John L.'s" entry into the saloon business, with Mike Clarke during the mid-1890s, was a disaster as Sullivan's habit of drinking the profits eventually forced him to file for bankruptcy in 1902, claiming $2,658 in liabilities (mostly promissory notes for liquor), and only $60 in assets, represented by the clothes in which he stood. However, "the Champion" did manage to overcome his foe and joined the Anti-Saloon League in 1905. Vowing that, "If I ever take another drink I hope to choke, so help me God!," Sullivan retraced his former paths as a temperance lecturer recounting the sins of his past to those who cared to listen.[68]

Throughout his career in the ring and on the stage, the Boston Strong Boy might have accumulated a fair wealth. While he and his biographers failed to agree upon the exact amount, the grand total of $1,159,670 arrived at in an estimation of his earnings contained in Appendix I has, where possible, been verified by a variety of sources. The figure is a clear indication of potential riches amassed by "the Champion" during his lifetime, probably making him the first American sportsman to secure one million dollars through his chosen profession.[69]

It is rather ironic that while his boxing life maintained an unusually stable pattern, his domestic life was characterised by fluctuation. It has been suggested that if alcohol was Sullivan's first weakness, actresses followed close behind. Marrying Annie Bates, a Protestant chorus girl from Rhode Island, at a Catholic church in South Boston during 1882, their matrimonial bond widened as "the ring" became all that counted in "the Champion's" life. Sharing a ribald romance with Ann Livingston, an actress who is said to have been present dressed as a man at "John L.'s" fight with Charlie Mitchell in France, rumours of a second wedding were shattered with the news of her death at New York in 1896. With his first marriage all but dissolved, a legal divorce on December 13th 1908 allowed Sullivan to marry Kate Harkins, a childhood sweetheart from Roxbury, a woman whose staunch Catholic morals represented a previously unmatched influence on "John L.," during the last decade of his life.

The Boston Strong Boy lived out his last years, with an ex-sparring partner by the name of George Bush, at West Abingdon, Massachusetts. Enjoying a leisurely existence, the increasingly rotund "John L.," was elected an honourary member of the New England Fat Men's Club in 1912, a decision that raised the ire of "the Champion" once more, even leading him to contemplate legal action.

John Lawrence Sullivan died of cirrhosis of the liver on February 2nd 1918, aged fifty-nine. His body was laid in state dressed in full evening attire. Among the pall bearers at the requiem mass held in St. Paul's Church was Jake Kilrain, who carried "the Champion" to his final resting place in Calvary Cemetery. The sum of fifteen dollars was to be found beneath the pillow of his death bed, all that was left by a man who had boasted, bullied and acted his way into immortality to become, in the words of John Rickards Betts, "the first of our legendary sporting heroes."[70]

This chapter has focused upon the role of two men in the life of the nineteenth century City and is intended to fuse some of the earlier issues considered in regard to the urban environment. Their contribution to this cause has been sorely neglected in the past as biographers have chosen to centre upon their sporting careers while historians have generally ignored these social "symbols" as nonserious and unimportant. The selection of William Gilbert Grace and John Lawrence Sullivan as subjects for study is based on a distinction made between the "great athlete" and the "sporting hero." While both Bristol and Boston could lay claim to a number of "great athletes" in a diverse field of sports during the years 1870 to 1900, few cities could identify a sporting hero, the most prominent of which might well be the two men discussed here. /

Characterised by particular traits which might include international prominence and innovation in their sport over an extended period, "W.G.," and "John L.," stand above their contemporaries, firmly rooted in the story of cricket and pugilism. That the two sports are not similar is of limited consequence to a comparison of the central characters although their very significance may be an indication of the nature of society at that time. Described in classical terms, both men embodied the Greek mythical ideal of the strong, noble, and brave competitor. Glorified by artists, sculptors, playwrights and poets who preyed upon "the black forest issuing from the Champion's chin," and "the legendary handshake," nicknames were created in abundance as the "pride" of Bristol and Boston enjoyed growing popularity.

However, perhaps such colourful appellations were not necessary for "W.G.," and "John L.," was sufficient to ensure recognition the world over as their athletic achievements became the subject of continued international admiration. Each was the most famous exponent of his art at the time, Champion of the World. Yet while they were met by thousands of admiring spectators wherever they travelled their life at home was tainted by ongoing discontent from contrasting sources.

"W.G.," was born in 1848, the son of a physician. Although his private and public (cricket), lives were clearly divided, he maintained his status as a member of bourgeois Bristol society. Reflecting the benevolent and respectable values of a City gentleman, his participation in Rugby football, track and field and cricket together with his pursuit of medicine is truly indicative of middle class preferences and aspirations. While not dwelling upon the cause of patriotism and imperialism he contributed in latent fashion by readily travelling to the most distant outposts of the British Empire to demonstrate his skill with the willow. A jovial yet aggressive performer, Grace's propensity to overlook the ideals of fairplay, and his hypocritical treatment of "fellow" professionals led to much dissatisfaction in his home town. Perpetuating the middle class relation with cricket at the expense of working class Bristolians, he realised greatest popularity when playing at "foreign" venues. Yet such municipal discord mattered little to "the Champion" as he received support from the City's leaders, reflected in the magnificent civic receptions provided him throughout his career.

In contrast, "John L.," was born ten years later in 1858, the son of a hod carrier. Rising out of the Irish slums of Boston, Sullivan's life parallelled the changing status of first generation Americans in "the Hub." Attributed a lowly position in society at the outset, "John L.," earned his respect and status through success in the prize ring although some critics might consider the very path he trod as denigrating the name of the Irish. With a life characterised by intemperance, vulgarity, and brutality, he found favour with Boston's genteel, literary class as he vociferously and repeatedly proclaimed a love for his country. More important perhaps, is the immigrants' perception of the Boston Strong Boy, the first generation Irish American who worshipped his Gaelic roots and despised Englishmen. God-like, he hovered above them providing reassurance in their ongoing struggle and a target to which they might aspire for he was of them, a plumber and a tinsmith who chose the professional sports of baseball and pugilism to earn a living. Relishing the limelight, his retirement from the ring sounded his entry into the theatre and politics, guaranteeing public attention. Admired by citizens of "the Hub," the questionable confidence shown by Brahmins is reflected by the civic reception provided "the Champion" en masse in 1887, an event which clearly contrasts with that given to Bristol's "Champion."

Although their socioeconomic background and chosen careers are markedly different, both men received the accolades worthy of a civic hero. Earning fame and wealth through sports that, in modern terms, were in their primitive stage, they were readily adopted as the "pride" of their town. The cricketing life of "W.G.," and the fighting life of "John L.," were strongly reflective of the life of the two Cities from 1870 to 1900, Bristol's maintenance of an essentially middle class hegemony and resistance to working class insurgents, and Boston's changing complexion from a wealthy white Anglo-Saxon Protestant stronghold to an increasingly democratic society where the Irish and other immigrant groups were extending an evertightening grip on civic affairs. By the turn of the century both Bristol and Boston claimed their sporting heroes, the biography of whom told the story of the City.

Footnotes

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5. See Chapter VI for a more extensive account of the Grace family and cricket in Bristol; Grace, Cricket, p. 62.

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31. Dibble, pp. 121-122, 125.

32. Ibid., p. 155.

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34. Chidsey, p. 32; Dibble, p. 156.

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39. Dibble, pp. 28-29.

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CHAPTER XV

THE RISE OF SPORT

- A TALE OF TWO CITIES -

To most of a growing majority of urban residents, the nineteenth century city represented an inhospitable environment characterised by poverty, overcrowding, unsanitary conditions and a sense of alienation. Each contributing to the others, civic leaders were forced with an ever-complicating problem of urban deterioration. Precipitated largely out of the Industrial Revolution, the City was seldom prepared to cope with the multiplying number of immigrants, from its rural hinterland and other regions, which daily entered its gates. Yet the years 1870 to 1900 were to witness an unparalleled attempt at social melioration by municipal governments, middle class philanthropists and other reform agencies; as beautifying crusades, civilising missions, public health campaigns and an ongoing search for community came to represent a combined effort at improving the city. The complexity of this trend should not be overlooked as it was accompanied by an undercurrent of political change to the left, a more democratic distribution of wealth, and a change in the base of knowledge which was so critical to the emergence of value systems.

The function of sport in this process has received all too little attention in the past. From its impact on the topography of the city through the rescue and reclamation of green belt "breathing spaces" to its role in filling the increasing number of leisure hours, sport found a prominent niche in the cause of social betterment. Further, the City was to have a marked impact on the nature of sport as it evolved from informal games in the agrarian world to organised and corporate pursuits in the metropolis.

To the historian, the city presents a manageable boundary in which the relationship of sport and urbanisation might be investigated. Yet generalisations are to be avoided, for only after further study of sport in the city might commonalities be identified. Indeed, the characteristics already identified with regard to the nineteenth century city may be a trifle unfair for not only once were marked differences observed in the rate of urbanisation from nation to nation, but even within one country, cities differed on account of their geographical location, economic base, religious tradition and a complexity of other factors. The selection of the cities in this study was based on their relative comparability and promise to fulfill the purpose of investigation, that being to identify similarities and differences in sport which are subsequently interpreted in terms of social value systems. Adopting an eclectic approach, urban society is perceived as a labyrinth of institutions each inextricably entwined and related to sport.

Situated on either side of the Atlantic Ocean, Boston's population of 250,000 in 1870 made it somewhat larger than Bristol's citizenry of 180,000. Yet it was the proportional increase in residents over the next thirty years which was to reflect the greatest demographic gulf between the two urban centres. With Boston's population increasing by 124 percent, the census for 1900 showed that 560,000 people were living in "the Hub," while a modest increase of 80 percent gave the English city a population of 333,000. Both cities rested on a foundation of maritime trade during colonial years although each witnessed its preeminent status slipping to other more favoured ports, notably Liverpool and New York. Unlike its American counterpart, Bristol had grown out of the Middle Ages, with the City Government early claimed by an aristocracy which had achieved its status by way of mercantile wealth rather than land ownership. Their faith and influence determined the future of Bristol's religious affiliation with Evangelists and Non-Conformists setting the trend for theological thought and practice in the nineteenth century city. Boston was first settled during the early seventeenth century by Puritans. While their's remained the predominant mode of religious thought until the onset of the nineteenth century, the subsequent influx of immigrants from Ireland, and later Southern and Eastern Europe, led to a gradual erosion of orthodox Puritan values and a rise of Catholicism and Unitarianism.

The years 1870 to 1900 also witnessed a change in the government structure of each city. Once led by a wealthy, Conservative elite, Bristol and Boston witnessed a gradual shift toward democracy by the end of the nineteenth century, evidenced by the rise to power of Yankee and Irish Democrats, and Independent Mugwumps in Boston, and Liberals, Liberal-Unionists and even some pioneering Socialists in Bristol. Yet the cities retained their image of "two nations in one" as the established aristocracy and emerging bourgeoisie remained on Beacon and Clifton hills, closing their eyes to the dank, overcrowded pestilence of the North End and Easton below.

While such socioeconomic polarisation was manifested through education, politics, religion and sport, neither city could claim to be a major industrial centre, a factor frequently identified as the common denominator of social extremes. Indeed, their relative distance from the major sources of raw material meant that heavy industry was restricted to the urban periphery, with the primary occupations becoming manufacturing and marketing.

Sport was not a new phenomenon to either city during the nineteenth century. Despite Puritanical restraints, coupled with the absence of leisure hours and facilities, plentiful evidence remains for the practice of informal and organised sport by early Bristolians and Bostonians. Frequently determined by wealth, whereby the aristocracy might typically partake of bathing, lawn bowling, quoits, cricket or field sports on their private estates, the Common and Downs, street and inn became the centre of physical pursuit for the populace. Sometimes described as "trespass sport," cockfighting, bullbaiting, dogfighting and ratting were popular among the working class, practiced behind closed doors, safe from the church's critical view. Holy days and festivals provided the foremost opportunity for outdoor pursuits as horseraces, pedestrian and prize-fighting meets were attended by a growing number of spectators. Yet the potential wealth of such pursuits was not to be realised and their organisation remained unstructured until the cities, faced by a deepening urban crisis, sought a solution for the betterment of their environment.

In part a product of the Industrial Revolution, the Western World witnessed a gradual elevation in the status of the Body from the middle of the eighteenth century. While it is true that the Body was important to the agricultural labourer inasmuch as it represented the key to his physical survival, the Mind and Spirit remained preeminent in his life. Out of a world characterised by ascetic Puritanism (which perceived the

Body as subordinate to the Mind), emerged an interest in the relationship of the two components of Man. Advances in psychophysiology, and demands made by ill-health of the cities precipitated a new interest in the Body.

While opposition to this perceived rise of the Body (at the expense of the all important Mind), continued, particularly in Boston, arguments were presented by intellectuals and institutions alike for the value of the Body in the city-building process. While the Mind was not neglected (as witnessed through the building of public libraries, museums and art galleries in both cities), ethnocentric, egocentric and biocentric justifications for the elevation of the Body were presented. To the nations' and cities' leaders, sport promised a period of recreation, rejuvenation and subsequent economic uplift. It might also contribute to the health of the nation and city and in this way guarantee a fit and strong army in time of hostility; together with aiding their search for civic identity and nationalism. Further, by adopting the ideals inherent in the maxim "Mens Sana in Corpore Sano," sport was viewed as a tool for developing character and greater control in a society faced with increased anomie and deviance. To the Popularists and Romanticists of nineteenth century Boston and Bristol, a fascination with the Body was reflected in a return to nature, beautifying crusades and the provision of parks as an escape from the evils of urban life. Such were the arguments presented which were to precipitate the appearance of organised sport in both cities. While the adoption of this trend was sometimes indirect or unconscious in nature, no institution in society was immune to the impact of sport, as each was involved in the elevation of the Body.

The emergence of a social gospel in both cities during the nineteenth century promised a divergence from the traditional pattern of spiritual development. Partially out of a genuine concern for the deteriorating state of urban life and partly in search of a larger congregation, missionary societies had early been established in Bristol and Boston. Supported by the platform of the Broad Church and the preaching of Christian Socialists, the role of the church was extended. Providing a meeting place for the working class and organising picnics, excursions and sports events, Bristol's Non-Conformist and Boston's Unitarian churches found particular favour among the urban populace. But the relationship between religion and sport in the nineteenth century city was to serve up a series of paradoxical situations as remnants of orthodox Puritan thought led to the appearance of a Sabbatarian lobby which was active in both Boston and Bristol. With its leaders scorning those who disregarded the belief that the Sabbath should be a day of rest, Blue laws were relaxed and eventually repealed on account of their non-democratic nature, as Sunday became a day of play by the turn of the century. Further, the increased leisure time and affluence of the labourer had early created a social problem of intemperance as the public house and saloon became the major attraction of the working man. In seeking to offer alternatives, the Bristol Temperance Society (founded 1836), established coffee houses and guilds, utilising indoor games (such as skittles and billiards), and gymnasiums to attract members. While the Massachusetts Temperance Society (1833), faced a similar battle, it was the Young Men's Christian Association which came to the fore in offering an alternative to the degradation and corruption of the saloon.

Founded at London in 1841, the Young Men's Christian Association offers perhaps the best example of the social gospel at work in Boston and Bristol. Blending Body, Mind and Spirit, the Boston Y.M.C.A. (1851), predates its Bristol counterpart (founded in 1853, but which grew out of a bible reading class started in 1848). The Boston Association came to be a significant social force in the City claiming a membership of one thousand in 1854 (whereas the Bristol Association did not register one thousand members until the turn of the century). The "physical programme" of the two Associations offers an interesting contrast, for while the Boston Y.M.C.A. built its first "hall of health" in 1865, Bristol's Association was not able to boast a gymnasium until 1879 and then, it fell short of the Boston facility both in dimension and furnishings. Prompted by the work of Robert J. Roberts it is not surprising that gymnastics formed the main thrust of the programme in the wake of Civil War. With limited interest in drill and gymnastics exhibited in the Bristol Association, the emphasis appeared to have been on games playing and character development. Forming its first cricket eleven in 1862, representative teams soon followed in football, field hockey, swimming, cross-country and cycling. The end of the century brought a new innovation in both cities as a return to the biocentric ethic led to the organisation of summer camps for the boys of the Boston Y.M.C.A., and those of the St. Agnes (Clifton College) Mission in Bristol. Supported by the efforts of non-church affiliated groups, including settlement houses in Boston and the boys' clubs in Bristol, the gospel of muscular Christianity was preached to middle class and working class residents alike.

The City Councils of Boston and Bristol appeared more concerned with the visual realities facing them from day to day than the moral rectitude of their citizens. However, the contrast between the perceived responsibilities of the cities' leaders presents one of the more interesting observations of this study. While the Conservative government of Bristol was content to preserve the social order in the city at the expense of reform and change, the election of Josiah Quincy as Mayor of Boston in 1823 set an important precedent in establishing a municipal obligation and responsibility for the care of the city's residents. In this light, it is not surprising that while Bristol's interest in sport was limited to an indirect concern for public health, and that prompted by philanthropic Liberals, the Boston City Council instituted the City Regatta as early as 1854. Public health represented a primary concern of the civic leaders of both cities throughout the nineteenth century. As ports, Bristol and Boston were gateways to exotic disease which, when added to the already mounting list of endemic ailments, created an urban malaise of frightening proportions. Yet, through a process of legislative and reform measures a more salubrious surrounding emerged by 1870. With migration to the city continuing, and as scientific advances guaranteed a lower mortality rate, the population expanded, crowding into the already congested inner city. At the same time, the "lungs of the city" were being swallowed up by urbanisation, leading to a changing priority in public health, from the provision of fresh water and sewers to the search for open-air spaces.

The Common in Boston and Downs in Bristol had long been the most popular playgrounds of each city. However, with increasing urbanisation, access to these open spaces was restricted and the dangerous and unsanitary world of the street became the baseball diamond and the football pitch for the urban child. Aware of the need for parks and playgrounds the City Councils adopted contrasting philosophies. In Bristol the realisation had come too late and the Council, in refusing to purchase land, decided to rely upon gifts, a deliberation of little consequence to the middle classes who could afford admission to the exclusive privacy of the Zoological Gardens in Clifton. Fortunately for the working class citizens of Bristol, extensive lands were donated to the City, first the Downs which had been purchased by the Society of Merchant Venturers followed by other munificent gifts of real estate particularly during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In fairness to the Bristol City Council it should be noted that later, a motion was passed to purchase a small package of land and to support the maintenance and improvement of existing parks.

In Boston, the City government played a much more active role in reclaiming and securing lands particularly after approval of the Park Act in 1875. Culminating in the completion of Frederick L. Olmsted's "Emerald Necklace" in 1879, the role of providing parks and playgrounds in the City and surrounding townships was augmented with the establishment of the Metropolitan Park Commission (1892), the Massachusetts Emergency Hygiene Association (1884), and the Massachusetts Civic League (1897). In the provision of public bath houses the situation appears to be reversed for while the 1846 Baths and Washhouses Act led to the construction of Bristol's first municipal bath at Broad Weir in 1850, it was 1860 before Boston opened the first public bath house in America, an event which was to spark the building of fourteen more facilities by the end of the decade.

The provision of playgrounds and parks created a catalyst to the emergence of organised sport in the city. While pedestrianism and pugilism maintained their popularity (even if somewhat guarded), the transition to organised sport is most clearly witnessed through the appearance of team games in Bristol and Boston. Characterised by a greater structure, organisation (through the establishment of leagues and governing bodies), and codification, such modernisation eventually led to the advent of corporate sport coloured by professionalism, spectatorism, the construction of private grounds and grandstands, the institution of admission fees and the importation of non-local performers. Endeavouring to fulfill the needs of urbanisation (and the pecuniary dreams of the owners), representative teams made their home in the city, instilling a sense of civic pride into interested residents. Formed in 1870, the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club and the Boston Red Stockings (later the Boston Beaneaters), were testimony to this, as the cricketers acquired three County Championship titles and the baseball players twelve National League pennants by the end of the century.

Promoted by technological developments, particularly with regard to communication and mass production of cheap equipment, opportunity for mass participation in organised sport became a vague possibility. While district, cultural, industrial and religious teams fostered group identity and occupied the leisure hours of residents, the middle class stigma frequently accompanying team sports was no fallacy as participation presumed economic resources necessary for the purchase of equipment and clothing, club membership and rental of grounds. Indeed, to working class

Bristolians static spectatorism suggested a lower financial outlay; a relief from the monotony of labour; a sense of community belonging; and an opportunity to win at a side bet. In Boston, the motivation appeared to be little different although, with professional sports finding favour across all strata of society, the spectacle promised a greater opportunity for group interaction than in the English city.

For those finding little fascination with team sport, seaside resorts grew up offering a type of corporate recreation to the citizens of Bristol and Boston. Providing something for everyone, railway and steamship companies carried the labouring classes to Weston-Super-Mare and Revere, and the more affluent to Clevedon and Nahant. Evidence suggests that Boston witnessed an earlier transition to corporate sport, as commercialism became more fully developed than in Bristol. With any replication of the English gentlemanly tradition and amateur ideal being whittled away by the belief that any man had the right to work in search of pecuniary success; corruption, exploitation and excessive competition tended to characterise sport in late nineteenth century Boston, yet it would be incorrect to assume that such traits were not to be found in Bristol sport. Although seldom reflecting the developing traits of modern team sports, cycling, more than any other pursuit in nineteenth century Bristol and Boston, highlights both the impact of the City on sport and the role played by sport in effecting social change.

From the early appearance of the pedestrian curricle, both cities witnessed the evolution of the bicycle from the "bone shaker" velocipede, to the ordinary and safety machines. Replacing the horse on city streets, the "iron steed" came to represent more than a means of transport as the formation of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club (1876), and the Boston

Bicycle Club (1878), paved the way for a structural framework in each city which was to organise excursion runs and cycle races. Yet the bicycle must be perceived as more than a sport, since it represented an innovation of tremendous social significance, particularly in the American city. Its utilisation by public service authorities, and role in the improvement of roads are but two of the more important functions that it fulfilled. As mass production techniques improved so machines became cheaper finding a growing market which subsequently boosted the nations' bicycle manufacturing industries. Further, the needs and wants of cyclists instilled a new life into other decaying industries, as ball bearings, clothing and bicycling sundries came in demand. The appearance of the "drop frame" safety opened a new market as ladies took to the wheel, strengthening their cause for emancipation. With claims of improvement to mental and physical health finding support, suggestions that cycling created manliness and facilitated democracy must be questioned, particularly the latter in light of the demands of time and money, together with the middle class stigma attributed to its practice. The bicycle clearly reflected a changing attitude to the Body which was evident in the nineteenth century city, an elevation of the physical being which, promoted through education, wrought marked changes on the structure and function of society.

The relationship of education and sport in Bristol and Boston offers an interesting contrast which would appear to be reflective of national trends. Both cities claimed a tradition in private education dating from the establishment of the Bristol Grammar School in 1532 and the Boston Public Latin School in 1635. On the other hand, the evolution of public education was reversed with the appearance of the Boston School Committee predating its Bristol counterpart by some twenty years.

Physical training had early been pioneered in Boston as Fowle, Follen and Thayer, among others, promoted German gymnastics in their private facilities during the 1820s. After a thirty year lacuna, the Civil War prompted a revival of interest in ethnocentric programmes as first Winship and Lewis, and later Sargent and Posse (each supported by educational administrators), led the way in a gradual evolution from gymnastics to military drill and eventually a more humanistic style of Swedish calisthenics. While the trend was similar in the board schools of Bristol, the primary interest remained in physical programmes that supported the egocentric ethic. Post-elementary provision for physical education in both cities was poor although The Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society (1884-1895), did offer instruction for adults. However, the developments witnessed at Harvard, from the Hemenway gymnasium to programmes at the Summer and Sargent Schools of Physical Training, and the first American degree in the field at the Lawrence Scientific School, supported the premier status of "the Hub" in physical education. In adding the contribution of the Normal School of Gymnastics and the city's hosting of landmark conferences toward the end of the nineteenth century, it is clear that the capital of Massachusetts fully justified its claim to being the seedbed of American physical education.

Born in the English "public" schools, the moral ideology of muscular Christianity was nourished in a period characterised by immunity from major international hostility and a changing notion from the asceticism of the classical, aristocratic private institution to the relative liberalism of the new, bourgeois Philistine school.

Witnessing an elevated status, the Body was perceived as a means to develop such moral traits as manliness and courage. Followers of the supernal Headmaster, the pupils of private schools in both cities (for the Anglophile Brahmin soon established replicas of the English "public" school), spent their afternoons at the wicket or chasing the hare across the rural fringes of Bristol and Boston. Frequently fighting the forced discipline and constraints of drill, and the physical monism of gymnastics, it was felt that the schoolboy would be adequately prepared for military service on the playing field.

As athleticism found favour at Clifton College, Bristol Grammar School, Bristol Cathedral School, St Paul's School, Groton School, Phillip's Andover, Phillip's Exeter, and other private institutions, the uniqueness of each school was lost under a universal umbrella of games-playing. Opportunity existed for all to participate, whether in house matches or on the school teams, providing each schoolboy the opportunity to savour the meaning of patriotism which, it was hoped, would be manifested upon his leaving school. With "caps" and "colours" awarded to the elite athletes, the ideals of character development were disseminated by means of a complex old boys' network and literature. Eventually, the programme of team sports was adopted by the public schools of both cities as the Interscholastic Football Union founded at Boston in 1888 (although this was primarily patronised by preparatory schools), the Boston Interscholastic Athletic Association (1890), and the Bristol Schools' Rugby Union (1898), offered sorely needed structure and organisation for their members. However, incidents of professionalism, violence, obsessive play at the expense of study, and the class distinction inherent in such programmes led critics of athleticism to question the value of games in education and to predict the advent of commercialism in school and university athletics, particularly in Boston.

The universities of both cities followed the pattern of games-playing practiced at Oxford and Cambridge in England. The establishment of the Bristol Medical School in 1833 laid the foundation for the opening of a University College in 1876. Remaining a private institution patronised by the middle class until 1889, football, cricket and field hockey were practiced by students and professors alike in replication of the city's private schools. In Boston, the appearance of a tertiary level of education was witnessed as early as 1637 with the founding of Harvard College, an opportunity to be further extended with the opening of Boston University in 1839, Boston College (1863), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1865), and other such institutions in the vicinity of "the Hub." Attended at the outset by the sons of Brahmins, the universities represented Boston Society in microcosm, reinforcing the social values and order in the process of which they reflected the transition from informal to organised, and eventually corporate sport.

Promoted by both principals and professors, these American halls of academe came to be viewed as athletic clubs offering opportunities in the mould of the great English universities from the middle of the nineteenth century but later rapidly developing their own characteristic model of athleticism to meet the needs of a changing society. Harvard became a leader in this movement. Forsaking cricket and mob football for baseball and American football during the 1870s, intercollegiate sport across the Charles River became increasingly serious with the ideals of muscular Christianity being forgotten in search of victory, prestige and economic return. Prompting the faculty to grasp periodic control of athletics at the university, such pursuits nevertheless, continued to assume all the characteristics of corporate sport, increased professionalism; spectatorism, violent outbursts, gate receipts, recruiting scandals, and even grade modification as Harvard's athletic budget passed the $100,000 mark by the turn of the century. Opposed by those who pictured the eventual subordination of Mind to Body, the evolution from loose, informal games played on the Common at mid-century, to the complex, intercollegiate contest waged before a stadium filled with partisan spectators in 1900, appeared to have been accelerated in an environment relatively divorced from the impact of external factors.

In contrast, the traditional social order of both cities with regard to gender and socioeconomic class realised slow and limited change over these years. The perception of the female Body in 1870 was characterised by an image of delicacy and softness. Gradually however, through a desire to end the monotony for workers' wives, female exploitation and declining health, reform measures were instituted to elevate the status of women in both nations. Although presented by an almost insurmountable barrier of tradition at the outset, sport played a significant role in the emancipation of women. As Bristol's girls' schools copied the games-playing traditions of the private boys' schools, and Beecher, Fowle, Lewis, Hemenway and Sargent pioneered physical education programmes for girls in Boston, so the shackles of passive domesticity were cast aside. No longer did Ladies' Day mean a parade of the gentle sex uncomfortably attired in all its finery but rather, women discovered access to a variety of active pursuits, particularly tennis and cycling, sports that promised a new freedom, healthy activity and social companionship.

Although the status of women in both cities realised significant melioration during the years 1870 to 1900, the socioeconomic structure remained more resistant to change. Unlike other centres that flourished through industrial prosperity, Bristol and Boston society was built on a tradition of mercantile wealth. Personified by an aristocracy that reclined in the comforts of urban and suburban affluence, similar tastes and lifestyles were reflected in both cities. As economic change led to a migration of native agricultural labourers (and immigrants in Boston), society was marked off by a polarisation of classes. Yet the style of life accompanying urbanisation and industrialisation led to the emergence of a new bourgeois class intent on imitating their established socioeconomic superiors. With sport being utilised to strengthen class identity and so maintain the social order, it also represented a significant force in the search for democracy.

Pursuing the field sports of their forefathers, conspicuous leisure became a mark of respectability among the upper strata of society. The fact that sport was perceived as non-productive guaranteed a peculiar status to those involved. The Boston Brahmin and Bristol businessman were frequently found wiling away their day at the private club or racetrack. However, with the appearance of the working class at Beacon Park and Knowle racecourses, the settings lost their sense of respectability, leading to the relocation of the sport to other centres within reasonable proximity to Bristol, and the formation of driving clubs by the followers of equestrianism in "the Hub," both in search of greater exclusivity.

In like manner, rowing clubs grew up in each city primarily to serve as unifying forces for the wealthy. Evolving out of competition between wherrymen in the ports of Bristol and Boston, selection procedures and membership fees ensured that only the cream of society might be permitted to wear the club colours and fraternise with other patrons. With a Harvard boat club formed in 1842, and the Union B.C., dating from 1851, the sport was established earlier in the American city than in Bristol where, despite the formation of the Ariel B.C., in 1870 and others soon after, the tidal waters of the Avon were less conducive to the rise of rowing. In Boston, the annual city regatta promised interaction between all classes of society, overlooking economic barriers and facilitating democracy. Yet, in reaction to any such threat to their hegemony, the middle class typically withdrew to other vestiges of sport, yachting (which flourished after the formation of the Boston Y.C., in 1866 and offered an escape from the ills of industrial society), and the athletic club.

Initially intended for promoting the track and field programmes of the private schools and universities, parent institutions were established at Boston in 1879 and at Bristol three years later. While the Bristol Athletic Club remained the primary sponsor of track and field, and cycling competitions throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century, the Boston Association became a shrine to health and affluence as its proudest claim was made in the wake of the first modern Olympic Games.

The ultimate in exclusive retreats remained the unexplored outdoors. Prompted by a revival of Romantic thought, Bristol's wealthy citizens retreated to private estates, grandiloquent resorts and the Continent, while the Proper Bostonian who was unable to make the trip to the interior of New England founded an American phenomenon, the country club, a select environment in which he might socialise and enjoy golf, tennis, shooting, hunting and horse-racing. Generally patronising these and other bastions of male, Yankee sentiment, Brahmins chose to ignore team sports, competition in which might eventually lead to a breakdown of traditional social boundaries within the city.

Organised sport had early been utilised by the working class of both cities as an instrument to social mobility. As long as man was geographically divided on the basis of economic means, group consciousness and eventual conflict was inevitable. To some observers, the playing field represented a socially acceptable environment in which the battle for democracy might be waged. Paralleled by social reform measures and an ongoing shift to the political left, trade unionism found less support in Boston than in Bristol as the American belief in individualism tended to run counter to the ideals of combination. Yet in both cities the pitiful conditions of working class life continued to mock advances in science and technology. Formerly restricted to unstructured meetings in the street and on the Common or Downs, the combined efforts of socio-religious, political and commercial agencies led to a growing opportunity for the labourer to spend his new-found time and money in the cause of organised sport. Further promoted by employers' belief in re-creation and eventual economic return, and legitimised by middle class participation, the working class readily extended its sporting interests beyond the billiard halls, ratpits and gambling houses.

Recognising a path to pecuniary success, and overlooking the amateur gentleman ideal, the lower classes readily filled the role of professional athlete, becoming the focus of corporate sport. Spurned by the middle class which perceived working at play as non-respectable (and opposed to the idea of conspicuous leisure), the traits of individualism, gamesmanship and excessive competition manifested in professionalism ran counter to the gentlemanly ideals of team spirit, sportsmanship and cooperation. Representing an extension of the popular nineteenth century pastime of labour baiting, discrimination with regard to professionals was most clearly evident in Bristol, for in the American city, the middle class appeared content in retreating to their social enclaves accepting the gradual erosion of traditional barriers, a process to be strengthened by the arrival of immigrants.

In contrast to the relative demographic homogeneity and stability of Bristol, nineteenth century Boston society was to witness a radical transformation as the gateway of a traditional white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant stronghold was broached by a flood of mostly poor, European immigrants. Arriving in two waves, the early denizens tended to share the cultural values of Bostonians so facilitating assimilation while the latter group, mostly of the Catholic and Jewish faiths, and speaking an alien tongue, found life in their new home less hospitable. Faced by opposition from the Know Nothing Movement; the American Protective League; and the Immigration Restriction League, the New Bostonian who, ironically represented the very foundation of the city's manufacturing economy, utilised sport increasingly both as a tool for group identity and mutual comfort, and as a means of assimilation to his adopted home. With generalisations made difficult, the clearest example of assimilation was shown by the English whose values represented the basis of Brahmin society, while early attempts at clinging to cultural traditions by the Irish were later forgotten as assimilation to baseball, rowing and pugilism, in particular, promised social elevation. The Scots and Germans, on the other hand, tended to be more wealthy, and discovered that the perpetuation of sporting traditions posed no threat to their acceptance into society. Moreover, the tartan-clad Bostonian was to witness his very own Caledonian Games adopted to become the foundation of organised track and field in his new home. In essence, "the Hub" presented a pot into which the immigrants fell, the degree to which the city melted and welded a stronger citizen being determined through the stance taken by civic leaders and the perceived need and desire of the New Bostonian to assimilate to his new surroundings. Perhaps the story is most clearly told by the appearance of immigrants and first generation Americans at the summit of Boston's sporting fraternity. No one provides better evidence of the significant contribution to sport in the American city than the Boston Strong Boy himself.

With the international popularity of John L. Sullivan and W.G. Grace attesting to the rising significance of sport in nineteenth century Boston and Bristol, their lives reach beyond sporting achievements, telling a tale of two cities. In many respects, Bristol and Boston appeared linked by a cultural bridge spanning the Atlantic Ocean and reflecting a marked similarity in the role played by sport in the city-building process, while underlying differences in structure and ideology were manifested in an asymmetrical evolution, and characteristic pattern of sport in each city.

The process of urbanisation was somewhat more advanced in Bristol by 1870, at a time when Boston was recovering from the interruption of Civil War. Nevertheless, sharing similar experiences with regard to economy, political trends and religious affiliation, the primary concern of civic leaders during the next thirty years was with the improvement of public health and living conditions. Adopting a more active role than its British counterpart, the Boston City Council exemplified its commitment to civic uplift. Supported by physical education programmes which followed the ethnocentric ethic, the quest for a fitter, healthier and stronger Bostonian was realised. In contrast, the pattern of physical education and games-playing in Bristol was based upon the belief in developing a citizen of upstanding moral character. Also representing the foundation of sport in Boston, the eventual triumph of Jacksonian democracy over the gentleman amateur ideal appears to have been the fundamental reason for the acceleration from organised to corporate sport in "the Hub," reaching extremes of commercialism unmatched in Bristol. As Boston's immigrants came to represent a significant force in effecting urban transition, Bristol society remained relatively stable as an established value system tempered the impact of change.

The two cities entered the 1870s facing similar problems wrought by urbanisation and industrialisation. Provided with comparable resources, sport was utilised in contrasting ways and for different purposes as the city underwent ongoing improvement. Paralleled by a change in the complexity of sport, the earlier and more widespread appearance of an organised pattern in Bristol was overshadowed by the marked significance of corporate sport to Boston society by the turn of the century. Assuming a degree of comparability existed between the two cities in 1870, differences observed in the nature and function of sport upto the turn of the century might be considered indicative of national trends. Yet such conclusions require ongoing cross-national investigation, for the findings of this study are unique, most accurately reflecting a tale of two cities.

A cyclical relationship between sport and human values is clearly borne out in this study. While supporting the belief that sport reflected a more far-reaching value system in functioning to maintain social control, it also created a unique system of values which contributed to social control and change. In this way, sport must be seen as a useful, significant tool for examining and understanding the similarities and differences between societies. The utilisation of sport as a means of communicating human values appears to be reflected at all levels of society. While the role of sport in the search for identity, improved health, and social control has been adequately investigated at the individual and institutional level, this study presents a model which, considering both city and people, might be applied to other urban centres in search of greater understanding.

Although delimitation of this study has necessarily restricted generalisations, the findings suggest clear and fundamental differences in the relationship of national character and sport in the two cities. Born of the same womb, American life continued to be moulded by England well after the Declaration of Independence until the trans-Atlantic bond began to founder under the weight of cultural and economic determinants. Many of the differences observed in the nature and function of contemporary sport in the two nations grew out of seeds sown during the late nineteenth century. Whether the product of ethnic diversity or capitalistic competition, sport in America changed to ensure a congruence with the national system of ultimate values.

In seeking to explain the more rapid evolution from organised to corporate sport in America, the author has identified a need for further study in the seemingly inexhaustable relationship of sport, ethnicity and economy. Whether through similar urban comparisons set within the nineteenth century or more extensive investigation reaching beyond both spatial and temporal boundaries of this study, such cross-national research can only strengthen and deepen understanding among nations.

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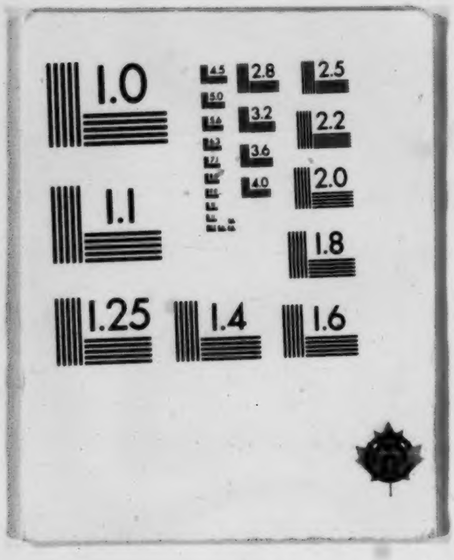
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APPENDICES

Appendix A.

A List of Men Who Have Been Employed as Executive Officers of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, 1851-1900

Name	Position	Dates
W.H. Bennett	Assistant Physical Director	1900-1901
H.L. Chadwick	Assistant and Superintendent of Gymnasium	1886-1890
M. Crowe	Gymnasium Superintendent	1872-1875
Samuel Dow	Assistant Gymnasium Superintendent	1877-1878
Wm.B.Durand	Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1900
J.B. Fitzgerald	Assistant Physical Director	1892-1893
Carl Fosburg	Assistant in Gymnasium	1882-1883
C.H. Googins	Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1897
O.L. Hebbert	Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1894-1895
Geo. T. Holm	Assistant Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1898-1899
R. MacMahon	Assistant in Gymnasium	1894-1895
Dr. G.L. Meylan	Medical Director and Physical Director	1897-1901
Geo. V. Pottle	Assistant Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1900
C.A. Rabethge	Assistant Physical Director	1892-1893
Robt. J. Roberts	Gymnasium Superintendent	1875-1887
	Physical Director	1891-1901
E.P. Ruggles	Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1898-1900
N.E. Sanders	Assistant Physical Director	1898-1901
C.F. Scheele	Assistant in Gymnasium	1882-1883
F.W. Scheele	Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1892-1894
Geo. F. Scott	Assistant in Gymnasium	1900-1901
L.F. Small	Assistant Gymnasium Superintendent	1885-1890
W.T. Startz	Assistant Physical Director	1896-1897
	Physical Director, Charlestown Branch	1896-1897
C.H. Trescott	Clerk of Gymnasium	1892-1894

Adapted from, Lawrence Locke Doggett., History of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, (Boston, 1901), pp.115-116.

Appendix B.

A Royer's Dream

Fast by the poles and crossbar
    Which they call the goal you know,
Mills Roberts, the great fister,
    Stood with his face aglow.

On the right wing Pearce stood ready
    (In Trowbridge he is known);
And on the left was Francis,
    A smart little chap you'll own.

And there at centre forward
    Owen - a dead shot he -
With Mather and Sweet to help him,
    A brave and dauntless three.

Behind was Innes Pocock,
    With Lowndes and Wreford-Brown,
As fine a set of half-backs
    As any in Bristol town.

At back the brothers Newnham
    Their legs did fling about;
Their flying kicks you oft have seen,
    Of this I have no doubt.

The County Ground was crowded,
    Six deep around they stood,
All come to see the Rovers
    Beat the Clifton, if they could.

At centre there is Higgins,
    With Taylor and Lawrie right,
While Perrin and Fred Channing
    On the left maintains the fight.

And Moorehouse, Howe, and Attwell
    At half-back take their stand,
While Somerton stands at full-back,
    With Hodgson at his right hand.

And there between the uprights
    The cheery Tucker stands;
He sometimes saves by punting,
    And sometimes with his hands.

Says A to B, "The Rovers
Will easily be licked;
If they can beat the Clifton,
Well, then may I be kicked."

The ball is soon set rolling
By Owen, for Clifton side,
And on rush wings and half-backs,
Like waves of the ocean tide.

The ball gets out to Francis;
Up, up the wing he flies,
And passes back to Owen,
Who for a goal now tries.

Now it is stopped by Tucker,
Then Hodgson gets a kick,
And sends it over to Taylor
(Of the forwards he's the pick).

The goal is not far distant.
Rush Rovers, now or never;
The backs are beaten-"Shoot"-"A goal!"
No- Roberts is too clever.

With a punch that Slavin might envy,
He bangs it back into play,
And it flies o'er the heads of the Rovers,
Fully twenty yards away.

"Well done! Play up, Rovers!"
"Go it, Clifton!" another cries.
They rush, they punt, they head, they shoot,
Each with the other vies.

And still no goal is numbered
To either side as yet,
When "half-time" gives the spectators
Just time to get a wet.

'Tis meant to give rest to the players,
But is often the sign for a raid
On the place that's labelled "Refreshments,"
Wherever the game is played.

A suck at a bit of lemon
The players deem enough;
But most of the cold spectators
Like a drop of warmer stuff.

Again the globe is rolling,
    And to and fro they surge
While all around with cheer and shout
    Their favourites they urge.

"Off-side!" "Hands!" "Foul!" and Corner!"
    We often hear them shout.
(If you go there and try to bet,
    They may cry, "Turn him out!")

Now Moorehouse heads to Perrin;
    He plays well on the whole,
He passes in to Higgins,
    Who takes a shot at goal.

Mills Roberts keeps his eyes set
    On the fast approaching ball;
He strikes! but slipping forward,
    On the turf is seen to fall.

The ball shoots quickly past him,
    A goal for Eastville's scored;
Their thanks are due to Fortune,
    Who the mighty Roberts floored.

And on and on they struggle,
    And the game is keenly fought;
But Eastville stand the victors
    By that one goal to naught.

Then give three cheers for the Rovers,
    In their Oxford and Cambridge blue!
Hurrah, hurrah for the Rovers!
    And hurrah for Clifton too!

From, *Amateur Sport*, (Bristol, October 9th, 1889), p.389.

Schedule of Football Games Held in Bristol During the 1900 to 1901 Season.

Venue	Teams		
Coalpit Heath	Cotham Amateurs	v	Coalpit Heath
Bower Ashton	Hebron	v	Redcliff Old Boys
Tytherington	Thornbury	v	Tytherington
Thornbury	Thornbury 2nds	v	Slimbridge
Camerton	Clifton Wanderers	v	Camerton
Wickwar	Stonehouse	v	Wickwar
Whitehall	Milford	v	Whitehall
New Brislington	Barton Hill Adult School	v	Redcliff Thistle
New Brislington	St. Matthew's	v	Riverside (Cardiff)
Paulton	Clifton Glendale	v	Paulton Reserves
Bedminster	St. Luke's	v	Southmead
Downs	Grosvenor	v	Dominican Reserves
Downs	Coronation	v	Clifton Trinity
Downs	Distillery	v	Rosevery Athletic
Downs	Sneyd Park	v	Gaunt House
Downs	Lodway	v	Westbury Park
Eastville	Bethesda United	v	Knowle Social Reserves
Eastville	Seymour	v	M.C. Memorial Reserves
Eastville	Grenville	v	Redding United
Eastville	Victoria Athletic	v	Newtown
Eastville	Easton Athletic	v	Wellington
Eastville	Easton Athletic Reserves	v	St. Paul's P.S.

From, Western Daily Press, (January 11th 1901) in Helen Elizabeth Meller., Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914, (London, 1976), p.232.

Playing Record and Opponents of Clifton Rugby Football Club, 1872 to 1900

			Games	
Season	Played	Won	Drawn	Lost
1872-73		Undefeated		
1873-74	10	7	1	2
1874-75	11	5	6	0
1875-76	23	17	5	1
1876-77	15	4	9	2
1877-78	16	8	3	5
1878-79	18	8	2	8
1879-80	14	14	0	0
1880-81	12	8	2	2
1881-82	Unknown			
1882-83	Unknown			
1883-84	18	12	1	5
1884-85	21	13	1	7
1885-86	15	4	3	8
1886-87	Unknown			
1887-88	Unknown			
1888-89	Unknown			
1889-90	17	8	2	7
1890-91	Unknown			
1891-92	Unknown			
1892-93	Unknown			
1893-94	Unknown			
1894-95	Unknown			
1895-96	28	10	5	13
1896-97	23	9	3	17
1897-98	Unknown			
1898-99	27	7	3	13
1899-1900	24	7	1	16

	Opponent	Date of First Game
Bristol Clubs:	Bedminster	1872
	Medical School	1873
	Ashley	1873
	Clifton College	1874
	Redland Park	1877
	Bristol Medicals	1884
	Bristol	1888
	Bristol Harlequins	1895
	Knowle	1897

Other Clubs:	Sydney College, Bath	1872
	Bath Wanderers	1872
	Bath Athletic	1872
	Bath Rovers	1873
	Cheltenham	1873
	Frome	1873
	Gloucester	1873
	Marlborough College	1873
	Bath	1874
	Exeter	1874
	Oxford University	1874
	Sherborne School	1874
	Swindon Rangers	1874
	Cheltenham White Cross	1875
	Hereford	1875
	Stroud	1875
	Taunton College	1875
	R.A.C. Cirencester	1875
	Rugby	1875
	Weston-Super-Mare	1875
	Cheltenham College	1876
	South Wales	1876
	Ravenscroft Park	1876
	Newport	1878
	University College	1878
	Bridgwater	1880
	Cardiff	1880
	Swindon	1884
	Wellington	1884
	Llwynpia	1885
	Cirencester	1889
	Taunton	1890
	Kings School, Sherborne	1894
	Newton Abbott	1895
	Penycraig	1896
	Yeovil	1896
	Barnstaple	1897
	Cinderford	1899
	Blundell's School, Tiverton	1899
	Old Shirburnians	1899
	Penarth	1899
	Berkshire Wanderers	1900

Adapted from, Horace Hutt.,(ed)., One Hundred Years With the Clifton Rugby Football Club, 1872-1972. (Bristol, 1972).

Playing Record and Opponents of Bristol Rugby Football Club, 1888 to 1900

			Games	
Season	Played	Won	Drawn	Lost
1888-89	22	7	1	14
1889-90	22	3	3	15
1890-91	19	7	4	8
1891-92	24	20	0	4
1892-93	30	18	5	7
1893-94	31	19	2	10
1894-95	32	20	6	6
1895-96	36	19	9	8
1896-97	34	19	4	11
1897-98	37	18	2	17
1898-99	35	18	4	13
1899-1900	34	25	1	8

	Opponent	Date of First Game
Bristol Clubs:	Bristol Medicals	1888
	Clifton	1888
Other Clubs:	Cardiff	1888
	Cardiff Harlequins	1888
	Swindon	1888
	Bath	1888
	Bridgwater	1888
	East Gloucester	1888
	Swansea	1888
	Weston-Super-Mare	1888
	Newport	1888
	Cirencester R.A.C.	1888
	Oldham	1888
	Halifax	1888
	Swinton	1888
	Penarth	1889
	Huddersfield	1889
	Cheltenham College	1889
	Gloucester	1890
	Broughton Rangers	1890
	Wellington	1891
	Lydney	1891
	Cheltenham	1891

Taunton	1891
Cheddar	1891
St. David's	1891
Neath	1892
Devonport Albion	1892
Devon Nomads	1892
Stroud	1892
Kent Wanderers	1892
Exeter	1892
Salford	1893
Guy's Hospital	1893
Lennox	1893
Swansea	1893
Tyldesley	1893
Old Edwardians	1894
Tiverton	1894
Edinburgh University	1894
Torquay Athletic	1894
Keble College	1894
London Saracens	1894
Newton Abbott	1894
Blackheath	1895
Barnstaple	1895
Moseley	1895
Aberavon	1895
Rosslyn Park	1895
Old Leysians	1895
Penycraig	1895
Percy Park	1895
Millom	1896
Barbarians	1896
Old Merchant Taylors	1896
Welsh Wanderers	1896
Castleford	1896
Manchester	1896
Rockcliffe	1896
Exmouth	1897
London Wanderers	1897
Leicester	1897
Cinderford	1897
Portsmouth	1897
Jesus College	1897
Hartlepool Rovers	1897
Sidmouth	1898
R.N.E. College, Devonport	1898
Plymouth	1898
Treherbert	1898
Catford Bridge	1899
Pontypridd	1899
Coventry	1899

Adapted from, W.T. Pearce., et al., The Bristol Football Club Jubilee Book, 1888-1938. (Bristol, 1938).

Playing Record and Final Position in the County Championship of Gloucestershire County Cricket Club, 1870 to 1900.

	Games				
Season	Played	Won	Drawn	Lost	Final Position in the County Championship
1870	3	3	0	0	
1871	5	3	1	1	-
1872	7	3	3	1	-
1873	6	4	2	0	1=
1874	6	4	1	1	2
1875	8	3	1	4	6
1876	8	5	3	0	1
1877	9	8	1	0	1
1878	13	4	5	4	2
1879	11	2	6	3	5
1880	11	4	5	2	2
1881	12	6	4	2	2
1882	13	3	3	7	6
1883	12	3	3	6	7
1884	15	1	4	10	8
1885	14	6	1	7	7
1886	15	3	5	7	6
1887	15	2	4	9	7
1888	16	7	4	5	4
1889	16	4	4	8	5
1890	16	5	4	7	6
1891	16	2	4	10	9
1892	16	1	7	8	7
1893	18	3	2	12	9
1894	19	3	3	13	9
1895	18	8	4	6	4
1896	20	5	3	12	10
1897	19	8	6	5	5
1898	20	9	8	3	3
1899	22	5	8	9	9
1900	23	10	6	7	8

The number of counties participating in the cricket championship varied from nine (1873 to 1894), to fourteen (1895 to 1898), and fifteen in 1899.

Adapted from, Grahame Parker., et al., One Hundred Years of Gloucestershire Cricket. (Bristol, 1970).

Schedule of Cricket Matches held in Bristol and District on May 25th, 1889.

Venue	Teams		
Newport	Newport C.A.F. and T. Club	v	Bohemians
Knowle	Bedminster	v	Knowle
Horfield	Schoolmasters	v	Sneyd Park
Almondsbury	Westbury	v	Oaklands
Long Ashton	Bristol Law	v	Long Ashton
Ashton Gate	United Press	v	Hebron
Brislington	Cotham	v	Brislington
Stapleton	Stapleton	v	Y.M.C.A.
Downs	Caledonians	v	Star of Hope
Bitton	St. Agnes	v	Bitton
Mangotsfield	Insurance	v	Mangotsfield
Kingswood	Warmley	v	Kingswood
Cardiff	Cardiff 2nd XI	v	University College
Cardiff	Newport 2nd XI	v	St. Paul's (Cardiff)
Clifton	Clifton 2nd XI	v	Lodway
Downs	Liberal Reform	v	Stoke Bishop
Horfield	Clifton Association	v	Horfield
Bishopston	Rangers	v	Kingswood Zion
Bedminster	Bedminster 2nd XI	v	United Banks
Bedminster	Schoolmasters 2nd XI	v	St. Paul's
Barton Hill	United Press 2nd XI	v	Avonside Tannery 2nd XI
Bedminster	Insurance Extra XI	v	W.D. and H.O. Wills
Shirehampton	Shirehampton	v	Wholesale Clothiers
Clevedon	Apsley Park	v	Clevedon Village
Avonmouth	Avonmouth	v	Waverley
Downs	Holy Trinity	v	James Thorne
Chester Park	Zion (Kingswood)	v	Kelston
Bath	Oakfield	v	Bath Argyle
Downs	Avonside Tannery	v	Trinity District
Chester Park	Kingswood and Parkfield	v	Horfield 2nd XI
Thornbury	Carlton	v	Thornbury Castle
Long Ashton	Schoolmasters Extra XI	v	Long Ashton School
Downs	Kingsland	v	Horfield Victoria
Downs	Highland	v	Nelson
Chessell's Fields	Zion (Bedminster) Club Match		
Downs	Grosvenor	v	Hutchins and May
Downs	Totterdown	v	Eastville Abstainers
Downs	Florendale	v	Redfield 2nd XI
Ashton	Redcliff Crescent	v	Right Against Might
Downs	Wesley Society Abstainers	v	Norrisville
Knowle	Holy Trinity 2nd XI	v	Knowle Church
Crew's Hole	Zion (Kingswood) 2nd XI	v	Crew's Hole 2nd XI
Montpelier	Star of Hope 2nd XI	v	St. Stephen's Rovers
Downs	Melbourne	v	Westbury Colts
Windmill Hill	St. Thomas	v	Cathedral School

Warmley	St. Paul's (Bedminster)	v	Warmley 2nd XI
Knowle	Totterdown 2nd XI	v	Eastville Abstainers 2nd XI
Eastville Park	St. Simon's	v	St. George Extra XI
Downs	St. John	v	Enterprise
Hanham	Wesley	v	Ebenezer
Downs	Old Market Youths	v	Gladstone
Windmill Hill	Excelsior	v	Enterprise
Frenchay	Frenchay	v	University College
Downs	Clifton Wood	v	Grenville
Redland Park	Barton	v	Stokes Croft
Ashton Park	Hillsbridge	v	White Star
Downend	Maudlin Street School	v	Downend Victoria
Keynsham	Keynsham	v	Oldland Common
Downs	St. Saviour's	v	Dolphin

From, *Amateur Sport*, I:5 (May 22nd, 1889), p.78.

American Cricket

A New Out-Door Game

Next season will see added to the large list of out-door recreations in vogue in this country that which has recently been tried in Chicago with good success, and what may be called "American Cricket." The field is laid out like a cricket field, and the striker wields the willow instead of the ash. The bowler who stands 22 yards from the striker, bowls as in cricket. The striker, in making a tally, runs to first base and then to third (dispensing with the second), these being in the form of a triangle and at a distance of 28 yards apart. There are no fouls to cause delays. There are none of the stupid and useless six-balls "overs," "Out leg before wicket" is dispensed with, a rule which, while in force, has given great annoyance to the umpire, and general dissatisfaction to the batsman. The game of cricket and the American pastime of base-ball are taken and rolled into one, thereby making a magnificent game, and one that will doubtless prove very popular.

From the, Boston Morning Journal, (November 23rd 1870), p.l.

Players of the Boston Professional Basesball Club, 1871.

Name	Age	Former Club	Position	Status
Harry Wright	35	Cincinnati Red Stockings	Pitcher/Manager	Professional
George Wright	25	Cincinnati Red Stockings	Short Stop	Professional
Charles H. Gould	23	Cincinnati Red Stockings	1st Base	Professional
Calvin A. McVey	22	Cincinnati Red Stockings	Catcher/Outfielder	Professional
Albert G. Spalding	21	Forest City, Rockford, Illinois	Pitcher	Professional
Roscoe C. Barnes	21	Forest City, Rockford, Illinois	Short Stop	Professional
J. Fred Cone	22	Forest City, Rockford, Illinois	Left Field	Professional
Samuel Jackson	22	Flower City, Rochester, New York		Amateur
David S. Birdsall	31	Unions of Morrisanta		Professional
Harry C. Schafer	24	Athletics of Philadephia	Third Base	Professional

Adapted from, Boston Morning Journal, (March 18th 1871) p.l.

A Partial List of Amateur Baseball Clubs

Playing in Boston and District 1870 to 1872.

	Club	Town or District
1870	Alert	Lexington
	Alpine	
	Anderson	Lynn
	Atlanta	Everett
	Aurora	Chelsea
	Bay State	Lynn
	Charles River	
	Creighton	South End
	Crescent	
	Dexter	Dedham
	Dudley	
	Eagle	
	Emmet	Natick
	Eureka (Dirigo)	South End
	Excelsior	Boston
	Fairmount	Marlboro
	Favourite	
	Franklin	Jamaica Plain
	Go Ahead	Woburn
	Granite (Abram French & Co.)	West End
	Hamson	
	Harvard	Cambridge
	Haverhill	Haverhill
	Hibernian	Boston
	Holton	Danversport
	Kearsarge	Stoneham
	Lincoln	West Newton
	Lowell	Boston
	Marine	Ashburnham
	Massasoit	Newton
	McClellan	Fort Warren
	Menotomy	Arlington
	Mutual	Highlands
	Mugford	Marblehead
	National	Malden
	Nichol	Sandwich
	Noddle	East Boston
	Oakland	Needham
	O.K.	Belmont
	Osceola	Lynn
	Pioneer	Chelsea
	Princeton	Princeton
	Resolutes	Boston
	Revere	Boston

	Royal	
	Salem	Salem
	Shoo Fly	Chelsea
	Somerset	
	Thornton	Boston
	Trimountain	Boston
	Una	Charlestown
	Upton	
	Warren	Boston
	Winnissimmet (Dreadnought)	Chelsea
Added in 1871	Active	Quincy
	Aetna	Highlands
	Atlanta	Everett
	Athletic	East Boston
	Atlantic	Manchester
	Avon	Boston
	Barnicoats	Boston
	Berkley	
	Burton	
	Chester	
	Chestnut	
	Clarendon	
	Clipper	Lowell
	Everett	Brighton
	Fly Away	New York
	General Scott	Danvers
	Hammond	
	Highland	
	Iona	Boston
	King Phillip	Boston
	King Phillip	East Abingdon
	Longwood	
	Lowell Junior	Boston
	Mazeppa	Worcester
	Metacomet	Taunton
	Monitor	Cambridge
	Old Orchard	Old Orchard Beach
	Pastime	Brookline
	Prospect	Cambridge
	Red Hot	
	Rose Hill (St. John's College)	Fordham
	Schwabe	Lynn
	Sheridan	Salem
	Star	
	Tremont	Highlands
	Tufts	Medford
	Union	Stoughton
	Unknown	Dorchester
	Young America	Waltham
	Wakefield	
	Waltham	
	Wyoming	Boston

Added in 1872	Actives	Weymouth
	Amateur	
	Arlington	
	Atlantic	Hyde Park
	Beacon	
	Beanut	
	Blackstone	
	Boston Junior	Boston
	Burnside	Providence
	Chandler	
	Chauncey Hall	
	Concord	
	Emerald	Waltham
	Endicot	
	Etna (Dartmouth)	
	Eureka	Neponset
	Firefly	
	Franklin	
	Fremont	Cambridge
	George M. Roth	Philadelphia
	Harvard	North Bridgewater
	Howard Junior	
	Irving	
	Kenzie	Fort Independence
	Mansfield	Middletown
	Mutual	South Boston
	Mystic	Winchester
	Neponset	Hyde Park
	Nonantum	Newton
	Olympic	Highlands
	Shamrock	
	St. Mark's	Southboro
	Utica	
	Yale	
	Walnut	Highlands
	Washington	
	Weston	

Compiled from, Boston Morning Journal, (1870 to 1872).

Appendix C.

The Growth of Bicycle Clubs in Boston and Vicinity, 1878 to 1896.

Club	Location	Date of Formation	Membership in March, 1880
Alpha	Boston	1896	-
Amherst	Amherst	September, 1879	8
Berkeley	Boston	1896	-
Boston	Boston	February 11th, 1878	44
Brockton	Brockton	June 1st, 1879	14
Bunker Hill	Boston	1896	-
Chauncy	South Boston	November 10th, 1879	12
Commonwealth	Boston	1896	-
Crescent	Boston	October, 1879	15
Dayton	Boston	1896	-
Eagle	Boston	1896	-
Fellsmere Road	Boston	1896	-
Fitchburg	Fitchburg	February 21st, 1879	9
Harvard	Cambridge	April 17th, 1879	91
Lechmere	Boston	1896	-

Lynn	Lynn	November 5th, 1879	17
Marlboro	Marlboro	February 9th, 1880	4
Massachusetts	Boston	February 1st, 1879	36
Mattapan	Boston	1896	-
Mazeppa	Boston	1896	-
Middlesex	Boston	1896	-
Mona Road	Boston	1896	-
Mount Pleasant	Boston	1896	-
Noddle Island	Boston	1896	-
Orient	Boston	1896	-
People's Institute Wheelmen	Boston	1896	-
Press	Boston	1896	-
Riverside	Boston	1896	-
Roslindale	Boston	1896	-
Roxbury	Boston	1896	-
Salem	Salem	March 1st, 1879	15
Suffolk	Boston	April 13th, 1878	82

Tremont	Boston	1896	-
Waltham	Waltham	August 1st, 1879	20
Woodbridge	Cambridge	1896	-
Worcester	Worcester	April 9th, 1879	17

Adapted from, Charles E. Pratt., The American Bicycler: A Manual for the Observer, the Learner, and the Expert. (Boston, 1880), pp.185,245. Those clubs appearing with 1896 given as the year of formation actually appeared in a review of newspapers of that year, in Stephen Hall Hardy., "Organised Sport and the Search for Community: Boston, 1865-1915," unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1980), p.244.

Appendix D.

List of Apparatus at the Hemenway Gymnasium.

Heavy Apparatus:

12	Mats	2	Vaulting Bars
3	Horizontal Bars, Suspended	3 prs.	Parallel Bars, Different Sizes
1 pr.	Fixed Flying Rings	2 prs.	Adjustable Flying Rings
16	Travelling Rings	2	Double Trapezes
2	Single Trapezes	3	Flying Trapezes
1	Balancing Trapeze	1	Triple-Barred Echelle
2 prs.	Hanging Ropes	2	Knotted Hanging Ropes
1	Slack Rope	3	Suspended Poles
1	Spring Board	1	Leaping Board
1	Rope Ladder	2	Peak Ladders
2	Slanting Ladders	1	Vertical Ladder
3	Horizontal Ladders	2	Plain Vaulting Stands
2	Adjustable Vaulting Stands	1	Jumping Platform
1	Pole Vaulting Platform	1	Running Platform

Dr. Sargent's Developing Appliances:

1	Foot Machine	1	Ankle Machine
2	Wrist Machines	1	Foot Rotating Machine
1	Pronator Machine	1	Supinator
1	Back and Loins	1	Leg (Chair Form)
2	Finger	1	Lifting
2	Extensor Leg	2	Flexor Leg
1	Abdominal	1	Head-Balancing
1	Rowing (Weight Attachment)	18	Rowing (Hydraulic)
1	Paddling	2 sets	Inclined Parallels
2 sets	Vertical Parallels	2 sets	Travelling Parallels
1 pr.	Balancing Parallels	1	Adjustable Ladder
1	Folding Table	1	Peg Pole

4	Chest Expanders	2	Chest Developers
30 prs.	Chest Weights (Plain)	10 prs.	Chest Weights (Swivel Pulley)
6 prs.	Back and Side Pulleys	5 prs.	High Pulleys
2 single	One-Arm Pulleys	2	Quarter Circles
2	Travelling Horizontal Bars	1 pr.	Rack Bars
1	Long Inclined Plane for Chest and Arms	2	Short Inclined Planes for Lower Extremities
2 prs.	Treadles (Weight Attachment)	2 prs.	Stirrups (Weight Attachment)
2	Bridles (Weight Attachment)	40 prs.	Indian Clubs (2 1/2 to 8 Pounds)
40 prs.	Wooden Dumbells	36 prs.	Iron Dumbells (5 to 125 Pounds)
40	Wands		

Measuring Apparatus:

1 pr. Scales
Dynamometers for testing strength of back, legs, arms, and chest.
Spirometers for testing strength and capacity of lungs.
Bars and rings for testing strength of various parts.
Measuring rods and tape.

From, Edward Mussey Hartwell., "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. 5(1886), pp.43-44.

Institutions in Boston and Vicinity Utilising the
Sargent System of Developing Apparatus, 1885.

Institution	Town	Male/Female	Direct Interaction with Dr. Sargent
Boston University	Boston	Male & Female	Measurements and Direction
Cadets Armoury	Boston	Male	
English High School	Boston	Male	
Marlboro Street School	Boston	Female	
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Boston	Male	
McLean Insane Asylum	Somerville	Male & Female	
Mount Vernon Street School	Boston	Female	
Newton Theological Institution	Newton	Male	
Public Latin School	Boston	Male	
St. Mark's School	Southborough	Male	
Sanatory Gymnasium	Cambridge	Female	Measurements and Direction
Smith College		Female	Measurements and Direction
Tufts College	Somerville	Male	
Wellesley College		Female	

Young Men's Christian Association	Boston	Male	Measurement and Direction
Young Men's Christian Association	Lawrence	Male	

Compiled from, Edward Mussey Hartwell., "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. 5(1886), pp.56-57.

Classification of Gymnasiums Equipped with the Sargent System of Developing Apparatus, 1894.

Type of Institution	Number of Gymnasiums Equipped with Sargent Apparatus
Young Men's Christian Association	261
Academies etc.	60
Athletic Clubs	54
Colleges	49
Universities	29
Seminaries etc.	27
Asylums etc.	26
Private	20
Normal Schools	15
Sanatory etc.	13
Armories	12
Theological Schools	4
Government Schools	3
Turnvereins	3
Medical Schools	2
Open Air	2
Reformatories	2
Other Similar Institutions	21
TOTAL	603

Classification by Geographical Location, 1894.

New York	100
Massachusetts	75
England	3
Others	425

Compiled from, Dudley Allen Sargent., "The Physical State of the American People," in N.S. Shaler., The United States of America. III (New York, 1894), p.1137.

Appendix E.

The Cock Houses of Clifton College, 1868 to 1900.

Year	Cricket	Football	Athletics (Track and Field)
1868		School House	
1869	School House	School House	
1870	School House	School House	
1871	School House	Brown's	
1872	Brown's	School House	
1873	School House	School House	
1874	School House	School House	
1875	School House	School House, Dakyn's	
1876	Harris'	Harris'	
1877	Oakeley's	School House	
1878	School House	School House	
1879	School House	School House	
1880	School House	Brown's	
1881	Oakeley's	Bartholomew's	
1882	School House	Bartholomew's	
1883	Bartholomew's	School House	
1884	Bartholomew's	School House	
1885	School House	Grenfell's	
1886	Brown's	School House	
1887	Brown's	School House	
1888	North Town	Brown's	
1889	North Town	Brown's	South Town
1890	School House	School House, North Town	South Town
1891	School House	Brown's	South Town
1892	School House	Wiseman's	School House
1893	Wiseman's	Wiseman's	South Town
1894	School House		School House
1895	Asquith's	Tait's	North Town
1896	Tait's	School House	South Town
1897	North Town	North Town	Tait's
1898	Wiseman's		South Town
1899	South Town	School House, Wiseman's	Smith's
1900	North Town	Tait's, Spence's	North Town

From, F. Borwick (ed)., Clifton College Annals and Register 1862-1912. (Bristol, 1912), pp.cxxi-cxxii.

Hiawatha's Football

From the nursery into boyhood
Now had grown my Hiawatha:
Skilled in all the craft of football,
Learned in all the lore of cricket,
In all youthful sports and pastimes.
In a public school he flourished,
Where he cherished one ambition---
To win glory in a House Match.
Fair of form was Hiawatha:
He had fed himself with Vimbos,
Doctor Tibble's good Vi-Cocoa,
Quaker Oats and Liebig's Extract.
Swift of foot was Hiawatha:
He could kick a football from him,
And run forward with such swiftness
That the football fell behind him.
Strong of arm was Hiawatha:
He had trained himself with dumb-bells,
Sandow's perfect exerciser,
Indian clubs and chest expanders;
For his muscles he had often
Steep'd his limbs with embrocation.
Once was fought a famous battle
'Twixt two Houses strong and equal:
Hiawatha with his brethren
In the scrimmage pushed and panted,
And the earth shook with the tumult
And confusion of the scrimmage,
And the referee, the umpire,
Hovering round with silver whistle,
Gave his judgement on the struggle.
For an hour the fight continued,
For an hour the fight was equal;
Yet a little, and the rivals
Each would leave without a victory.
Fiercer grew the strife and fiercer,
Fiercer grew my Hiawatha;
Now his knees were brown and earthy,
Like a living coal his face was.
On a sudden through the scrimmage,
Through the scrum went Hiawatha
With the ball between his ankles,
And the foemen broke before him.
On he dashed and reached the open,
Took the ball into his right hand,
Took the ball into his left hand,
Trampled down the skilful half-back,

Cast aside the swift three-quarters,
And with furious stridings onward
Swooped upon the waiting goal-keep.
All his brethren followed after,
Followed him with shouts and clamours---
"Pass," they cried, "O Hiawatha!"
    But he heeded not, nor heard them;
All his thoughts were on the goal-line.
And the waiting, trembling goal-keep,
First he swerved unto the right hand,
Then he swerved unto the left hand,
And the hapless youth, bewilder'd,
Tried to cast his arms around him,
But fell prone upon the greensward.
    Forward then sped Hiawatha,
Forward sped and touched the ball down,
Touched it down between the goal-posts.
Back he walked to his companions
'Midst the shouting of the people;
And the referee, the umpire,
Blowing loud upon the whistle,
Told them that the fight was over.
    Homeward then went Hiawatha---
Home he went to change his raiment;
And the people gathered round him
Laughing loud with exultation:
He had won for them the House Match.

From, The Cliftonian, (December 1899), pp.126-128.

Football Rules at Clifton College, in 1870.

1. That when there is an extra half-holiday there shall be two Bigsides (weather permitting), and also when there is not, unless a Bigside Levée shall determine to the contrary: provided that, if there be only one, it shall be on Thursday. The Head Master shall be judge as to weather.

2. All boys who play on Bigside shall be bound to attend, unless they obtain a note signed by the Head of their House, and countersigned by masters appointed for that purpose (i.e. the Form-Master).

3. There shall be a compulsory Littleside on Thursday for boys below Bigside. Their match shall be arranged for them by the Head of the School House and the Head of the Town, or by deputies appointed by them; leave of absence being given in the same way as in Bigside.

4. Caps shall be given by the Heads of Houses with the consent of the praeposters in the House. If there be a disagreement, the majority shall decide.

5. Praeposters may take caps if they choose without leave from anyone.

6. Praeposters may exempt themselves from Bigside.

7. No puntabout shall be allowed out before 11 a.m.

8. No one shall be allowed to drop or place kick on Bigside, under penalty of a fine of sixpence for each offense.

9. Hacking in a scrummage shall not be allowed, except accidentally in kicking at the ball.

10. The Rugby rules shall be adopted, except in any case in which they may clash with the preceding.

These rules are not to be altered without the sanction of the Head Master.

Extract from, "Bigside," The Cliftonian, I(1870), p.128.

Ballade of Cricket

There are pastimes of every sort;
 There are games for all times of the year,
For the strong, for the tall, for the short,
 For the peasant, the pauper the peer;
 But when the blue heavens are clear,
And the birds trill, their lays in the thicket,
 When the sun gilds the waves on the mere,
There is nought so enchanting as Cricket.

Some like shooting and similar sport,
 Or the chase of the hare and the deer,
And some joy in the green tennis-court,
 And some like to sail or to steer;
 Some rejoice when the autumn is near,
When they rush with the football and kick it;
 We would rather that summer were here---
There is nought so enchanting as Cricket.

There are some, when the brain's over-wrought,
 Who will say, with a palpable leer,
"There is nought like a glass of old port,"
 And some prefer skittles and beer,
 And some, who like change, disappear
With a third-class excursionist's ticket;
 But we at such vanities sneer---
There is nought so enchanting as Cricket.

ENVOY

Though critics be stern and severe,
 We will hurry to set up the wicket;
Bring the bat and the ball with a cheer---
 There is nought so enchanting as Cricket.

From, The Cliftonian, VII(December, 1882), p. 341.

The Rules of Field Hockey at
Clifton College in 1878.

1. The maximum length of the ground shall be 150 yards, the minimum 100; the maximum breadth 80 yards, the minimum 50; the goals shall be upright posts 6 yards apart.

2. The game shall be commenced, and renewed after a goal by a bully in the middle of the ground. Ends shall be changed each time a goal is obtained: that is, when the ball is hit between the posts.

3. When the ball is hit behind the goal line by either side, it shall be brought out straight 20 yards and started again by a bully.

4. When the ball is in touch a player on the opposite side to that which hit it in shall throw it out straight at least ten yards from the point where it crossed the line. The ball shall not be in play till it has touched the ground.

5. Any player is off-side between the ball and his opponent's goal when there are less than three players of the opposite side between him and their goal. When off side, a player must not touch the ball or prevent anyone else from touching it.

6. The ball may be stopped but not carried or knocked on by any part of the body: no player shall raise his stick above the shoulder: the ball shall be played from right to left: and no left or back-handed play, charging, tripping, collaring, kicking or shinning shall be allowed.

7. No goal shall be allowed if it is hit from a distance of more than 15 yards.

8. In all cases of a bully every player shall be behind the ball.

9. The ordinary number of players shall be 15 a side.

From, "Hockey," The Cliftonian, V(1878), p.199.

The Sportman's Code

Now these are the laws of the athlete,
    That stretch the length of the field.
They make the code of the runner fleet
    Who has never yet learned to yield.
They tell you how to lay your plan,
    And how to carry it through,
They help the man, who's done what he can,
    To bear his Waterloo.

You shall give the foeman all his due,
    And let him win if he can;
But keep all rights that belong to you,
    For that is the law of man.
You shall hold the ground that is yours by right,
    And yield not a foot you have trod.
But grant his right in a stand-up fight,
    For that is the law of God.

If you row with the crew in the boat,
    It's a wretched thing to spy.
There's plenty of work when you leave the float,
    But little to do for the eye.
There's plenty to do to swing and slide,
    And steady the fragile shell;
But to gain your strength from the other side
    Is a method sent from hell.

No man shall yield on the foot ball field
    Till the final whistle sounds.
No man shall show by a single blow
    That he has no place on the grounds.
But when the foe is in racking pain
    And cannot move or fight,
You shall help him up to his feet again,
    And chafe his bruise and bind his strain,
To show the make of your own good grain,
    For that is fair and right.

The strength of the team, or nine, or crew
    Is not the strength of the "star."
'Tis what the body together can do
    That carries the victory far.
So you shall give your mite to the rest
    To bring the whole team through,
And then at the time of your single test
    They shall give their strength to you.

And these are the laws of the athlete,
You can heed them or not, as you like,
But they make the code of the runner fleet,
And they check a man when he'd strike.
They tell you how to lay your plan,
And how to carry it through.
They help the man, who's done what he can,
To bear his Waterloo.

From, Albert Goodwill Spalding., America's National Game, (New York, 1911), pp.454-455.

Sport in the Life of a Clifton College Schoolboy,

June to July 1887.

June

1
2 Participant in Shooting Match
3 Sunday
4 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
5
6 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
7 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
8 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
9 Discussion about Shooting Team Colours
10 Sunday
11 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
12 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
13 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
14 Participant in House Match (Cricket) and Shooting at Bedminster
15 Participant in School versus Old Cliftonians (Cricket)
16 Participant in School versus Old Cliftonians (Cricket)
17 Sunday
18 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
19
20
21 Participant in Fives Match
22 Participant in School at Cheltenham College (Cricket)
23 Participant in School at Cheltenham College (Cricket)
24 Sunday
25 Participant in "Pick Up" and House Match (Cricket)
26 Participant in House Match (Cricket)
27 Presented Shooting Team Colours
28 Participant "Caps" versus School and "Pick Up' (Cricket) and Shooting Match
29
30 Participant in Shooting Match versus Marlborough College

July

1 Sunday
2 Participant in House "Pick Up" Match (Cricket)
3 Participant in "Caps" versus School, XI versus XXII, Form "Pick Up" (Cricket) and Shooting Match
4 Participant in School versus M.C.C. (Cricket)
5 Participant in School versus M.C.C. (Cricket)
6 Big Side Levée about House Matches
7 Participant in XI versus XXII (Cricket)

8	Sunday
9	Participant in House Match (Cricket), and Swimming Races
10	Participant in House Match (Cricket)
11	Participant in House Match (Cricket)
12	
13	Participant in School versus Sherborne (Cricket)
14	Participant in School versus Sherborne (Cricket)
15	Sunday
16	Participant in House Match (Cricket)
17	
18	Participant in House Match (Cricket)
19	Participant in School versus Masters (Cricket)
20	
21	Participant in School versus Masters (Cricket)
22	Sunday
23	Participant in House Match (Cricket)
24	Participant in House Match (Cricket)
25	Participant in House Match and Batting Practice (Cricket)
26	Participant in Cock House versus School (Cricket)
27	Participant in House Match (Cricket)
28	Participant in Cock House versus School, Batting Practice (Cricket), and Lawn Tennis
29	Sunday
30	Participant in Cock House versus School (Cricket)
31	Last Day of Term and Prizegiving

Adapted from, Francis Newbolt., *Clifton College Forty Years Ago. The Diary of a Praeposter*. (London, 1927).

The "Ten Commandments" of the English Public Schoolboy.

1. There is only one God, and the captain of football is His Prophet.
2. My school is the best in the world.
3. Without big muscles, strong will, and proper collars, there is no salvation.
4. I must wash much, and in accordance with tradition.
5. I must speak the truth even to a master, if he believes everything I tell him.
6. I must play games with all my heart, with all my soul, and with all my strength.
7. To work outside class-hours is indecent.
8. Enthusiasm, except for games, is in bad taste.
9. I must look up to the older fellows, and pour contempt on newcomers.
10. I must show no emotion, and not kiss my mother in public.

From, "L'éducation nouvelle," *Revue Politique et Parlamentaire*, in, Herbert Branston Gray., *The Public Schools and the Empire*, (London, 1913), p.230.

There Be Some Sports Are Painful

When the net fags are conversing
   In the Chapel's shadow cool,
And a sound of "Frogs" rehearsing
   Softly steals from out Big-School;
When the errant balls obstruct your
   Path, I enter with regret
That reticulated structure
   Known as the Eleven Net.

When the bowler's slinging blindly
   And the pitch is hard and bare,
And the hapless fag behind me
   Wishes he were otherwhere;
When the balls whiz past beside me,
   And I uniformly miss,
Then I pray for "grace" to guide me,
   And it's not exactly bliss.

Others naught their courage 'bating,
   Inconsiderately smash
From the Chapel roof the slating
   (Conduct which is somewhat rash);
Rouse from mild unconscious slumbers
   Apathetic fags, dispense
Nervous shocks to countless numbers,
   Till their interest grows intense.

Equally to every quarter
   From their bat the "leather" sails,
Till the horror-stricken porter
   Quits his seat upon the rails.
But with me, the fags are sitting
   (So to speak) upon the shelf,
For the bowlers do the hitting,
   And I stop the ball myself.

But at length with real sorrow,
   Heaving many a bitter sigh
For the soreness of to-morrow,
   I precipitately fly,
Rubbing still the swollen finger
   On the bruised and tender shin,
For in such a case to linger
   Seems (at least to me) a sin.

From, The Cliftonian, XIV(July 1895), pp.35-36.

Harvard University Athletic Budget,

1882 to 1883.

Item	Receipts (in dollars)	Expenditures (in dollars)
Base Ball Association		4,500.00
Revenue	2,600.00	
Student Subscriptions	1,900.00	
Foot Ball Association		3,655.62
Revenue	2,050.00	
Student Subscriptions	857.00	
University Boat Club		5,000.00
Revenue	2,764.00	
Student Subscriptions	3,342.00	
Lacrosse Association		350.00
Revenue	175.00	
Student Subscriptions	175.00	
Athletic Association		1,653.00
Revenue	1,025.00	
Student Subscriptions	2,775.00	
Bicycle Club	150.62	150.62
Cricket Club	233.20	233.20
TOTAL	18,046.82	15,542.44

Note: The balance on the year amounts to a profit of $2,504.38.

Adapted from, Edward Mussey Hartwell., "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education, 5(1886), pp.108-109.

Harvard University Athletic Budget, 1899 to 1900.

(A). Item	Receipts (in dollars)	Expenditures (in dollars)
Foot Ball	60,604.41	18,335.83
Base Ball	13,942.37	10,492.02
Track Team	1,868.74	2,675.61
University Boat Club	5,448.54	5,672.51
Weld Boat Club	861.67	1,754.75
Newell Boat Club	1,209.74	1,374.71
Freshman Football	3,316.45	2,541.25
Freshman Baseball	1,845.65	1,504.06
Freshman Crew	2,606.50	2,238.05
College Nine	141.90	279.69
Skating Rink	73.00	76.78
Cricket Club	26.50	141.10
Lacrosse Club	527.60	687.07
Lawn Tennis	1,280.85	874.36
General Account	3,722.89	4,439.37
Buildings and Grounds Account		4,441.55
Permanent Improvements	46,265.69	20,710.20
TOTAL	104,739.50	78,238.91

(B).Expenditures:

Item	Amount (in dollars)
Boats and Oars	2,246.85
Doctors and Rubbing	2,447.45
Salaries	2,100.00
Supplies	6,865.89
Trainer and Coaches	2,932.73
Training Tables	4,966.40
Travel	8,482.95

(C).Summary of Expenses:

Item	Amount (in dollars)
Cost of Management	4,439.37
Care of Grounds and Buildings	4,441.55

Cost of Running Teams	39,078.65
Total Expense of Teams	47,959.57
Amounts Paid to Other Teams	9,569.14
Amounts Expended as Permanent Improvements	20,710.20
TOTAL EXPENSE FOR YEAR 1899 TO 1900	78,238.91

Note: Whether the expenditures in (B) are included under (A) is unclear. However, accepting their inclusion, the balance on the year amounts to a profit of $26,500.69.

Adapted from, American Physical Education Review. V:I(1900), pp.353-354.

Proposed and Actual Schedule of the Harvards'

Grand Base Ball Tour in 1870.

Opponents	Date	Venue	Runs Scored For	Against
Yale University	July 4	New Haven	24	22
Rose Hill (St. John's College, Fordham, N.Y.)	July 5	New Haven	17	2
Haymakers	July 7	Troy	9	0
Uticas	July 8	Utica	31	23
Eckfords	July 11	Syracuse	30	7
Ontarios	July 12	Oswego	33	6
Niagaras	July 13	Buffalo	28	14
Niagaras	Unknown	Lockport	62	4
Forest Citys	July 15	Cleveland	9	14
Forest Citys	Unknown	Cleveland	15	7
Red Stockings	July 18	Cincinnati	17	20
Mutuals	Unknown	Cincinnati	15	22
Riverside	July 19	Portsmouth	Cancelled	
Eagles	July 21	Louisville	57	14
Empires	July 23	St. Louis	Cancelled	
Unions	July 23	St. Louis	Cancelled	
White Stockings	July 25	Chicago	11	6
Forest Citys	July 26	Chicago	Cancelled	
Cream Citys	Unknown	Milwaukee	41	13
Amateurs	Unknown	Chicago	45	11
Indianapolis	July 30	Indianapolis	45	9
Olympics	August 3	Washington D.C.	9	0
Mutuals	Unknown	Washington D.C.	39	13
Nationals	August 4	Washington D.C.	Cancelled	
Pastimes	August 5	Baltimore	30	12
Marylands	August 6	Baltimore	44	11

Intrepids	August 8	Philadelphia	33	11
Athletics	August 9	Philadelphia	9	27
Keystones	August 10	Philadelphia	Cancelled	
Atlantics	August 12	Brooklyn	4	13
Stars	August 13	Brooklyn	12	6

Record:	Played	Won	Lost
	25	20	5

Adapted from, Boston Morning Journal, (June 27th, 1870), p.2, (August 16th,1870), p.4.

Appendix F.

The Song of Clifton High School for Girls

Gather ye roses while ye may,
The soft May dews are on them,
The prickles are sharp that block the way,
But the fearless hand hath won them.
Rosebud treasures of work and play,
Harbingers sweet of the unborn day.
While the young sun-god dozes,
Gather ye, gather ye roses.

Gather once more through the dim years set,
And the briars be sharp and many,
The rose with the tears of Autumn wet
Methinks is sweeter than any.
Love made pure with a pale regret
And a deathless hope ye shall grasp them yet,
Still ere the brief day closes,
Gather ye, gather ye roses.

The Song of St. Margaret's High School for Girls, Henleaze Park, Bristol

Humming bees follow the scent of the clover,
Summerward swallows are winging their flight,
Luring, the sea whispers, "Come to the rover,"
Divers are bringing the hidden to light.
So we may sip nectar from knowledge and beauty,
Here in this honeyhive cluster of girls,
Or, holding fast to the lifeline of duty,
Draw from deep thinking its wonderful pearls.

Tall trees around us seem ever aspiring,
Calling us upward from slackness and fear,
Bracing our courage when study is tiring,
Whisp'ring success at the close of the year.
Oh! Let us press onward with joy in our striving,
Games that we play and the work that we do
May build the future so quickly arriving,
Life that is useful and noble and true.

From, Celia Haddon., Great Days and Jolly Days. The Story of Girls' School Songs, (London, 1977), pp. 73-74.

Appendix G.

Golf Clubs and Courses in the Vicinity of Boston up to 1900

Name	Location	Date of Establishment	Notes
Allston G.C.	Allston		9 holes; 20 minutes from City Centre served by Commonwealth Avenue Streetcars
Braeburn G.C.	Newton		
Chestnut Hill G.C.	Brookline		
Commonwealth G.C.	Newton		
Concord G.C.	Concord		
The Country Club	Brookline	1893	9 holes expanded to 18 holes in 1898
Court Park G.C.	Winthrop		
Crow's Point G.C.	Hingham		
Dedham G.C.	Dedham		Grew out of the Dedham Country and Polo Club
Essex Country Club	Manchester	1893	Hosted Women's Amateur Golf Championship in 1897
Franklin Park	Boston	October 1896	Second public golf course in America
Harvard G.C.	Cambridge		9 holes; founded as Cambridge Golf Club
Hoosic Whisick G.C.	Milton		

Name	Location	Date of Establishment	Notes
Hull G.C.	Hull		Grew out of the Hull Yacht Club
Lexington G.C.	Lexington		9 holes
Magnolia G.C.			
Malden G.C.	Malden	1898	
Medford G.C.	Medford		5 holes
Myopia Hunt Club	Wenham		Hosted Men's Amateur Golf Championship in 1898
Nahant G.C.	Nahant		Grew out of the Nahant Country Club
Newton Center G.C.	Newton Center		9 holes
Newton G.C.	Newton		
Norfolk G.C.	Dedham	1897	
Oakley Country Club	Cambridge		18 holes; subsequently became the Cambridge Golf Club
Old Salem G.C.	Salem		
Plymouth G.C.	Plymouth		
Pride's (Crossing) G.C.			
Samuel Warren's [Private]	Dedham		

Name	Location	Date of Establishment	Notes
Scituate G.C.	Scituate		
Vesper Country Club	Lowell		
Wakefield G.C.	Wakefield		
Warren Farm G.C.	Brookline		6 holes; Offshoot of The Country Club
Wellesley College G.C.	Wellesley		
Wellesley Hills G.C.	Wellesley	1896	9 holes
Weston G.C.	Weston	1894	
Winchester G.C.	Winchester	1897	
Wollaston G.C.	Quincy	1896	18 holes
Woodland G.C.	Auburndale		

Compiled from: George H. Sargent., "Golfing 'Round the Hub." Outing. 34(May 1899), pp. 129-142.

Appendix H.

Songs of the Harvard versus Fort Hill Boy Rowing Match of 1858

by the Reverend William R. Huntingdon

First Song
(before the race)

Michael to Patrick
(Air, Paddy O'Rafferty)

Arrah, me Patsy! jist look at the College boat:
Niver afore did ye see so much knowledge afloat.
Shure it's a shame that their arms is n't bigger now,
For it is muscle not brains, that will figure now.

(Chorus) O ye b'ys, ye fops, ye lady pets
Twinty to wan, and our word that we pay the bets.

Only step here and obsarve the dhroll make of her.
Sharin 's and wire is the notion ye take of her.
Round as a pratie, and sharp as a pick, is she,
But niver a match in a race for the Mickies she.

(Chorus)

Twig the spoon oars what they pull her, me jewel, with!
Why don't they keep them to ate their oat-gruel with?
Wooden spoons shure is no sign of good luck at all;
Silver we'll have, when the prize we have took it all.

(Chorus)

Second Song
(after the race)

Patrick to Michael
(Air, Lillebullero)

Look! look! will ye, Mike,
Ye ne'er saw the like:
These childer have waxed us through and through.
The students is here,
But, bad 'cess! it is clear
We'll wait awhile now for the Irish crew.

(Chorus) Har-r-vard! Har-r-vard! Oye spalpeens!
Have n't ye scattered my wages like smoke?
I can't pay a quarter
The bets that I oughter
Divil fly off wid yer wandherful stroke.

Jist hark to the yells
Of thum Beacon Street swells,
And see, over yonder, the cambric wave;
While Mickey there stands,
A-wringin' his hands,
And Biddy is wipin' her eyes on her slave.

(Chorus)

Let's scuttle our boats:
Nary one of them floats
But looks kind o' shamed about the bows;
And oh! may the crews
In future refuse
To meddle with race-boats, and stick to their scows.

(Chorus)

From, the Harvard Magazine, (July 1858).

Casey at the Bat
(A Ballad of the Republic. Sung in the Year 1888)

by Ernest L. Thayer

The outlook wasn't brilliant for the Mudville nine that day;
The score stood four to two with but one inning more to play;
And then, when Cooney died at first, and Barrows did the same,
A sickly silence fell upon the patrons of the game.

A straggling few got up to go, in deep despair. The rest
Clung to that hope which "springs eternal in the human breast;"
They thought, If only Casey could but get a whack at that,
We'd put up even money now, with Casey at the bat.

But Flynn preceded Casey, as did also Jimmy Blake,
And the former was a lulu and the latter was a cake;
So upon that stricken multitude grim melancholy sat,
For there seemed but little chance of Casey's getting to the bat.

But Flynn let drive a single, to the wonderment of all,
And Blake, the much despised, tore the cover off the ball,
And when the dust had lifted and men saw what had occurred,
There was Jimmy safe at second, and Flynn a-huggin' third.

Then from five thousand throats and more there rose a lusty yell,
It rumbled through the valley; it rattled in the dell;
It knocked upon the mountain and recoiled upon the flat,
For Casey, mighty Casey, was advancing to the bat.

There was ease in Casey's manner as he stepped into his place;
There was pride in Casey's bearing and a smile on Casey's face,
And when, responding to the cheers, he lightly doffed his hat,
No stranger in the crowd could doubt 'twas Casey at the bat.

Ten thousand eyes were on him as he rubbed his hands with dirt;
Five thousand tongues applauded when he wiped them on his shirt.
Then, while the writhing pitcher ground the ball into his hip,
Defiance gleamed in Casey's eye, a sneer curled Casey's lip.

And now the leather-covered sphere came hurtling through the air,
And Casey stood a-watching it in haughty grandeur there,
Close by the sturdy batsman the ball unheeded sped --
"That ain't my style," said Casey. "Strike one," the umpire said.

From the benches, black with people, there went up a muffled roar,
Like the beating of the storm-waves on a stern and distant shore.
"Kill him; kill the umpire!" shouted someone from the stand; --
And it's likely they'd have killed him had not Casey raised his hand.

With a smile of Christian charity great Casey's visage shone;
He stilled the rising tumult; he bade the game go on;
He signalled to the pitcher, and once more the spheroid flew;
But Casey still ignored it, and the umpire said, "Strike two."

"Fraud," cried the maddened thousands, and echo answered "Fraud,"
But one scornful look from Casey, and the multitude was awed.
They saw his face grow stern and cold; they saw his muscles strain,
And they knew that Casey wouldn't let that ball go by again.

The sneer is gone from Casey's lip; his teeth are clinched in hate;
He pounds with cruel violence his bat upon the plate.
And now the pitcher holds the ball, and now he lets it go,
And now the air is shattered by the force of Casey's blow.

Oh! somewhere in this favored land the sun is shining bright;
The band is playing somewhere, and somewhere hearts are light.
And somewhere men are laughing, and somewhere children shout;
But there is no joy in Mudville -- mighty Casey has Struck Out.

From, the San Francisco Examiner, (June 3rd 1888).

Results of the Fourteenth Annual Boston Caledonian Games held at Fresh Pond Grove, August 25th 1870.

Event	Competitor	Prize	Result
Putting the Heavy Stone (18 pounds)	1. John S. McRae	$5	32'10"
	2. John Mason	$4	29' 0"
	3. Charles Mitchell	$3	28' 6"
	Donald Dinnie		42' 9"
Putting the Light Stone (16 pounds)	1. John S. McRae	$5	40' 8"
	2. Daniel McKenzie	$4	35'10"
	3. William Christie	$3	34' 9"
Standing Jump	1. Thomas Buchan	$4	9' 6"
	2. James Hyslop	$3	9'3.5"
	3. Wilson Campbell	$2	8'11.5"
Throwing the Heavy Hammer (19 pounds)	1. Charles Mitchell	$5	70'8.5"
	2. William Mason	$4	63' 8"
	3. John S. McRae	$3	63'0.5"
	Donald Dinnie		86'0.75"
Throwing the Light Hammer (14 pounds)	1. Charles Mitchell	$5	91' 3"
	2. William Mason	$4	85'6.5"
	3. John S. McRae	$3	83'2.5"
	Donald Dinnie		114' 8"
Running Jump	1. Thomas Buchan	$4	17' 2"
	2. Andrew Smeaton	$3	16'11"
	3. M. Brown	$2	14'1.5"
Highland Fling	1. Thomas Murray	$5	
	2. R. Williamson	$4	
Hitch and Kick	1. Andrew Smeaton	$5	6'11"
	2. Thomas Buchan	$4	6' 8"
Short Race ("once round the ring")	1. Andrew Smeaton	$4	
	2. Wilson	$3	
	3. Thomas Buchan	$2	

Event	Competitor	Prize	Result
Running High Leap	1. William Christie	$5	4' 9"
	2. Robert Stevenson	$4	4' 8"
	3. Andrew Smeaton	$3	4' 7"
	Donald Dinnie		5' 0"
Three-Legged Race	1. Robert Stevenson and Wilson Campbell	$4	
	2. James Hyslop and Thomas Buchan	$3	
Long Race ("twice round the ring")	1. Thomas Buchan	$5	
	2. Andrew Smeaton	$4	
	3. John McCloud	$3	
Tossing the Caber	1. John S. McRae	$5	33' 7"
	2. Charles Mitchell	$4	33' 2"
	3. William Christie	$3	32' 8"
Broad Sword Dance	1. Robert Williamson	$5	
	2. Thomas Murray	$4	
Vaulting with Pole	1. Thomas Buchan	$5	7' 8"
	2. James Hyslop	$4	7' 7"
	3. William Christie	$3	7' 6"
Sack Race	1. Thomas Buchan	$5	
	2. Robert Stevenson	$4	
	3. Donald S. Campbell	$3	
Standing High Leap	1. James Hyslop	$5	4'2.5"
	2. Robert Stevenson	$4	4' 0"
	=3. Andrew Smeaton Thomas Buchan	$3	3'11"
Hurdle Race	1. Thomas Buchan	$5	
	2. Robert Stevenson	$4	
	3. William Christie	$3	
Quoits	1. John Brown	$5	
	2. Mathew Brown	$4	
	3. Abram Kirk	$3	
Hop, Step and Jump	1. Thomas Buchan	$4	36' 6"
	2. Andrew Smeaton	$3	35' 7"
	3. Mathew Brown	$2	34' 8"

Event	Competitor	Prize	Result
Throwing the Weight (56 pounds)	1. Donald Dinnie	$25	24' 6"
	2. Charles Mitchell		18' 5"

From, Boston Morning Journal, (August 26th 1870), p.2.

Appendix I.

To "W.G."

Well done! thou sturdy Champion of the Cricket Field;
Honours crowd upon thee, thy skilfulness doth yield!
Though ageing, thy dexterity is not diminished:
Thou yet canst ply the bat with stroke most finish'd!
Many have been bowl'd more by far, with the ball, 'tis true;
But few have been more bold, to face the ball, than you!
Ne'er hast thou played a "base ball" in England's fav'rite game,
Nor wilt thou in the future sully thy fair fame.
May we long retain thee, to play the winning "trump:"
Treat some to brilliant sallies -- others to a "stump!"
Foremost in the van of Sports and Pastimes manly.
Thou still art figuring in our midst most grandly!
And, in a short span, the centuries thou hast scored
Will keep thy mem'ry green when thy last wicket's lower'd!

From, Amateur Sport, I:20(September 4th 1889), p.310.

His Grace of Gloucester

When the sixties saw your rise,
W.G.,
Cheers were mingled with surprise,
W.G.,
Time it seems has made some blunder,
Still the plaudits sound like thunder,
We've forgotten how to wonder
W.G.

Though a generation's gone,
W.G.,
Full of honours you go on,
W.G.,
Honours gained or grudged by no man,
For you've made, from Daft to Lohmann,
Made a friend of every foeman,
W.G.

Now the hundredth hundred's up,
W.G.,
You have filled the bowler's cup,
W.G.,
You have filled his cup of sorrow;
Solace he of Hope can't borrow,
For you'll do't again to-morrow,
W.G.

Stay of Gloucester, England's pride,
W.G.,
Pride of all the world beside,
W.G!
Fame soon yours, you've never lost her;
Now the game of games to foster
We acclaim Your Grace of Gloucester,
W.G!

From, "Souvenir Programme of the Banquet held on Monday, June 24th, 1895, at the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, to Mr. W.G. Grace in Celebration of his One Hundredth' Century!" (Bristol, 1895).

The Nestor of the Bat

The soldier for his country bleeds
Where'er the flag's unfurled,
That fame of England's doughty deeds
May ring throughout the world:
To-night we sing a hero's praise---
That peace alone can claim---
For Grace has won his proudest bays
In England's "Glorious Game!"

CHORUS

Oh! "W.G.," our "W.G.,"
The King of the cricketing world is he!
And we toast him to-night
In the pride of his might---
So here's jolly good luck to old "W.G.!"

From myriad throats a rousing cheer
Salutes each hundredth run;
From Prince and peasant, Knight and peer,
Leaps forth the cry, "Well done!"
Time spins his wheel with fury on,
But what recks Grace of that?
We hail him great "Centurion"---
The Nestor of the Bat.

CHORUS

Music by G.R. Chapman

Words by Severn Leigh

Sung by John Northam

Located at the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club Ground, Bristol.

A Record of William Gilbert Grace's Cricket Career

	First Class Matches		Minor Matches	
Year	Runs Scored	Wickets Taken	Runs Scored	Wickets taken
1857			4	
1858			17	
1859			12	
1860			82	
1861			102	3
1862			298	22
1863			673	70
1864			1,189	122
1865	197	20	1,972	175
1866	581	31	1,583	198
1867	154	39	654	71
1868	625	49	1,200	86
1869	1,320	73	1,026	81
1870	1,808	50	1,452	86
1871	2,739	79	1.074	106
1872	1,561	68	1,008	108
1873	2,139	106	1,791	189
1874	1,664	140	1,187	130
1875	1,498	191	1,293	217
1876	2,622	129	1,268	88
1877	1,474	179	997	211
1878	1,151	152	658	184
1879	993	113	35	19
1880	951	84	1,150	133
1881	917	57	1,360	172
1882	975	101	1,404	171
1883	1,352	94	1,096	100
1884	1,361	82	703	56
1885	1,688	117	494	57
1886	1,846	122	233	31
1887	2,062	97	409	45
1888	1,886	93	138	33
1889	1,396	44	978	96
1890	1,476	61	218	20
1891	1,219	63	1,085	99
1892	1,055	31	53	17
1893	1,609	22	654	36
1894	1,293	29	613	77
1895	2,346	16	236	5
1896	2,135	52	261	14
1897	1,532	56	343	20
1898	1,513	36	272	13
1899	515	20	1,459	82

Year	First Class Matches Runs Scored	First Class Matches Wickets Taken	Minor Matches Runs Scored	Minor Matches Wickets Taken
1900	1,277	32	1,398	130
1901	1,007	51	2,011	111
1902	1,187	46	1,458	115
1903	593	10	1,254	60
1904	637	21	944	111
1905	250	7	1,118	123
1906	241	13	876	68
1907	19		1,040	104
1908	40		684	116
1909			41	1
1910			418	21
1911			369	30
1912			139	3
1913			247	6
1914			205	4

Grand Total of William Gilbert Grace's Statistics in Cricket

	Runs	Wickets	Catches	Stumpings
First Class Matches:	54,904	2,876	871	3
Minor Matches:	44,936	4,446	641	51
	99,840	7,322	1,512	54

Adapted from, G.Neville Weston., "Statistics," in Bernard Darwin., W.G. Grace., (London, 1978), pp.121-122.

Some of the Titles Attributed to John L. Sullivan

The Strong Boy

Knight of the Fives

The King of the Ring

The Magnificent Sullivan

Young Boston Giant

Trip-hammer Jack

The King of Pugilists

The Scientific American

Mighty Hero of Biceps

Boston's Pet

Boston's pride and joy

Sullivan the Great

Sullivan the Wonder

Professor of Bicepital Forces

Prize-Fighting Caesar

America's invincible champion

The Boston Hercules

The hard-hitting Sullivan

The Youthful Prince of Pugilists

Boston's Philanthropic prize-fighter

The terrific Boston pugilist

Spartacus Sullivan

Monarch of the Prize Ring

Hurricane Hitter

His Fistic Highness

Champion of Champions

The cultured slugger

King of Fistiana

The Champion pounder

The Hercules of the Ring

The Goliath of the Prize Ring

A Champion who never knew defeat

The Napoleon Bonaparte of Sluggers

The finest specimen of physical development in the world

The Boston Miracle of huge muscles, terrific chest and marvelous strength.

From, John L. Sullivan., Life and Reminiscences of a Nineteenth Century Gladiator. (Boston, 1892), pp.29-30.

A Partial Record of John Lawrence Sullivan's Boxing Career

Date		Opponent	Venue	Decision
	1877	Tom Scannell	Boston	w.k.o. 1
	1878	John "Cocky" Woods	Boston	w.stpd. 5
	1879	Dan Dwyer	Boston	w.stpd. 3
	1879	Tom Chandler	Boston	w.pts. 4
	1879	Jack "Patsy" Hogan	Boston	w.pts. 4
February	1880	"Professor" Mike Donovan	Boston	n.d. 3
April 6	1880	Joe Goss	Boston	w.pts. 3
June 28	1880	George Rooke	Boston	w.k.o. 2
December 24	1880	John Donaldson	Cincinnati	w.ret. 4
December 24	1880	John Donaldson	Cincinnati	w.k.o. 10
January 3	1881	Jack Stewart	Boston	w.ret. 2
March 31	1881	Steve Taylor	New York	w.ret. 2
May 16	1881	John Flood	New York	w.ret. 8
July 11	1881	Fred Crossley	Philadelphia	w.k.o. 1
July	1881	Dan McCarty	Philadelphia	w.k.o. 1
September 14	1881	"Captain" James Dalton	Chicago	w.k.o. 4
September 27	1881	Jack Burns	Chicago	w.k.o. 1
February 7	1882	Paddy Ryan	Mississippi	w.k.o. 9
March 27	1882	Jack Douglas	New York	w.ret. 3
April 20	1882	John McDermott	Rochester	w.ret. 3
July 4	1882	Jimmy Elliot	Brooklyn	w.k.o. 3
July 17	1882	Joe "Tug" Wilson	New York	w.pts. 4
May 14	1883	Charlie Mitchell	New York	w.stpd. 3
August 6	1883	Herbert Slade	New York	w.ret. 3
October 17	1883	James McCoy	McKeesport	w.ret. 3
November 3	1883	Jim Miles	St. Louis	w.ret. 1
November 25	1883	Morris Hefey	St. Paul	w.k.o. 1
December 4	1883	Mike Sheehan	Davenport	w.ret. 1

Date		Opponent	Venue	Decision	
January 14	1884	Fred Robinson	Butte	w.ret	2
March 6	1884	George Robinson	San Francisco	w.pts.	4
April 10	1884	Al Marks	Galveston	w.k.o.	1
April 28	1884	William Fleming	Memphis	w.k.o.	1
April 29	1884	Dan Henry	Hot Springs	w.k.o.	1
May 2	1884	Enos Phillips	Nashville	w.ret.	4
November 10	1884	John Laflin	New York	w.k.o.	3
November 17	1884	Alf Greenfield	New York	w.rsf.	2
January 12	1885	Alf Greenfield	Boston	w.pts.	4
January 19	1885	Paddy Ryan	New York	w.stpd.	1
June 13	1885	Jack Burke	Chicago	w.pts.	5
		Dominick McCaffrey	Cincinnati	s.b.c.	
August 29	1885	Dominick McCaffrey	Cincinnati	w.pts.	6
September 18	1886	Frank Herald	Allegheny	w.stpd.	1
November 13	1886	Paddy Ryan	San Francisco	w.k.o.	3
December 28	1886	Duncan McDonald	Denver	draw	4
January 18	1887	Patsy Cardiff	Minneapolis	draw	6
March 10	1888	Charlie Mitchell	Chantilly	draw	39
July 8	1889	Jake Kilrain	Richburg	w.ret.	75
September 7	1892	James J. Corbett	New Orleans	l.k.o.	21
August 31	1896	Tom Sharkey	New York	n.d.	3
March 1	1905	Jack McCormick	Grand Rapids	w.k.o.	2

w.k.o. = won by knockout
w.stpd. = bout was stopped
w.pts. = won on points
s.b.c. = stopped by constables
l.k.o. = lost by knockout

n.d. = no decision
w.ret. = won by retirement of opponent
w.rsf. = won by referee stopping the fight
draw = bout drawn

Adapted from, Gilbert Odd(ed)., I Can Lick Any Sonofabitch In The House! (London, 1979), pp.310-311. It should be noted that there is considerable discrepancy with regard to names, venues and decision between this and earlier sources.

The Results of Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent's Anthropometric Examination of John L. Sullivan One Month before his Fight with James Corbett

Age : 34 years

Weight : 216 pounds

Height (in inches) : Standing = 70.6
Sitting = 37.4
Knee = 18.5

Girth (in inches)

Head = 23.2
Neck = 16.5
Chest = 44.5
Chest (expanded) = 46.5
Waist = 38.2
Hips = 42.9
Upperarm (biceps) = 15.7
Forearm (right) = 13.0
Forearm (left) = 12.2
Wrist = 7.9

Depth (in inches)

Chest = 10.0
Abdomen = 10.0
Head = 6.2
Neck = 5.4
Shoulders = 20.5
Waist = 13.0
Hips = 16.0

Length (in inches) : Arms (fingertip to fingertip) = 74.0
Feet (length) = 11.2

The inventory also included Dr. Fitz's reaction time test which necessitated striking a suspended bag in response to a visual cue.

From, John L. Sullivan., Life and Reminiscences of a Nineteenth Century Gladiator. With Reports of Physical Examinations and Measurements, Illustrated by Full-Page Half-Tone Plates, and by Anthropometrical chart by Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, (Boston : Jas. A. Hearn and Co, 1892), p.290.

The Career Earnings of John L. Sullivan

Year	Source	Amount (in dollars)
1878/79	Various bouts	320
1880	Fight with Joe Goss	400
1880	Fight with George Rooke	400
1880	Fight with John Donaldson	700
1881	Fight with Steve Taylor	750
1881	Fight with John Flood	750
1882	Fight with Paddy Ryan	5,000
1882	Fight with Jimmy Elliot	1,100
1882	Fight with Joe "Tug" Wilson	1,200
1882/83	Tour with Billy Madden	105,000
1883	Boston Benefit	3,700
1883	Fight with Charlie Mitchell	11,000
1883	Fight with Herbert Slade	14,000
1883/84	Tour with Al Smith	195,000
1884	Forfeit from Charlie Mitchell	5,000
1884	Fight with John Laflin	9,200
1884	Fight with Alf Greenfield	6,800
1885	Fight with Alf Greenfield	5,500
1885	Fight with Paddy Ryan	7,900
1885	Fight with Jack Burke	4,300
1885	Sparring with Dominick McCaffrey	1,800
1885	Fight with Dominick McCaffrey	8,500
1886	Fight with Frank Herald	2,300
1886	Fight with Paddy Ryan	6,500
1886	Fight with Duncan McDonald	2,800
1887	Fight with Patsy Cardiff	3,750
1887	Tour with Pat Sheedy	62,000
1887	Boston Belt Presentation	3,000
1887/88	Tour with Harry Phillips to Boston	110,000
1888	Fight with Charlie Mitchell	4,000
1888	Boston Benefit	4,200
1888	New York Benefit	6,900
1889	Fight with Jake Kilrain	10,500
1890	Theatrical Tour	27,000
1891	Sparring with "Gentleman Jim" Corbett	2,000
1891	Tour to Australia	58,000
1891	Theatrical Tour (Western States)	87,000
1893/94	Theatrical Tour (Mid-Western States)	45,000
1895	Tour with Parson Davis	85,900
1896	Fight with Tom Sharkey	1,700
1896	Tour with Duncan Harrison	42,000
1897	Tour to Eastern States	40,000
1899	Tour to Western States	25,300
1915	Music Hall Engagements	141,000
	ESTIMATED TOTAL EARNINGS	$1,159,670

Compiled from, Donald Barr Chidsey., John the Great : The Times and Life of a Remarkable American, John L. Sullivan, (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co. Inc., 1942), p.312; and Gilbert Odd (ed)., I Can Lick Any Sonofabitch in the House! (London : Proteus Publishing Ltd., 1979), pp.245-246. Although there are discrepancies between these two sources, the author has attempted to verify the date, source and amount of income throughout Sullivan's lifetime.

Appendix J.

Notes on Photographic Plates

Plate I - Parks For The People.

(Above) Public Tennis Courts in Franklin Park, Boston in 1900.
Source : Courtesy of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

(Below) Ice Skating in the Boston Public Garden in 1900.
Source : Courtesy of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

With playgrounds and parks remaining the preserve of the middle class throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, a deepening civic consciousness led to the provision of municipal public arenas by the fin de siecle. Franklin Park represented a gem in Frederick Law Olmsted's "Emerald Necklace" (started in 1879), and claimed forty tennis courts among its recreational resources. The utility of such areas failed to guarantee the quality of particular surfaces, yet proved adequate for the enjoyment of all, with clothing often being more obtrusive.

In winter, the Public Garden (reclaimed in 1794 and landscaped in 1859), and Common provided Bostonians the opportunity to enjoy sport. Although private rinks offered their patrons more salubrious surroundings (for an admission fee of twenty-five cents in 1870), the Public Gardens, situated adjacent to the citizens' Common and owned by the City, provided an environment for tempered athletic pursuit.

Plate II - Bathing at the North End Park, Boston in 1900.

Source : Courtesy of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Costing the City $99,229 in 1897, the one-quarter acre playground and adjacent bathing area offered residents of Boston's crowded North End an escape from the disease-ridden air of the slum. The photograph shows girls and women bathing in their restrictive clothing, during a closed session at the turn of the century.

Plate III - The Young Men's Christian Association.

(Above) The Bristol Y.M.C.A., St. James' Square, in 1893.
Source : George Frederick Stone, Bristol ; As It Was -- and As It Is. A Record of Fifty Years' Progress, (Bristol : Reid, 1909), p.230.

(Below) The Boston Y.M.C.A., Tremont Street Gymnasium, 1872-1883.
Source : Lawrence Locke Doggett, History of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, (Boston ; Y.M.C.A., 1901).

Started in 1841 by George Williams, it was 1851 before the Young Men's Christian Association reached Boston and a little over another year before a recognisable organisation was formed in Bristol. S.J. Loxton's illustration of the Bristol Y.M.C.A., at No. 4 St James' Square in 1893 is indicative of the lowly status afforded gymnastics in its programme. Although the first gymnasium was furnished with heavy equipment in 1879, team sports remained the primary focus of the Association's physical department.

The Boston Y.M.C.A., opened a gymnasium soon after the Civil War, with the Tremont Street building being purchased for $125,000 in 1872. The equipment shown in the illustration is indicative of the style of gymnastics in vogue at that time, as F.A. Strauss' artistic licence shows beams, ladders, bars, dumb-bells, horses, trapezes, ropes, Indian clubs and chest weights, offering evidence for the merging of German gymnastics and local contributions by such pioneers as Dudley Allen Sargent.

Plate IV - The Physical Department of the Boston Y.M.C.A., in 1900.

(Above) The Boston Y.M.C.A., Gymnasium.
Source : Courtesy of the Boston Y.M.C.A.

(Below) The Physical Director and Instructors of the Boston Y.M.C.A.
Source : Courtesy of the Boston Y.M.C.A.

In 1883, the Boston Y.M.C.A., purchased a new building on the corner of Boylston and Berkeley Streets. Providing an elevated running track, other equipment included Sargent's chest weight apparatus seen along the wall to the left. This "Hall of Health" was under the proud direction of Robert J. Roberts who arrived at the Boston Association in 1876. Joining Luther Gulick at Springfield College in 1887 it is likely that Roberts was responsible for the introduction of the inverted triangle symbol worn by his instructors, a group identified as:

N.E. Sanders
(Assist. Physical Director)

G. Weeman	C.P. Daniels	R.J. Roberts	G.L. Meylan	L. Rondelle	M. Graham
(Sparring)	(Masseur)	(Physical Director)	(Medical Director)	(Fencing)	(Wrestling)

W.H. Bennett
(Assist. Physical Director)

Plate V - Cricket - A Contrast of Class in Bristol.

(Above) The Clifton College First Eleven in 1864.
Source : The Clifton College Collection, No. 7.

(Below) A Group of City Boys on Durdham Down in 1867.
Source : The Reece Winston Collection.

These photographs offer a remarkable visual contrast of middle class "public" schoolboys posing against a classic backdrop of perpendicular cloisters, and a group of younger, less affluent boys learning to wield the willow on the Downs. The headgear, pads and "whites" attest to the superior status of the first group although it would appear that the City boys and their Instructor, in the lower picture, are not of the working class.

Plate VI - The Entertainers.

(Above) The Gloucestershire County Cricket Club Eleven in 1898.
Source : F.S. Ashley-Cooper, Gloucestershire County Cricket,
(London : May, n.d.), p.15.

(Below) The Boston Red Stockings and Opponents in 1900.
Source : Martin W. Sandler, As New Englanders Played,
(Chester : Globe Pequot, 1979), p.54.

Showing the leading professional teams of each City, these photographs provide ample evidence for the gentleman ideals permeating nineteenth century British sport and the greater degree of commercialism evidenced across the Atlantic. Dominated by the central prominence of W.G. Grace, the upper photograph suggests a distinction between amateur and professional on the basis of head gear and clothing wherein the gentleman wears "Boater and Blazer."

Failing to match the sophistication in dress of the cricketers, the Boston baseball team (and opponents), pose before a grandstand draped with the "stars and stripes" and filled with spectators. Although the Boston Red Stockings were founded in 1870, it is unclear whether this is the same club (at that time known as the Boston Beaneaters), or the newly formed American League team.

The Gloucestershire County Cricket Club team (also founded in 1870), is identified as:

J.G. Smith W. Murch W. Hale H. Wrathall W.S.A. Brown

F.G. Roberts C.L. Townsend* W.G. Grace* W. Troup G.L. Jessop*

J.H. Board* J.J. Ferris C.O.H. Sewell

*Capped for England.

Plate VII - Recreational Retreats

(Above) An Amusement Park at Lynn, Massachusetts in 1898.
Source : Martin W. Sandler, As New Englanders Played, (Chester : Globe Pequot, 1979), p.18.

(Below) Atlantic House above Nantasket Beach, Hull, Massachusetts during the 1890s.
Source : Courtesy of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

A combination of factors, including improved technology and transportation; urban congestion and poor health; together with increased leisure time and affluence, led to the emergence of the holiday resort on the periphery of both Cities. Catering to the needs and wants of all classes, commercial entrepreneurs found a rapidly expanding market whether in transporting, entertaining or accomodating their customers.

Plate VIII - Spectator Sports.

(Above) A Bicycle Meet at the County Ground, Bristol in 1888.
Source : The Reece Winston Collection

(Below) The Last Bareknuckle Championship Fight between John L. Sullivan and Jake Kilrain in 1888.
Source : John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, Saga of American Sport, (Philadelphia : Lea and Febiger, 1978), p.141.

Also accompanying the growing affluence and leisure hours of the working class, was the rise of spectatorism. With cricket, football and baseball representing the most popular events, bicycle, rowing and pedestrian races joined pugilism as favourite spectacles in the two Cities.

The upper picture shows a race of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club at the County Ground, Ashley Down. Likely the inaugural event of 1889, the packed grandstand of 10,000 spectators, supports the popularity of racing atop the "penny-farthing."

The bottom photograph sets the scene at Richburg, Mississippi as the Boston Strong Boy defeated his Irish-American challenger before 3,000 spectators each paying between $50 and $200 for a seat. Fought on July 8th 1889 in 120 degree temperatures, the bout lasted seventy-five rounds or 136 minutes, netting John L., $10,000 for his efforts.

Plate IX - Cycling in the City.

(Above) The Clifton Bicycle Club en route to its Annual Sports in 1886.
Source : The Reece Winston Collection.

(Below) The Boston Bicycle Parade in 1896.
Source : Courtesy of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

As technology and manufacturing processes improved, so the bicycle came within reach of a wider ownership. The formation of the Bristol Bicycle and Tricycle Club in 1876 predated the Boston Bicycle Club by two years as the "iron steed" came to represent much more than a mode of transport.

The characteristic uniform of the Clifton Bicycle Club strongly suggests a middle class patronage. Led by "Captain" Niblett, the Club's members pedal their way across the Downs to the Zoological Gardens for their Sports of 1886. Introduced by the Clifton and Bristol Bicycle Clubs in 1878, the Annual Sports were, after 1889, moved to the safer raceway at the County Ground.

As an agent of social change, perhaps the bicycle's most significant contribution was in offering women a means of healthy companionship, particularly after the pneumatic tire and drop frame promised added comfort, safety and modesty, exemplified by the female riders in the Boston Bicycle Parade of 1896.

Plate X - The Sporting Press.

(Left) The first issue of Bristol's Amateur Sport Magazine.
Source : Bristol Central Reference Library.

(Right) America's leading sports paper, The Police Gazette.
Source : The Bostonian Society.

The sporting press was another outcome of the technological revolution, although prompted by the growing popularity for organised and corporate sport. With Bristol's first sports page appearing in 1886, it was not long before the City saw the appearance of its first sports journal, Amateur Sport, its title flanked by images of William Gilbert Grace and James Arthur Bush. In Boston, followers of sport were provided full coverage of major events by the Police Gazette and other athletic journals.

Plate XI - Sport at School.

(Above) The Roxbury Latin School Football Eleven in 1883.
Source : Francis Russell ed., Forty Years On, the Old Roxbury Latin School on Kearsarge Avenue from the Civil War to the Twenties, (West Roxbury : Latin School, 1970), p.91.

(Below) The Clifton College Football "Caps" in 1870.
Source : The Clifton College Collection, No. 9.

With gymnastics representing the fundamental component of Boston's public school physical programmes, New England's private schools followed the games-playing traditions of the English "public" school in promoting cricket, football and other team sports. Such Brahmin names as Bancroft, Sears, Slocum and Wadsworth, appearing in the Roxbury Latin Foot-ball Eleven for 1883, supports the trans-Atlantic passage of middle class ideals in private education.

The upright posture of the Boston Schoolboys, in front of a Romantic theatrical backdrop, contrasts sharply with the deliberately relaxed stance of the Clifton College "Caps" leaning between two buttresses. While the difference between lettered and plain shirts (in the top photograph), or striped and plain shirts (below). is unclear, the identity of insignia and uniforms is indicative of the rising status of sport in the schools.

Plate XII - Cricket at College.

(Above) A Match in The Close, Clifton College in 1900.
Source : The Clifton College Collection.

(Below) A Match on Jarvis Field, Harvard College during the early 1870s.
Source : William Delano Sanborn, "Base Ball," In The Harvard Book, I Edited by F. O. Vaille and H.A. Clark, (Cambridge : Welch, Bigelow, 1875), opposite p.268.

The cricket match remained the premier sporting event in England's halls of academe throughout the years 1870 to 1900 and, despite its decline in favour of baseball, continued to be played in educational enclaves of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant sentiment in America.

These photographs reflect the nature of sport in education in Bristol and Boston. In the top picture, Clifton schoolboys, immaculately dressed in white, play in The Close, in the shadows of the School (from left to right, Big School; Percival Library; Chapel; Gymnasium), watched only by a handful of spectators reclining in deck chairs, their eyes shaded by the brims of their boaters. The appearance of a screen is an interesting addition on the boundary of the field of play, suggesting a growing seriousness in play.

The lower photograph, included in a chapter on baseball at Harvard, shows a motley group of students playing cricket in left field, upon which there appears to be a game in progress. The playing arena is surrounded by bleachers.

Plate XIII - Athletes in Academe.

(Above) The Clifton College Cricket Eleven in 1883.
Source : Clifton College Twenty Five Years Ago 1879-1904. The Diary of a Fag, (London : Robinson, 1904), p.134.

(Below) The Harvard College Baseball Nine in 1893.
Source : John A. Blanchard ed., The H Book of Harvard Athletics 1852-1922, (Cambridge : Varsity Club, 1923), p.193.

Team photographs provide a valuable insight into the status and underlying value of particular sports. Here, the formal appearance of dress and position of the Clifton College Cricket Eleven contrasts not only with the Harvard College Baseball Nine, but with the Bristol school's earlier cricket team in Plate V. From their white shirts buttoned to the collar, to the exact position of the caps (only the Captain is permitted to appear bareheaded), and the sash tied about their waist, the cricketers reflect a gentlemanly order that is absent among the baseball players.

Unlike the Clifton boys with whom school identity is limited to a small badge on the cap, the large H on the left breast of the Harvard athletes speaks loudly of School pride. To the Boston students it seems to matter not, whether they wear the same clothing or not, or even how they wear it. The team spirit of the upper photograph is not observed among the baseball players as each appears to be seeking individuality either through the use of equipment or a particular trait.

Plate XIV - Athletics at Harvard.

(Above) The Harvard versus McGill Football game of 1874.
Source : John A. Blanchard ed., The H Book of Harvard Athletics 1852-1922, (Cambridge : Varsity Club, 1923), p.319.

(Below) The Harvard versus Yale Baseball game of 1888.
Source ; John A. Blanchard ed., The H Book of Harvard Athletics 1852-1922, (Cambridge : Varsity Club, 1923), p.199.

Intercollegiate sport at Harvard reached a level of seriousness and organisation unseen in British universities. The upper photograph shows one of the three Harvard (light shirts), versus McGill (dark shirts), football games of 1874. Unclear of the date and venue, the presence of the British flag and the hill in the distance suggests that it is the third game played in the Dominion of Canada. Billed as a "Grand International Football Match " the two teams met at the grounds of the Montreal Cricket Club on October 23rd 1874.

The bottom photograph shows the Harvard versus Yale baseball game of 1888 in progress. Played at Holmes Field, Cambridge on June 9th, the large crowd saw Harvard's sensational freshman pitcher H.W. Bates lead his team to victory over Yale's Alonzo Stagg by a score of 7 to 3.

Plate XV - Harvard Athletic Teams.

(Above) The 1878 Crew.
Source : John A. Blanchard ed., The H Book of Harvard Athletics 1852-1922, (Cambridge : Varsity Club, 1923), p.41.

(Below) The 1886 Football Team.
Source : John A. Blanchard ed., The H Book of Harvard Athletics 1852-1922, (Cambridge : Varsity Club, 1923), p.343.

Rowing claims to be the oldest orgainised sport at Harvard with the first boat club dating from 1844. Wearing no shirts, spectators were able to distinguish competing crews by the flash of the handkerchief on their head, in the case of Harvard, magenta in colour.

The Harvard football team of 1886 included such Proper Bostonian names as Adams, Burgess, Peabody and Sears. Although any differentiation between white and crimson shirts is unclear, the large H is once more, indicative of the prominence of sport at the University.

Plate XVI - Bourgeois Bristol and Boston at Play.

(Above) The First Bristol Open Tennis Tournament at the County Ground in 1895.
Source : The Reece Winston Collection.

(Below) The Brookline Country Club versus The Royal Montreal Golf Club at Boston in 1898.
Source : Frederick H. Curtis and John Heard, The Country Club 1882-1932, (Brookline : Privately printed, 1932), p.72.

Witnessing a growing insurgence of working class participants into a once middle class domain, the bourgeoisie typically withdrew to activities strongly dependent upon wealth. Such was tennis, a game played at its outset on the spacious lawns of country houses but later opened to all as city councils furnished public courts. Tennis paralleled cycling in opening the door to active participation for women. The top photograph supports this as both men and women (their femininity preserved within crinolines and hats), competitors gather at Bristol's first open tennis tournament in 1895. Frank Risely (1878-1959), the local Wimbledon champion is seen on the right of the first group of three on the steps, while a local sports reporter, Archie Powell, is seated immediately above the bearded gentleman in the cap.

In Boston, the last refuge of middle class exclusivity appears to have been the country club, an American phenomenon that blossomed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Generally a bastion of male Brahmin sentiment, the bottom photograph shows members of the Brookline Country Club's golf team, and their Canadian visitors, posing hats in hand.

Plate XVII - Conspicuous Leisure.

(Above) Race Day at The Brookline Country Club in 1900.
Source : Frederick H. Curtis and John Heard, The Country Club 1882-1932, (Brookline : Privately printed, 1932), p.108.

(Below) A private tennis court on the Conness Estate, Mattapan, Massachusetts during the 1890s.
Source : Courtesy of The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. Photographed by Hadcock.

These two photographs clearly reflect the thoughts of Thorstein Veblen in writing of "conspicuous consumption," "conspicuous waste of time," "conspicuous abstention from labour," and ultimately, "conspicuous leisure."

Plate XIII - The Boston Athletic Association Indoor athletic meeting during the Winter of 1890.

Source : Foster Rhea Dulles, America Learns to Play : A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940, (Englewood Cliffs ; Prentice - Hall, 1965), p.222

Probably held at the Mechanics' Hall, Boston, this drawing by Henry Sandham shows some of the events competed for at the indoor track and field meet of the Boston Athletic Association (founded in 1887). Notice the Unicorn insignia at the top of the illustration and the utilisation of a frame for indoor tug-of-war.

Plate XIX - Achilles and Hercules

(Left) William Gilbert Grace. The King of Cricket.
Source : Jehu Junior, "Men of the Day. Mr. William Gilbert Grace," Vanity Fair, (June 9th 1877), p. 359.

(Right) John Lawrence Sullivan. The Boston Strong Boy.
Source : John Durant and Otto Bettman, Pictorial History of American Sports from Colonial Times to the present, (New York : Barnes, 1952), p. 78.

These caricatures accentuate the popular characteristic traits of W.G. Grace (1848-1915), and John L. Sullivan (1858-1918), two of the nineteenth century's most prominent international sporting heroes, each of whom personified life in his home city.

Plate XX - Outside the Arena

(Left) "W.G.," before a Test Match in 1896.
Source : Bernard R.M. Darwin, W.G. Grace, (London : Duckworth, 1934), p. 102.

(Right) "John L.," in training for the fight with Charlie Mitchell in 1888.
Source : New York Times, LI : 549 (Saturday March 24th 1888).

To the left, W.G. Grace dressed deliberately as a gentleman discusses the state of the wicket with F.S. Jackson, before leading England to victory at The Oval.

The caption to the illustration of John L. Sullivan reads:

> "The Queen Admires the Boston Boy.
> The Big American Boxer Figures in
> a notable incident in Windsor Park,
> England."